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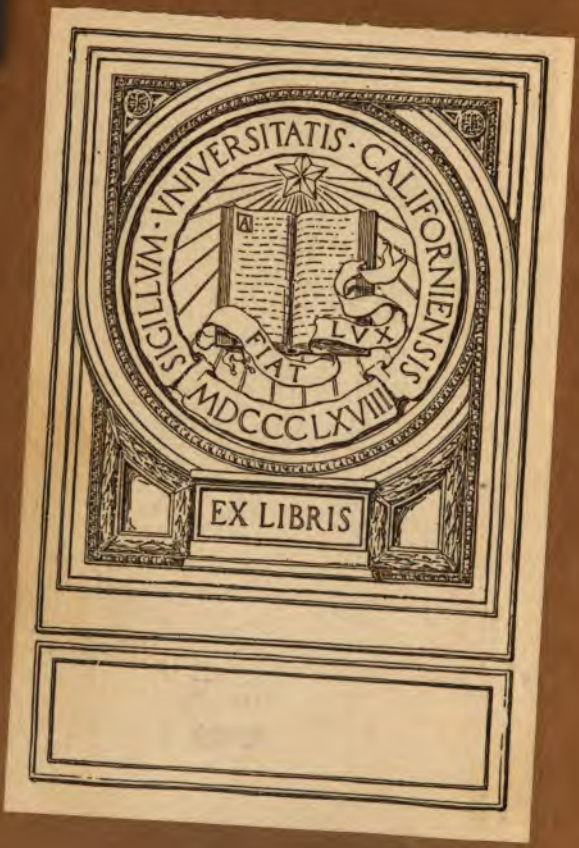

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TITI LIVI

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WITH NOTES

BY

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Livius
Anthon's Livy

PREFACE.

DR. ANTHON, at his lamented death, left ready for the press the text of the four books of Livy contained in this volume, together with notes on the first and second books and the first twenty-five chapters of the twenty-first book. The commentary of that most accomplished and elegant scholar is given without any alteration, and will be found to present the characteristics that have rendered the previous volumes in the series of classical authors issued by him such admirable aids to both student and teacher, and such a mine for subsequent editors who have, too often without acknowledgment, availed themselves of his scholarship and labor.

As regards the Introduction and the Notes on the remainder of the twenty-first book, and the twenty-second book, I am indebted for almost everything of value to Weissenborn. In addition to his indispensable commentary I have consulted the editions of Drakenborch, Wölfflin, Frey, and others; in one case (bk. xxi., chap. xxvii., line 22) I have ventured to adopt a conjectural emendation by Madvig.

The conventional spelling, as most in harmony with that adopted in the previous editions of Latin authors issued by Dr. Anthon, has been retained in this volume.

HUGH CRAIG.

NEW YORK, *May* 6, 1877.

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INTRODUCTION.

LIVY AND HIS HISTORY.

Titus Livius was born in the consulship of C. Julius Cæsar and M. Calpurnius Bibulus, in the year 57 B.C. His birthplace was Padua, a town which is classed by Strabo with Gades and Alexandria as standing next to Rome in wealth, and which possessed at the end of the Republic five hundred citizens of equestrian income. Padua, like Rome, boasted Trojan descent, and her founder was said to be Antenor. She resisted the power of the Etruscans and of the invading Gaul, and repulsed an attack of the Spartan Cleonymus in the year 301 B.C., in memory of which victory a battle of boats was yearly exhibited, while the spoils of the Spartans remained in the temple of Juno within the recollection of men of Livy's time. Though wealthy, Padua was famous for the strictness of its morals, a circumstance which must have caused her illustrious son to look with greater sorrow on the moral corruption of Rome. The inhabitants were Roman citizens, of the Fabian tribe, and seem to have sided in the civil war with the party of Pompey; so Livy may have imbibed in his native place that leaning to aristocracy which he shows so often in his work. Of his life we know next to nothing: "the historian of Rome has no history." He was the father of two children, a daughter married to L. Magius, a rhetorician, who owed his

popularity to his connection with Livy rather than to any merits of his own; and a son, to whom he addressed a letter, probably on rhetoric, in which he advised him to read Cicero and Demosthenes, and those writers who most nearly resembled Cicero and Demosthenes. That he enjoyed great fame in his lifetime is clear from the anecdote told by Pliny, that a citizen of Gades came to Rome expressly to see Livy, and, having seen him, immediately returned. He tells us himself that he was acquainted with Augustus, and Tacitus describes this acquaintance as friendship, adding that it remained unimpaired by the historian's praises of Pompey. As all the anecdotes and criticisms quoted from Livy by Seneca and Quintilian are connected with rhetoric, it is not unlikely that he followed the profession of a rhetorician in Rome. We are perhaps not justified in placing Claudius, who afterwards became emperor, among the list of his pupils, but it was by his advice that that unfortunate grandson of Livia devoted himself to historical writing. Livy died at Padua in the year 17 A.D.

Livy's works on philosophy, and his dialogues, which are described by Seneca as partly philosophical and partly historical, are entirely lost; and of his great work, originally consisting of 150 books, extending to the death of Drusus, B.C. 9, there only remain thirty-five books and a few inconsiderable fragments. These books are: the first decade, containing his account of what happened from the founding of the city down to the year 293 B.C.; the third and fourth decades (embracing the Second Punic War), from the year 218 B.C. to the year 182 B.C.; and five books, not quite perfect, of the fifth decade, ending 167 B.C. The contents of the lost books are given in the so-called *Epitomæ*. These *Epitomæ*, or *Periochæ* as they are named in some MSS., seem to have been written

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at the end, not at the beginning, of copies of Livy, and have been assigned, without any foundation, to the historian Florus. By whomsoever composed, they are in many instances our only guides. With regard to the title which Livy gave to his work, the oldest and best MSS. give as the heading of many books *Titi Livi ab urbe condita liber*, and Alschefski has therefore restored *Titi Livi ab urbe condita libri* in place of the old *Historiarum ab urbe condita libri.*

The composition of a work of such extent must have occupied many years; the first decade cannot have been published before the year 27 B.C., as Octavianus is in bk. i., ch. 19, styled Augustus. As Augustus had read Livy's account of Pompey, the work as far as the 112th book must have been composed before the year 14 A.D. As we are told by Pliny that Livy, in the commencement of one of his books, wrote *satis jam sibi gloriæ quæsitum, et potuisse se desidere, ni animus in quiete pasceretur opere*, we may reasonably conclude that the occupation of his manhood was the solace of his age.

The collection of books into decades is as old as the time of Pope Gelasius, A.D. 492, but before that date quotations from Livy are from the book or the volume. Such an arrangement was not contemplated by the author, although he has prefixed a kind of preface to the 20th and 30th books, but was adopted for the sake of convenience by the old booksellers.

When, after the battle of Actium, peace prevailed throughout the empire, and public affairs were in the hands of Augustus and his ministers, the literary activity of the best Romans, no longer able by the oratory of the forum or the senate to direct the course of events, manifested itself in a study of the ancient history which recounted the deeds of their fathers. Bringing from his provincial home a love for the old republic and a

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belief in old morality, but living under a thinly disguised despotism, and amid a general dissoluteness of manners, Livy sought to recall his contemporaries to better things—as a citizen, by recounting how the world became the property of Rome, and Rome the property of an emperor; and, as a moralist, by setting before them examples of purity and frugality, of courage, patience, perseverance, self-denial, self-sacrifice. He had neither the will nor the power to compose a *pragmatic* work based on profound researches and a severe criticism, because the very size of the work he contemplated set itself against his undertaking a task which can only be satisfactorily completed when the monuments on which history is founded have been carefully classed and thoroughly discussed by those who have made a special study of them; and because he did not think it necessary to interrupt his narrative of heroic and patriotic actions by details respecting a constitution which was already a shadow, soon to fade away; perhaps, too, he was as sceptical about the authenticity and value of the other Roman official documents as Mommsen is respecting the *Libri lintei* so often quoted by Licinius Macer, and the treaties with Carthage given to us by Polybius. As an excuse for the errors of judgment Livy sometimes commits, it may be urged that, unlike Thucydides and Polybius, unlike Fabius and Cincius Alimentus, he had never been in office or in command, he had never sat in the senate, had never canvassed the people or been elected by them, had never been at the head of a fleet or an army; and he, therefore, may expect pardon if, in a work not professing to be a political or military history, he makes mistakes which a constitutional lawyer, a smart administrator, or a literary general would have avoided. Remembering the death-scene of Paulus *animæ magnæ prodigum* at Cannæ, let us overlook his inaccuracy in the topography of the Alps. Holding

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the welfare of the state to be dependent on the moral character of the citizens, and this moral character to be the outcome of the national religion, Livy regards the religious element as one of the most important sides of the Roman character, and therefore he gives an important place to his descriptions of the cults introduced by Romulus or Numa, and to the countless miracles and prodigies of later times; to quote his own words: "[illegible] am writing about antiquity, my mind, I know not how, becomes antique, and a certain religious feeling compels me to deem worthy of being inserted in my annals whatever wise men of old have considered deserving of the attention of the state" (bk. xliii., ch. 13). Hence his praise of religious heroes, his [illegible] of sympathy for men like Flaminius. Although he admits that excrescences and errors appear in the popular religion, and disapproves of religious enthusiasm and that superstition which is always seeking for a sign, he never attempts to shake the fabric of the national faith. He distinguishes between the gods and an Active, All-ruling, All-guiding Power, which he names *numen*, or *fatum* or *fors*. The *numen* works by means of the gods; *fatum* is the Eternal and Unchangeable; *fors* or *fortuna*, a mysterious power, changeful and inconstant, to which human events are referred when the deeper reasons escape our view. Man, however, is free; virtue and vice are his doing, but success and failure are left to the higher powers, which punish the overbearing and abase the proud.

This conviction that the gods had made Rome the mistress of the world, and had raised up great men for her leaders under her republican form of government, gives rise to his bold assertions that the name of king is intolerable at Rome; that between a free state and a king there was a natural hostility; that to obey a tyrant is unworthy of a man, unendurable by a Roman. But the freedom he loves is not only incompatible

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with royalty, but with democracy; for the multitude, he says, is prone to evil; is either a crouching slave or an imperious master; is incapable of governing itself or appreciating true freedom, which rests on the law-abiding character of the citizens, on the responsibility of the highest magistrates, on short terms of office—on such an aristocracy, in fact, as the senate represented in its best days. Perhaps, like many others, he believed that Pompey could turn the stream backward and restore the old constitution; hence that admiration for Pompey which led Augustus to call the historian a Pompeian—hence his praises of Scipio Africanus, Cicero, and Brutus and Cassius, while of Julius Cæsar he wrote that it was doubtful whether it had not been better for the state if he had never been born.

But in spite of these involuntary prejudices in favor of his own country and of the aristocratic party, Livy is a sincere lover of truth. He states nothing without authority; when he finds his authorities at variance, he generally gives the conflicting accounts, often without any intimation which one seems to him the most credible. He does not overlook the errors of the patricians—their arrogance and pride, their covetousness and injustice; nor, although he too often regards the early plebeians as a mere mob, does he close his eyes to the oppression of which they were the victims, but praises their moderation and respect for law under circumstances which, in other states, would have caused bloody revolutions. Above all, he had that historical instinct which intuitively seizes on what is essential, and that poetical talent and sympathy which, the central idea once conceived, can reconstruct and recreate.

Cicero in several places complains of the manner in which Roman history had, up to his day, been written; he censures the roughness of one author, the meagreness of another, the unpleasing style of all, and demands for history a more orator-

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ical treatment. This oratorical treatment Livy applied. He seeks not to paint, but to touch his auditor by his pictures; he regards facts as means for exciting our emotions or producing conviction; he knows how to rouse or to still the passions which the subject of his narrative gives birth to; how to arrange his facts into a chain of argument; how to keep alive the interest of his reader. At the same time his poetical genius gives life and freshness to all, and enables him to describe the finer feelings of love, piety, friendship with delicacy and heartfelt sympathy. Orations occupy, either in the direct or indirect form, a considerable space in Livy's work, and were regarded by the ancients as constituting its most brilliant part. They furnish to the historian opportunities of clearly exhibiting what he thought were the views and sentiments of persons and parties; and although they are in many instances out of character and out of place (as, for example, the speech of Hanno in bk. xxi., ch. 10, and of Minucius in bk. xxii., ch. 29), and although parts of them are verbose and artificial, still the noble and profound genius of the author nowhere speaks with greater beauty. With regard to the narrative proper, the most remarkable points are the skill with which it is adapted to the subject in hand, the lucidity and simplicity of the development of events, the life and insight of the delineations, the earnestness, animation, and dignity of the accounts of great occurrences—above all, the fulness, variety, and inexhaustible richness in form and color which his poetical talent enabled him to exhibit.

His poetical genius has left its impress on his style. We find not only many poetical expressions, and an approach to the style of his contemporary Virgil, but many archaisms, many conversational phrases, many Grecisms. Uses which in earlier prose authors are unknown or rare become frequent,

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as, for example, the use of verbal substantives as attributives, of adjectives and participles as substantives and adverbs, of adverbs and adverbial phrases in the place of adjectives; there is a freer use of the genitive, the dative, the gerundive, of the subjunctive and the infinitive. The poetical element of his style shows itself further in the frequent use of figures of speech, such as personification, metaphor, etc.; in the arrangement of his words to produce clearness and effect, in the rhythmical fall of his sentences. In his periods he seeks, by bringing together in due subordination all that produces, accompanies, or completes an action, to give a satisfactory picture of the whole situation; and by arranging the less important by the side of the important, the customary by the side of the extraordinary, to assign to each its fitting place. Hence the wonderful variety of his sentences, which now break off short, now embrace a rich fulness of various incidents, at one time flow on in apparent carelessness, at another come to a close with artistic calculation. Although sometimes his periods appear heavy, yet in general they unfold themselves clearly and peacefully; and a perfect mastery over the noble tongue he wrote in, and consummate skill in using it, are seen in the regular ordering of his sentences, the variety of his combinations, and the judicious use of rhetorical and grammatical figures, especially chiasmus and anaphora.

What Asinius Pollio meant by blaming Livy for Patavinity is hardly worth discussing. It may have referred to his provincial code of morals and politics; it may have implied that his history was more adapted for those who were remote from political life than for those who lived at the seat of government; it may allude to some Greek or Gallic words or phrases. Most probably, to the fine ear of the town-born critic, accustomed to the pure Roman speech, clinging to the earlier forms

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of language and the correct use of the *sermo urbanus*, and insisting on simplicity and strictness in the arrangement of sentences and thoughts, the free use of the language, the peculiar words, perhaps a certain tone or color pervading the style, may have seemed a provincialism strange to genuine Roman prose. But the term *Patavinitas* is so vague, and the circumstances under which the opinion was uttered so obscure, that we have no right to brand whole classes of expressions as provincialisms, and Livy's language as un-Roman.

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VOCABULARY, SYNTAX, RHETORICAL FIGURES.

§ 1.—Livy uses a larger vocabulary and a freer syntax than the earlier prose writers, and borrows from the poets as well as imitates the Greeks. As might be expected, Virgil's influence can be traced more clearly than that of any other, for the fragments of Ennius that remain are too few to indicate how far Livy is indebted to that early bard, and how far what is common to Livy and Virgil come from the same source.

VOCABULARY.

§ 2.—Ladewig (*De Vergilio verborum novatore*) gives the following list of words introduced by Virgil and used by Livy:

abolescere.	*innectere.*	*pugnator.*
consanguinitas.	*interfari.*	*repercutere.*
cristatus.	*intermiscere.*	*rudimentum.*
degener.	*invius.*	*semineces.*
effrenus.	*juvenalis.*	*semiustus.*
effulgere.	*letalis.*	*subrigere.*
eluctari.	*lustralis.*	*subterlabi.*
emunire.	*pererrare.*	*superimponere.*
excernere.	*perosus.*	*superstare.*
hebere.	*prædives.*	*supervenire.*
hebetare.	*præsciscere.*	*tabidus.*
incessere.	*prævalidus.*	*temerare.*
increscere.	*prævehi.*	*velamen.*
inmotus.	*prævenire.*	

§ 3.—Like *præsciscere*, we find Livy forming *prædamnari*, *præflorare*, *præmoliri*, etc.; like *prædives*, *præferox*, *præfervidus*, etc.; like *superimponere*, he forms *superincubare* (xxii., 51), *superincidere* (ii., 10); like *inmotus*, he has *incompertus*, *incompositus*, *inconditus*, *inexpertus*, *inexploratus*; like *intermiscere*, he forms *interjungere*, *interjacere*, *interequitare*, etc.; while the Virgilian *inextricabilis* seems to have emboldened him to form *inenarrabilis* and *inexsuperabilis*. *Circumsepsit* (i., 49) is first used by Livy.

§ 4.—Livy makes more frequent use than his classical predecessors of the following forms:

I. Frequentative Verbs with almost or quite the same meaning as the simple verbs; e. g., *imperito* (i., 2). The number of these verbs in Livy is estimated by Müller at 120.

II. Verbals in *-tor*. Livy first uses *Interceptor*, *assertor*, *concitor*, *reductor*, *munitor*; *ostentator* (i., 10) is found in Plautus and the *Auct. ad Herennium*.

III. Verbals in *-us*, of the fourth declension. These are especially frequent, by preference in the ablative case. A very favorite word is *effectu*. Livian formations are, *intercursu* (xxi., 46), *armatu* (xxvi., 5), *contactu*, *saltatu*.

IV. Adjectives in *-alis*. Livy seems to have formed *matronalis*, *vicinalis*, *cubitalis*, *intermuralis*, and to have been the first writer of prose to use *juvenalis*, *nivalis*, and *lethalis*.

V. Adjectives in *-bundus*. Livy has formed *cunctabundus*, *deliberabundus*, *mirabundus*, *peregrinabundus*, *temptabundus* (xxi., 36).

VI. Adjectives in *-osus* are very numerous. Livy first uses *controversiosus*, *nivosus* [Ovid], *procellosus*, *silvosus*, *strigosus*, *vinosus* [Ovid and Horace].

§ 5.—He is the first to use *desuetudo* (i., 19) [Ovid], *tutamentum* (xxi., 61), *cunctanter* (i., 36), always with a negative except in x., 4, *diserte* (xxi., 19); and the first to use in prose *gravatim* (i., 2) [Lucretius] and *postmodum*. This latter word occurs in Terence, and is used by Livy only in his first two books. *Quadrifariam* (i., 43) is found in Varro, but the only classical examples of this form are *bifariam* and *multifariam*. Contrary to Cicero's use, *ferme* is commoner in Livy than *fere*. *Haud*, rarely found with any verb except *scio* in Cicero, is of frequent occurrence with verbs of a negative meaning, and especially common in litotes, as, *haud ignarus* (xxi., 22), *haud ignotas* (xxi., 1), *haud incruentam* (xxi., 29). So *haud parum* (i., 30; xxii., 26), *haud ita*, etc., for the Ciceronian *non parum*, *non ita*. *Igitur* is frequently used both in position and meaning for *itaque*. *Quamvis* occurs only once with a verb, and then the verb is in the indicative (ii., 40). *Trahere* is a favorite word. Livy never uses the archaic genitive *familias*. *Et ipse*, "likewise," "also," so common in Livy, occurs only once indisputably in Cicero.

§ 6.—Poetical Uses are, the use of *bos* as a feminine (i., 7); *exanimes* (cf. *Æneid*, iv., 672), for "breathless with anxiety;" *durare*, "to last" (i., 9); *fatiloquam* (i., 7; cf. *Æneid*, viii., 340); *glomeratam* (i., 31); *infit* (this word is used by no other prose writer, and by Livy only three times—i., 23 and 28; iii., 71); *ignes*, "lightnings" (xxi., 58); *immunita* (xxii., 11), "not fortified" (in Cicero, *via immunita* means "a well-made road"); *innubere* (i., 34) [Ovid]; *juventa* (i., 57);

lacerum (i., 28); *miscet*, for "fills" or "disturbs" (i., 29; cf. *Æneid*, ii., 487); *natos*, for *liberos* (i., 23); *prolem* (only in bk. i., and in bk. iv. 6); *pectus*, for *animus* (i., 59: *ejus pectoris ingeniique*); *propinquantium*, for *appropinquantium* (xxi., 46); *pernox* (xxi., 49); *perscindere* (xxi., 58); *orsa* (Præf.).

To these may be added the phrases *ante alias unam* (i., 9; cf. *Æneid*, iii., 321); *plenis portis* (i., 14; cf. *Æneid*, xii., 121); *præda potens* (i., 33; cf. *Æneid*, vi., 843); *silentium tenet* (i., 28); *tenere*, for *tenere cursum; otium terere* (i., 57; cf. *Æneid*, iv., 271); *oram legens* (xxi., 51; cf. *Georg.*, ii., 44); *regnum agere* (i., 32); *captivam pecuniam* (i., 53); *hinc . . . hinc* (i., 13; cf. *Æneid*, i., 162); *robur sumere* (i., 4) [Lucretius]; *redisse ad se* (i., 41) [Lucretius]; the use of *operari* in the sense of sacrificing (xxi., 62) is, perhaps, technical; *tela micare* (xxi., 7); *ex quo* (i., 34; cf. *Æneid*, ii., 648).

§ 7.—A few expressions may be either archaic, poetical, or perhaps colloquial—such as *viden*, for *videsne* (i., 39); *satin*, for *satisne* (i., 58); *subinde* (xxi., 20); *uno tenore*, "without interruption" (xxii., 37; see Cic., *Orator*, vi., 21); *operæ est* (i., 24; xxi., 9; this phrase, with a negative, occurs in Plautus and Ennius, and *operæ* is probably a dative); *mussitare* (i., 50). The use of *unus* almost as an indefinite article (xxi., 39), *unam urbem caput gentis*, is not rare in Cicero.

§ 8.—It is impossible to say, in the case of a literature so fragmentary as that of republican Rome, whether a word first appearing in the Augustan age is a new formation or a resuscitation of some old literary word, or a conversational word or phrase struggling up into literary use. Writing on antiquity, and consulting old authors, Livy occasionally borrows a word or two from them; but these archaisms are few in number, and occur chiefly in quotations.

I. Archaisms in old formulæ: *adclarassis* (i., 18); *antidea* (xxii., 10); *arbori*, locative case (i., 26); *clepsit* (xxii., 10); *dedier* (i., 32); *defexit* (i., 24); *duit, faxit, faxitur* (all in xxii., 10); *stris* (i., 32). Perhaps *puram* (in i., 24), for *puram herbam*, may be archaic. Cf. *laurea*, for *laurea corona; novalis*, for *novalis ager*, etc.

II. Archaisms in the text—(1) Obsolete words: *belligeratam* (xxi., 16) [Ennius]; *edissertando* (xxii., 54) [Plautus]; *exsignata* (i., 20) [Plautus]; *occepit* (i., 7) [Plautus]. (2) Obsolete parts of words of which other parts remained in use: *icit* (xxi., 18; Drakenborch's edition: *al. fecit.*) [Cœlius Antipater]; *ictus* is common, and the other parts are supplied by *ferire*, or their use avoided by *inire fœdus* and the like; *rebantur* (xxii., 57; see Cic., *De Orat.*, iii., 38); *indicente* (xxii., 39) [Terence], *indicto* in the same sense not being rare. (3) Words with old meanings: *tempestate*, for *tempore* (xxii., 56; see Cic., ut supra); *suppliciis*, for *supplicationibus* (xxii., 57); *discriminata*, for *dispertita* (xxi., 4).

Ausim (Præf.), is once used by Cicero. In Livy it is always with a negative except in vi., 40. The form *deum* for *deorum*, common in all writers in phrases like *proh deum fidem*, Livy uses more widely, as *deum metus* (xxi., 4); *deum benignitas, ira*, etc. (See Cic., *Orator*, 46.)

§ 9.—Græcisms. The use of the adjective or participle as a substantive appears in Latin at first in philosophical terms, as *honestum, beatum, utile*, and the like; or in terms descriptive of physical qualities, as *frigidum, calidum, album*, etc., but in Livy more freely, especially in prepositional expressions—(1) of locality, *ab extremo* (i., 28); *in sicco* (xxii., 2); *ex tuto* (xxi., 26); *ad vivum*, "to the quick" (xxii., 17); *de recto*, "designedly" (i., 11): (2) of time—very rare; *luctus in præterito* (xxvii., 2): (3) of other relations; *ex insperato*, ἐξ ἀελπτοῦ; *ad irritum* (ii., 6); *ex vano* (xxii., 7).

Livy further uses the substantivated participle or adjective—(*a*) in the neuter singular, (1) as a nominative by itself, *degeneratum*, "the fact that he had," etc. (i., 53); *perlitatum* (vii., 8): (2) in accusative with prepositions, *propter crebrius lapidatum* (xxix., 10): (3) accompanied by a pronoun, as *ultimum illud* (i., 29); *eo nefario* (ix., 39): (4) in the ablative absolute with a sentence as subject: *edicto . . . ut hostis haberetur* (x., 36) [only twice in Cicero]: (5) with a partitive genitive, *reliquum noctis* (ii., 64); *in immensum altitudinis* (xxii., 33): even when the adjective itself is in the genitive, *si quidquid humanorum certi est* (v., 33).—(*b*) in the neuter plural (1) with a partitive genitive, *per aversa urbis* (v., 29); *extrema agminis* (vi., 32) [other cases are rare]: (2) with an attributive, as *confragosa omnia* (xxi., 32); *per invia pleraque* (xxi., 35).—(*c*) in the comparative, *in majus* (iv., 1); even with a case, *in majus vero* (xxi., 32). The superlative is rare, *pro indignissimo* (i., 40).—(*d*) in the masculine singular, *liber et servus* (i., 8); *plebeio et humili* (iii., 56).—(*e*) in masculine plural (1) with a partitive genitive, as *expediti militum* (xxx., 9): (2) alone, *legentium* (Præf.); *condentium* (i., 8); *scribentibus* (xxi., 57): (3) with a prepositional phrase, *emissis ad cædem* (xxxi., 36); while the rule that in the plural such forms are used of classes only is often violated.

§ 10. Other Græcisms are—(*a*) the use of adverbs as adjectives, (1) inserted between a substantive and its attributive; as *multarum circa civitatum* (i., 17); *duo simul bella* (vii., 25): (2) with an attributive; as *omnibus circa solo æquatis* (xxii., 23): (3) absolutely as a substantive, *satis tuta circa erant* (i., 58).—(*b*) and of adjectives (1) for adverbs; as *ferox instat*—a use originally confined to adjectives of affection; *occultum considere jubet* (ii., 11): or (2) for an objective genitive, as *dictatoria invidia* (xxii., 26), etc.

§ 11.—Substantives in apposition are used for adjectives, as, *exercitus tiro* (xxi., 43) [Cicero]; *advenæ cultores* (xxi., 30); *plebs transfuga* (ii., 1); *pastor accola* (i., 7), etc.

§ 12.—Verbs are used pregnantly, as *subsidia firmare*, for *subsidia firma collocare; mirare* (i., 41), for *cum admiratione quærere; facere et pati fortia* (ii., 12), for *fortia facinora agendo et patiendo edere* [Nägelsbach].

Verbs frequently assume a middle sense, as *trahebant* (i., 7); *traxere voluntarios* (i., 30); *vertit* (ii., 62). There is sometimes an ellipsis of the object, as *errores implicant*, sc. *quærentem* (ii., 21); *ducit*, sc. *exercitum* (xxi., 58).

Verbs Intransitive are sometimes used as transitive: *evado* (xxi., 32); *egredior*, as *egredi urbem* (xxii., 55).

SYNTAX.

§ 13.—The following are the most remarkable points in Livy's constructions:

I. An extension of the construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν*: as *magna pars raptæ* (i., 9); *pars delati sunt* (ii., 14).

II. The Genitive case used more freely—(1) objectively, *ob iram prædæ amissæ* (i., 5); *regis criminibus* (i., 47): (2) possessively, in such phrases as *sententiæ esse* (i., 8); *dicionis esse*—not before Livy: (3) after *mille*, as *mille equitum* (xxi., 62): (4) of place (the chorographic genitive), *Chalciden Eubœæ venit* (xxvii., 30): (5) partitively after an adjective used substantively, see § 9.

III. The Dative is more freely used—(1) after compound verbs, *reponit* (i., 34); *adequitare* (i., 14): (2) absolutely, as *descendentibus* (i., 8); *eunti* (xxxii., 4); cf. Thucydides, *εἰσπλέοντι ἐν δεξιᾷ* (i., 24): (3) with *intentus* (first so used by Livy), *intentus perficiendo templo* (i., 56); with *maturus*, as *matura messi* (ii., 5); with *alienus* always: (4) where we might expect a genitive, as *puero caput arsisse fertur* (i., 39).

IV. Accusative used—(1) adverbially, *cetera egregius;* while the accusative of the part affected is found only once, *adversum femur ictus* (xxi., 7): (2) in place of the ablative of distance; as *castra quinque millia passum ab urbe locant* (i., 23): (3) *aliquantum*, for *aliquanto* (very rare before Livy); *aliquantum ampliorem* (i., 7).

V. Ablative used—(1) alone without a preposition or attributive; mostly in old phrases, or words regarded loosely as instruments, as *silentio* (xxii., 17). (2) Absolutely, without a noun, *missis qui conjicerent* (i., 37), and in temporal, causal, concessive, or hypothetical clauses. (3)—(*a*) with verbs of sitting, *carpento sedenti* (i., 34); *regia sede sedens* (i., 41); *tumulis consedit* (xxi., 32): (*b*) of things in which, *mergi aqua* (i., 4) [Cicero uses *in mari* or *in aquam*]; *jugulo defigit* (i., 25) [cf. Virgil, vi., 652, *stant terra defixæ hastæ*]: (*c*) with *sudare*, *manare*, and *pluere*, as in the often-recurring *lapidibus pluit* (i., 31): (*d*) of place whence, as *cœlo delapsi* (i., 16).

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§ 14.—VI. The Infinitive is used after verbs, like—(*a*) *occupo*, as

occupant bellum facere (i., 14); (*b*) *impello*, as *capessere fugam impulerit* (xxii., 6): (*c*) *supersedeo*, as *supersedissem loqui* (xxi., 40): (*d*) after *dubito* with a negative, more commonly than *quin*; while after *dubius*, *quin* is more common.

VII. The Infinitive and Accusative are used after *traditur* etc.: *eam gentem traditur transisse* (v., 33).

VIII. The Infinitive is used after the personal form of the passive of other words than those of saying and thinking: e. g., *compertus fecisse*.

IX. The Infinitive Perfect is used after *volo* and *possum*. This is in imitation of the old legal form, *ne quis quid vendidisse vellet* (xxxix., 17). Also as a subject: *tunc decuit flesse* (xxx., 44); and with *melius est*, *turpe*, *facilius*, *satis*, etc.

X. The Subjunctive is used with *ut* after *jubeo* sometimes: *jubet ut trajiceret* (xxviii., 36).

XI. The Subjunctive is used to denote events of frequent occurrence: *cum vidissent . . . convolabant* (ii., 27); *ubi dixisset . . : emittebat* (i., 32), the older usage being as in xxi., 42, *ut exciderat*.

XII. The Subjunctive is used of facts—(1) with *donec*, as *donec agerentur* (xxi., 28), only in present and imperfect tenses: (2) with *ante quam*, when there is no notion of purpose, as *ante quam Syracusæ caperentur* (xxv., 31.)

XIII. The Subjunctive Perfect is found in—(1) sentences of design, occasionally, as *adnisuram ne hanc spem conceperitis* (xliv., 22): (2) of result, *ausi sint* (i., 3); the past being looked at from the point of view of the present.

§ 15.—XIV. The Participle Passive is more frequently used with a substantive to express, not the thing or person acted on, but the action completed, as *ab urbe condita* (i., 60), etc.; *propter territos homines* (xxii., 36), etc.

XV. The Future Participle in *-rus*, used by the older writers to express relations of time, is used to denote subordinate relations, as *commissurus* (xxii., 12); *habituram* (ii., 10).

XVI. Before the Future Participle with *esse*, the personal pronoun is frequently omitted, *aliquid moturum ratus* (xxi., 12).

XVII. The Supine in *-um* with an object is rare in Cicero; in Livy and others not so: *oppugnatum patriam* (xxi., 41).

XVIII. The Gerundive of deponents governing the ablative is common, as *fungendus*, *fruendus*, *potiundus*, but not *utendus*. The gerundive is used in apposition, as *ejus immemor quod initio imbiberat reconciliandi animos* (ii., 47); *ad remedium*, *dictatorem dicendum* (xxii., 8). A peculiar use is *contentus possidendis agris* (vi., 14); an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον is *equites tegendo* (xx., 54).

XIX. The Gerundive in *-bundus* has sometimes a direct object: *vitabundus castra* (xxv., 13); *hæc contionabundus* (iii., 47).

§ 16.—XX. *Forsitan* is in model prose used with the subjunctive. Livy uses it with (1) the indicative—*forsitan necessariæ erunt* (Præf.); *ita forsitan decuit* (xxi., 40): (2) infinitive; *forsitan inventurum* (i., 53); *forsitan leniturum* (ii., 45): (3) adverbially, as *primo forsitan dubio* (xxii., 23): (4) in the abl. absolute, as *forsitan liberata fide* (ix., 11).

XXI. Livy uses *simul*, *extemplo*, *statim*, *ut*, *quamquam*, *inde*, and other adverbs, with participles; Cicero, only *ut* and *quasi*; Cæsar, *ut*, *sicuti*, *etsi*.

§ 17.—XXII. Prepositions. *Ab* is used for "after:" *ab hoc sermone* (xxii., 40). *Ad* freely in answer to question "Where?" *ad exercitum morando* (xxii., 34); then passing into the meaning "with reference to," "looking to:" *efficaces ad ingenium* (i., 9); *ad famam* (xxi., 41). Very common with numbers: *ad mille*, etc., where it has no effect on the case. *Circa*, a very frequent word, of time as well as place. Observe, *circa vicinas gentes* (i., 9), "to the tribes round about." *De*, "from," common with *capere*; *De Priscis Latinis capta* (i., 38). *In*, with the accusative, to denote the direction of the action; *gratæ in vulgus* (ii., 8); or the object: *in hanc mercedem* (xxi., 43), "to win this reward." *Inter* with a gerund (ii., 20): *inter spoliandum corpus*. *Ob*, for the moving cause: *ob iram* (xxi., 2); *ob hæc* (xxi., 50). *Post: post paucos dies*, for *paucis diebus post*. In later Latin very common. *Super*, with the accusative, "in addition to," "upon:" *alii super alios* (i., 50); *vulnus super vulnus* (xxii., 54).

XXIII. Conjunctions. *Ceterum* is used to introduce a new thought, as xxi., 5, and as equivalent to *sed: ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt* (i., 24). We may notice a peculiar use of *-que*, equivalent to "and so then . . .:" *fretusque* (i., 2); *Sabinusque* (i., 45); and of *-que et*, introducing an apposition, . . . *ominibus votisque et precationibus*, (Præf.), "with good omens, that is, with both vows and prayers;" *tela, hastaque et gladius* (i., 43), "weapons, namely, a spear and sword;" or simply uniting two closely connected notions: *signaque et ordines* (ii., 59). Very common is *et* for *etiam* (i., 25): *ut et pugnatum est*.

§ 18.—Cicero in clauses united by a Disjunctive Conjunction repeats the preposition; Livy commonly omits it before the last, *quum in novo, tum feroci populo* (i., 32).

§ 19.—Constructio Prægnans. *In custodiam habere* (xxii., 25), where Madvig reads *custodia* (see his Grammar, § 230, *b*, obs. 2, note 3): *demissi sunt sub terra* (xxii., 57); *per omnes in orbem ibat* (i., 17), etc.

Attraction. The attraction of nouns into the relative clause is found in Cicero only where *is* or *hic* is omitted, but is frequent in Livy

in all cases. The Greek attraction of case occurs three times: *raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis* (i., 29); *quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum* (iv., 39); *in quæ laboramus* (vii., 25).—(Kühnast.)

§ 20.—Livy frequently repeats a participle after a verb, as *fundit, fusumque persequitur* (i., 10); *pelli, pulsum* (i., 12); or a noun instead of a pronoun: *originis proximæque originibus* (Præf.); *augurium . . . augurio* (i., 7).

§ 21.—ALLITERATION is common in formulas, as *Romulus rex regia* (i., 10); *deum deo* (i., 16); *potes pollesque* (i., 24), etc., and not rare elsewhere: e. g., *satis superque* (ii., 42); *varia victoria et velut* (ii., 6). Nor does Livy avoid HOMOIOTELEUTA with the care displayed by other writers: e. g., *densa ob sita virgulta* (i., 14); *lascivire, sævire* (ii., 29); *oneratus . . . honoratus*, in xxii., 30, like *hospitem . . . hostem* (xxi., 24), is a play upon words.

§ 22.—Livy commences with the first part of a hexameter; perfect hexameters are found in xxii., 50, *Hæc ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque;* iv., 57, *Mœnia compulsis nec defendentibus agros;* xxi., 9, *arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum.* The final clausula of a hexameter is found in vii., 11, *ut signum daret, ut capere arma juberet;* vii., 6, *totius viribus urbis;* vii., 14, *ut adversus montes consisteret hostis.* So *in vincula duci, optare licebat*, etc. In v., 7, he has almost a pentameter, *Tunc repente quibus census equestris erat.*

RHETORICAL FIGURES.

§ 23.—PLEONASM. Very rare in Cæsar; in Cicero usually in the phrases *sæpe multi, sin autem, tum denique, post deinde*, etc.; in Livy much commoner: e. g., *inde deinceps* (i., 44); *deinde deinceps* (ii., 47); *tum deinde* (ii., 8); *quædam veluti* (xxi., 43); *clam furtim; forte temere; obviam obicere* (xxii., 6); *prius præcipere* (xxi., 32); *ignoti inter se ignorantesque* (xxi., 43); *ire pergere* (xxi., 22). So, also, *prima initia; finis extremus; initio ordiendæ rei* (Præf.), etc.

§ 24.—ENALLAGE. *Ad majora rerum initia* (i., 1); *ad cursum justi amnis* (i., 4); *violati hospitii fœdus* (i., 9). To this may be referred the use of the adjective for the genitive already alluded to, as *dictatoria invidia;* while in contrast to it stands HYPALLAGE: e. g., *hac fiducia virium* (i., 30); *tanta vis frigoris* (xxi., 58). Both figures are rare in Cicero.

§ 25.—PROLEPSIS. *Extorres expulit* (ii., 6); *incipientes tenuit* (xxii., 17); *immobiles defixit* (xxi., 33); *trepidos agit* (ii., 47); and elsewhere frequently.

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LITOTES. For instances, see § 5, p. 16.

ZEUGMA is not uncommon: *Imperium suo vehemens mansueto permitteretur ingenio* (ii., 30); *omnia deportantem et molientem* (xxv., 22); etc.

§ 26.—METAPHOR. In the list given by Kühnast of metaphors which are not Ciceronian, we find, *erecti patres* (ii., 21); *domare vim fluminis* (xxi., 30); *fulserunt gladii* (i., 25); *res inexorabilis* (ii., 3); *tumultus pervadit* (ii., 23); *rupem ferro pandunt* (xxi., 37); *Alpes mœnia Italiæ* (xxi., 35); *prœusti artus* (xxi., 40); *ventus perscindit* (xxi., 58); *capere impetum* (ii., 65); *captus pulchritudine* (i., 7). So *gaudio, pavore, luctu, captus*, etc.

§ 27.—Nothing adds so much to the variety of Livy's style as the skill with which he uses CHIASMUS and ANAPHORA.

CHIASMUS: *Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum* (i., 6); *neglegendo patrios ritus, peregrinosque adsciscendo* (i., 20); *Pœni recipiendoque se et procursando pugnavere, restitit loco suo Romana acies.*

ANAPHORA: *Mettius ille est ductor hujus itineris; Mettius idem machinator belli; Mettius*, etc. (i., 28); *Sæpe in acie, sæpe in agmine, sæpe circa ipsam urbem pugnatum est* (x., 45); *Privatim parentibus, publice populis* (xxii., 22); *Quos terra marique vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli prœmia habetis* (xxi., 40).

CHIASMUS and ANAPHORA. *Veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelæ nostræ duximus* (xxi., 41); *avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, nobis adolescentibus, priore Punico bello, Calpurnius Flamma* (xxii., 60).

§ 28.—Madvig gives as an example of a carefully constructed period (i., 6): *Numitor, inter primum tumultum*, down to *auctorem ostendit.*

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA LIBRI.

PRÆFATIO.

Facturusne operæ pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcumque erit, juvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriæ principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro est, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini officient meo, consoler. Res est præterea et immensi operis, ut quæ supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quæ, ab exiguis profecta initiis, eo creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primæ origines proximaque originibus minus præbitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad hæc nova, quibus jam pridem prævalentis populi vires se ipsæ conficiunt. Ego contra hoc quoque laboris præmium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quæ nostra tot per annos vidit ætas, tantisper certe, dum prisca tota illa mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curæ, quæ scribentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset. Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augusti-

ora faciat. Et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanæ patiantur æquo animo quam imperium patiuntur. Sed hæc et his similia utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine. Ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quæ vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros, quibusque artibus, domi militiæque et partum et auctum imperium sit: labente deinde paulatim disciplina, velut desidentes primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire cœperint præcipites, donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque rei publicæ quod imitere capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec major nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam seræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniæ honos fuerit: adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiæ avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia, invexere. Sed querelæ, ne tum quidem gratæ futuræ, cum forsitan necessariæ erunt, ab initio certe tantæ ordiendæ rei absint. Cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tanti operis successus prosperos darent.

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LIBER I.

I.

The coming of Æneas into Italy. — His reception by Latinus. — Marries Lavinia, the daughter of that monarch. — The Trojans build a town. — Æneas calls it Lavinium, after the name of his wife. — Ascanius born.

Jam primum omnium satis constat, Troja capta in ceteros sævitum esse Trojanos: duobus, Æneæ Antenorique, et vetusti jure hospitii, et quia pacis reddendæque Helenæ semper auctores fuerunt, omne jus belli Achivos abstinuisse. Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi, et sedes et ducem, rege Pylæmene ad Trojam amisso, quærebant, venisse in intimum Adriatici maris sinum; Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsis, Enetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras: et in quem primo egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur, pagoque Trojano inde nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati. Æneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad majora rerum initia ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quærentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troja et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Trojani (ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil præter arma et naves superesset) cum prædam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est. Alii prœlio victum Latinum pacem cum Ænea, deinde adfinitatem junxisse tradunt: alii, cum instructæ acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores, ducemque advenarum evocasse ad colloquium: percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quærentes in agrum Laurentinum exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Trojanos esse, ducem Æneam, filium Anchisæ et Veneris; cremata patria domo profugos, sedem condendæque urbis locum

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quærere; et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra data fidem futuræ amicitiæ sanxisse. Inde fœdus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam. Æneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adjunxisse fœdus, filia Æneæ in matrimonium data. Ea utique res Trojanis spem adfirmat tandem stabili certaque sede finiendi erroris: oppidum condunt; Æneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirps quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

II.

War with Turnus, king of the Rutuli, on account of Lavinia.—The Rutuli are vanquished, but Latinus is slain.—Turnus forms an alliance with Mezentius, king of Etruria, against the Trojans and Aborigines.—A battle ensues.—The Etrurians and Rutuli are defeated, but Æneas is slain.—He is buried on the banks of the river Numicius.

Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique simul petiti. Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Æneæ fuerat, prælatum sibi advenam ægre patiens, simul Æneæ Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies læta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli, victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique, diffisi rebus, ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque, regem eorum, confugiunt, qui, Cære opulento tum oppido imperitans, jam inde ab initio minime lætus novæ origine urbis, et tum nimio plus, quam satis tutum esset accolis, rem Trojanam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. Æneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem, ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, nec sub eodem jure solum, sed etiam nomine, omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Trojanis studio ac fide erga regem Æneam cessere: fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Æneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut jam non terras solum, sed mare etiam per totam Italiæ longitudinem, ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum, fama nominis sui implesset, tamen, cum

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mœnibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde prœlium Latinis; Æneæ etiam ultimum mortalium operum fuit. Situs est (quemcumque eum dici jus fasque est) super Numicium fluvium. Jovem indigetem appellant.

III.

Regency of Lavinia. — Ascanius, on coming of age, leaves Lavinium to his mother, and builds Alba Longa, where he reigns. — He is succeeded by Silvius. — Line of Alban kings. — Legend of Numitor and Amulius.

Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Æneæ filius erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem ætatem incolume mansit: tantisper tutela muliebri (tanta indoles in Lavinia erat), res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam (quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet?) hicine fuerit Ascanius, an major quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus, comesque inde paternæ fugæ, quem Iulum eundem Julia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus (certe natum Ænea constat), abundante Lavinii multitudine florentem jam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercæ reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quæ, ab situ porrectæ in dorso urbis, Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam deductam coloniam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant, maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Æneæ, nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum pueri regni, movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut ulli alii accolæ ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in silvis natus: is Æneam Silvium creat; is deinde Latinum Silvium: ab eo coloniæ aliquot deductæ, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albæ regnaverunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui, in trajectu Albulæ amnis submersus, celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit.

Agrippa inde, Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius, a patre accepto imperio, regnat. Aventino, fulmine ipse ictus, regnum per manus tradidit. Is, sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc pars Romanæ est urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat; Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviæ gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit, quam voluntas patris aut verecundia ætatis: pulso fratre, Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus: stirpem fratris virilem interimit; fratris filiæ Reæ Silviæ per speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

IV.

Legend of Rea Silvia, daughter of Numitor and mother by Mars of Romulus and Remus. — The children suckled by a she-wolf. — Brought up by Faustulus, keeper of the king's flock. — Their early pursuits.

Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantæ origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa Vestalis, cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpæ honestior erat, Martem incertæ stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii, nec homines, aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant. Sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet. Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis, nec adiri usquam ad justi cursum poterat amnis; et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat. Ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima adluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est (Romularem vocatam ferunt), pueros exponunt. Vastæ tum in his locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem, ex montibus qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam submissas infantibus adeo mitem præbuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit. Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt; ab eo ad stabula Larentiæ uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam, vulgato corpore, lupam

inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulæ ac miraculo datum. Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit ætas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto, jam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones præda onustos impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere, et cum his, crescente in dies grege juvenum, seria ac jocos celebrare.

V.

The festival of the Lupercal, as celebrated on the Palatine mount.—Remus, while intent on this sport, taken prisoner by robbers and brought before king Amulius. —True origin of the two youths discovered by Numitor. — Amulius is slain.

Jam tum in Palatino monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo urbe Arcadica Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi juvenes, Lycæum Pana venerantes, per lusum atque lasciviam currerent; quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram prædæ amissæ latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse, ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri; inde eos, collecta juvenum manu, hostilem in modum prædas agere. Sic ad supplicium Numitori Remus deditur. Jam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari: nam et expositos jussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam, nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem, aperiri noluerat. Necessitas prior venit: ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet, audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et ætatem eorum, et ipsam minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non

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cum globo juvenum (nec enim erat ad apertam vim par), sed aliis alio itinere jussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem impetum facit; et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adjuvat Remus: ita regem obtruncant.

VI.

An assembly of the people called. — Numitor discloses to them the whole affair. — The people acknowledge him as king. — He reigns at Alba. — Romulus and Remus resolve to found a new city on the spot where they had been exposed and brought up.

Numitor inter primum tumultum hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem præsidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam juvenes perpetrata cæde pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio, scelus in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, cædem deinceps tyranni seque ejus auctorem ostendit. Juvenes, per mediam contionem agmine ingressi, cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi effecit.

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendæ. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque. Ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium præ ea urbe, quæ conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus, avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde fœdum certamen coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent, nec ætatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelæ ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novæ urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum, ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

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VII.

Quarrel between Romulus and Remus. — Remus is slain by his brother. — The new city called Rome from its founder Romulus. — Legend of Hercules, Cacus, and Evander. — Legend of the Potitii and Pinarii.

Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures; jamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo sese ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat. Tempore illi præcepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad cædem vertuntur. Ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset "sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet mœnia mea," interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit; sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Græco Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca, Geryone interempto, boves mira specie abegisse memorant, ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua præ se armentum agens nando trajecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo læto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola ejus loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum, cum avertere eam prædam vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quærentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus, cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quæ ubi omnia foras versa vidit, nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro armentum occepit. Inde cum actæ boves quædam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox

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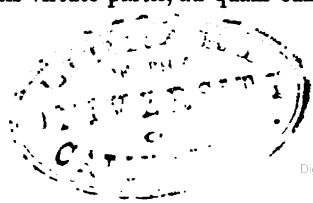
Herculem convertit. Quem cum ad speluncam vadentem Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava, fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans, morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca; venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum, rei novæ inter rudes artium homines, venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentæ matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllæ in Italiam adventum miratæ eæ gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander, concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestæ reum cædis excitus, postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque humana intuens, rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, "Jove nate, Hercules, salve" inquit; "te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum cælestium numerum cecinit, tibique aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens Maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat." Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata, ara condita ac dicata, ait. Ibi tum primum, bove eximia capta de grege, sacrum Herculi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quæ tum familiæ maxime inclutæ ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus præsto essent, hisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii, ab Evandro edocti, antistites sacri ejus per multas ætates fuerunt, donec, tradito servis publicis sollemni familiæ ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Hæc tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, jam tum immortalitatis virtute partæ, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.



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VIII.

Code of Laws for the new city. —Asylum opened. —Senate of one hundred established.

Rebus divinis rite perpetratis, vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quæ coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re præterquam legibus poterat, jura dedit; quæ ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis, fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quæ augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant: me haud pœnitet eorum sententiæ esse, quibus et apparitores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga prætexta sumpta est, et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint. Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appendo loca, cum in spem magis futuræ multitudinis, quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adjiciendæ multitudinis causa, vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui, obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem, natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit; idque primum ad cœptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum jam virium haud pœniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat: centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent: patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

IX.

Legend of the rape of the Sabine women.

Jam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis ætatem duratura

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magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis connubia essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem connubiumque novo populo peterent: Urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii juvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis scire, origini Romanæ et deos adfuisse, et non defuturam virtutem: proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant: ac plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent; id enim demum compar connubium fore. Ægre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad vim spectare res cœpit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, ægritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnes; Consualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum jubet; quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant concelebrant, ut rem claram exspectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndæ novæ urbis, maxime proximi quique, Cæninenses Crustumini Antemnates: jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac conjugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos, cum situm mœniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditæque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis; signoque dato juventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem quæque inciderat, raptæ; quasdam forma excellentes, primoribus patrum destinatas, ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Unam, longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem, a globo Thalassii cujusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Thalassio ferri clamitatum: inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam. Turbato per metum ludicro, mæsti parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati

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hospitii fœdus, deumque invocantes, cujus ad sollemne lu-
dosque, per fas ac fidem decepti, venissent. Nec raptis aut
spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Ro-
mulus circumibat, docebatque patrum id superbia factum,
qui connubium finitimis negassent: illas tamen in matrimo-
nio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et, quo
nihil carius humano generi sit, liberûm fore: mollirent modo
iras, et quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos: sæpe
ex injuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque melioribus usu-
ras viris, quod adnisurus pro se quisque sit, ut, cum suam
vicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam patriæque expleat
desiderium. Accedebant blanditiæ virorum, factum purgan-
tium cupiditate atque amore, quæ maxime ad muliebre in-
genium efficaces preces sunt.

X.

War with the neighboring communities. — Defeat of the Cæninenses. —Spolia Opima offered to Jupiter Feretrius.

Jam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querelis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium regem Sabinorum; et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, conveniebant. Cæninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos ejus injuriæ pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt: ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Cæninensium satis se impigre movent. Ita per se ipsum nomen Cæninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in prœlio obtruncat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso, urbem primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium cæsi suspensa fa-

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bricato ad id apte ferculo gerens, in Capitolium escendit, ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Jovis fines cognomenque addidit deo. "Jupiter Feretri" inquit, "hæc tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis, quæ regibus ducibusque hostium cæsis, me auctorem sequentes, posteri ferent." Hæc templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romæ sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine compotum ejus doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit.

XI.

The Antemnates invade the Roman territories. — Are defeated. — Their town taken. — Crustumini defeated. — Colonies sent to Antemnæ and Crustuminum. — War with the Sabines. — Legend of Tarpeia. — Citadel taken by the Sabines.

Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum; duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia conjunx precibus raptarum fatigata, orat, ut parentibus earum det veniam, et in civitatem accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordia posse. Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus, bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniæ missæ: plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem terræ in Crustuminum nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit: nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Spurius Tarpeius Romanæ præerat

arci. Hujus filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat. Aquam forte ea tum sacris extra mœnia petitum ierat. Accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabulæ, quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio lævo, gemmatosque magna specie anulos, habuerint, pepigisse eam quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt qui eam, ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus esset, de recto arma petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.

XII.

Battle between the Romans and Sabines.—Romans give way.—Romulus vows a temple to Jupiter Stator.—Battle renewed.—Advantage on the side of the Romans.

Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini; atque inde postero die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus, quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est, complesset, non prius descenderunt in æquum, quam, ira et cupiditate recuperandæ arcis stimulante animos in adversum Romani subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant, ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audacia sustinebat. Ut Hostius cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies, fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus, et ipse turba fugientium actus, arma ad cælum tollens "Jupiter, tuis" inquit "jussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta jeci. Arcem jam scelere emptam Sabini habent; inde huc armati, superata media valle, tendunt. At tu, pater deûm hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes; deme terrorem Romanis, fugamque fœdam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Jovi, quod monumentum sit posteris, tua præsenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo." Hæc precatus, velut si sensisset auditas preces, "Hinc" inquit, "Romani, Jupiter Optimus Maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam jubet." Restitere Romani tamquam cœlesti voce jussi: ipse

ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusos egerat Romanos toto quantum foro spatium est. Nec procul jam a porta Palatii erat, clamitans "Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes. Jam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris." In eum hæc gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum juvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat: eo pelli facilius fuit; pulsum Romani persequuntur, et alia Romana aciês, audacia regis accensa, fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese, strepitu sequentium trepidante equo, conjecit; averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem, adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis, favore multorum addito animo, evadit. Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant prœlium, sed res Romana erat superior.

XIII.

Reconciliation brought about by the Sabine women.—Sabines and Romans become one people.—Division of the people into Curiæ.—Three centuries of Equites enrolled.

Tum Sabinæ mulieres, quarum ex injuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausæ se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne sanguine se nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberûm progeniem. "Si adfinitatis inter vos, si connubii piget, in nos vertite iras. Nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac cædium viris ac parentibus sumus. Melius peribimus, quam sine alteris vestrum viduæ aut orbæ vivemus." Movet res cum multitudinem tum duces: silentium et repentina fit quies. Inde ad fœdus faciendum duces prodeunt: nec pacem modo sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt; regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum ejus pugnæ, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equum Curtius in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

Ex bello tam tristi læta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque, cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus major hoc mulierum fuerit, ætate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectæ sint, quæ nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriæ tres equitum conscriptæ sunt: Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

XIV.

King Tatius slain at Lavinium.—War with the Fidenates.—Romans victorious, and Fidenæ taken.

Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Laurentium pulsant; cumque Laurentes jure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum pœnam in se vertit: nam Lavinii, cum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto interficitur. Eam rem minus ægre, quam dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud injuria cæsum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit: ut tamen expiarentur legatorum injuriæ regisque cædes, fœdus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est. Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Juventute armata immissa, vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est. Inde ad lævam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem illatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus Romulus (neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat) exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico præsidio relicto egressus omnibus copiis, partem militum locis circa, densa ob sita virgulta obscuris, subsidere in insidiis jussit;

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cum parte majore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quærebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnæ, adequitando ipsis prope portis, hostem excivit. Fugæ quoque, quæ simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum, velut inter pugnæ fugæque consilium trepidante equitatu, pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes, impulsa Romana acie, studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum, qui in præsidio relicti fuerant: ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates, prius pæne quam Romulus, quique cum eo equites erant, circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt multoque effusius (quippe vera fuga), qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuere se hosti: hærens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum objicerentur velut agmine uno irrumpit.

XV.

The Veientes invade the Roman territory.—The Romans subsequently enter the territory of Veii, and prove victorious, but make no attempt on the city itself.—Peace between the two communities.

Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate (nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt), et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam justi more belli: itaque non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris prædam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimæ instructus intentusque, Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de tectis mœnibusque dimicarent. Ibi, viribus nulla arte adjutis, tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit, persecutusque fusos ad mœnia hostes, urbe, valida muris ac situ ipso munita, abstinuit; agros re-

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diens vastat ulciscendi magis quam prædæ studio: eaque clade haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos indutiæ datæ.

Hæc ferme, Romulo regnante, domi militiæque gesta; quorum nihil absonum fidei divinæ originis divinitatisque post mortem creditæ fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendæ urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandæ: ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis: trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

XVI.

Legend of the death of Romulus, and his deification.

His immortalibus editis operibus, cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Capræ paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes, sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen, velut orbitatis metu icta, mæstum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto, deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanæ salvere universi Romulum jubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent (manavit enim hæc quoque sed perobscura fama): illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor præsens nobilitavit. Consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Julius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quam-

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vis magnæ rei auctor in contionem prodit. "Romulus" inquit, "Quirites, parens urbis hujus, prima hodierna luce cœlo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset: abi, nuntia, inquit, Romanis, cœlestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit: proinde rem militarem colant; sciantque, et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse." "Hæc" inquit "locutus sublimis abiit." Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti hæc fidei fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.

XVII.

Contest between the different races respecting a successor to the throne. — Interregnum. — Dissatisfaction of the people. — Politic conduct of the Senate.

Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat. Necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat: factionibus, inter ordines, certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate æqua possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum experta. Timor deinde patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatium irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum patres, decem decuriis factis, singulisque in singulas decurias creatis, qui summæ rerum præessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinûm dierum spatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem, et ab ipsis crea-

tum, videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ultro rati quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt, summa potestate populo permissa, ut non plus darent juris quam retinerent. Decreverunt enim, ut, cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem jus, vi adempta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt. Tum interrex, contione advocata, "Quod bonum faustum felixque sit" inquit, "Quirites, regem create: ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearitis, auctores fient." Adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modo sciscerent juberentque, ut senatus decerneret qui Romæ regnaret.

XVIII.

Character of Numa Pompilius.—He is chosen as successor to Romulus.—Form of inauguration.

Incluta justitia religioque ea tempestate Numæ Pompilii erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse ætate poterat, omnis divini atque humani juris. Auctorem doctrinæ ejus, quia non exstat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem, Servio Tullio regnante Romæ, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiæ ora, circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona, juvenum æmulantium studia cœtus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi ejusdem ætatis fuisset, qua fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguæ commercio, quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quove præsidio unus per tot gentes, dissonas sermone moribusque, pervenisset? Suopte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus, quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito nomine Numæ patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos, rege inde sumpto, videbantur, tamen, neque se quisquam, nec factionis suæ alium, nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam præ-

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ferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numæ Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli jussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi, prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, lævas ad septemtrionem esse dixit. Signum contra, quo longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit. Tum, lituo in lævam manum translato, dextra in caput Numæ imposita, precatus ita est: "Jupiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cujus ego caput teneo, regem Romæ esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines, quos feci." Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quæ mitti vellet: quibus missis, declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

XIX.

Numa sets about establishing the city anew on the principles of laws and morals.—Builds the temple of Janus, the gate of which he closes, there being peace with all the neighboring communities.—Legend of the goddess Egeria.

Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, jure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Janum ad infimum Argiletum, indicem pacis bellique, fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numæ regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum bellum; iteram, quod nostræ ætati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Cæsare Augusto, pace terra marique parta. Clauso eo, cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac fœderibus junxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum

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curis, ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam, et illis sæculis rudem, efficacissimam, deorum metum injiciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse: ejus se monitu, quæ acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum præficere. Atque omnium primum, ad cursus lunæ in duodecim menses describit annum; quem, quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno ad metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatiis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

XX.

Numa appoints various ministers of religion. — Institutes Vestal Virgins, in imitation of those at Alba. — The Salii, or priests of Mars. — The Pontifex Maximus, his powers and duties.

Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quæ nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numæ similes reges putabat fore, ituque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiæ vicis desererentur, flaminem Jovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adjecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino. Virginesque Vestæ legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium, et genti conditoris haud alienum. His, ut adsiduæ templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit; virginitate aliisque cærimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit, tunicæque pictæ insigne dedit, et super tunicam æneum pectori tegumen; cœlestiaque arma, quæ ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu jussit. Pontificem deinde

Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit; quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quæ templa, sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subjecit, ut esset, quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini juris neglegendo patrios ritus, peregrinosque adsciscendo, turbaretur. Nec cœlestes modo cærimonias, sed justa quoque funebria, placandosque manes, ut idem pontifex edoceret, quæque prodigia, fulminibus aliove quo visu missa, susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Jovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit, deumque consuluit auguriis, quæ suscipienda essent.

XXI.

Altered aspect of Rome.—Violence and arms succeeded by religious feelings and observances.—Grove of Egeria and the Muses.—Peace during the whole of Numa's long reign of forty-three years.

Ad hæc consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum adsidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis cœleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum proximo legum ac pœnarum metu civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis velut unici exempli mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violari ducerent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua; quo quia se persæpe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deæ inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum conjuge sua Egeria essent. Et soli Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis, curru arcuato, vehi jussit, manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere; significantes fidem tutandam, sedemque ejus etiam in dextris sacratam esse. Multa alia

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sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quæ Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum ejus operum fuit tutela, per omne regni tempus, haud minor pacis quam regni. Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

XXII.

Tullus Hostilius succeeds. — Rome during his reign reassumes her warlike character. — Quarrel with Alba.

Numæ morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostilii, cujus in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus jussit: patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum ætas viresque tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus, undique materiam excitandi belli quærebat. Forte evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano prædas in vicem agerent. Imperitabat tum Caius Cluilius Albæ. Utrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus præceperat suis, ne quid prius quam mandata agerent: satis sciebat negaturum Albanum: ita pie bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordius res acta: excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores, et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Hæc renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, fecit. Illi, omnium ignari, primum purgando terunt tempus. Se invitos quicquam, quod minus placeat Tullo, dicturos, sed imperio subigi: res repetitum se venisse; ni reddantur, bellum indicere jussos. Ad hæc Tullus "nuntiate" inquit "regi vestro, regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant hujusce clades belli."

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XXIII.

War between Rome and Alba.—Death of the Alban king.—A dictator, Fufetius, appointed by the Albans.—His proposal to Tullus to decide the quarrel without much bloodshed on either side.—A plan arranged accordingly.

Hæc nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Trojanam utramque prolem, cum Lavinium ab Troja, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit; quod nec acie certatum est, et, tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis, duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passuum locant, fossa circumdant: fossa Cluilii ab nomine ducis per aliquot sæcula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox præcipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum pœnas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte, præteritis hostium castris, infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettium: ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest. Inde legatum præmissum nuntiare Tullo jubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio: si secum congressus sit, satis scire, ea se adlaturum, quæ nihilo minus ad rem Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana adferebantur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani. Postquam structi utrimque stabant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit Albanus: "Injurias et non redditas res, ex fœdere quæ repetitæ sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilium causam hujusce esse belli audisse videor; nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem præ te ferre. Sed, si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque, recte an perperam, inter-

pretor: fuerit ista ejus deliberatio, qui bellum suscepit. Me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim. Etrusca res, quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis, hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto, jam cum signum pugnæ dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul victorem ac victum, adgrediantur. Itaque si nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa, in dubiam imperii servitiique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, qua, utri utris imperent, sine magna clade sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit." Haud displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi, tum spe victoriæ, ferocior erat. Quærentibus utrimque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa præbuit materiam.

XXIV.

Legend of the Horatii and Curiatii.—Description of the ancient mode of concluding a solemn compact.

Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fratres, nec ætate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior: tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt: plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinat animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur. Tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, fœdus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cujusque populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret. Fœdera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior fœderis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit: "Jubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani fœdus ferire?" jubente rege "sagmina" inquit "te, rex, posco." Rex ait: "puram tollito." Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit. Postea regem

ita rogavit: "Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium? vasa comitesque meos?" Rex respondit: "Quod sine fraude mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio." Fetialis erat M. Valerius. Is patrem patratum Spurium Fusium fecit, verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad jusjurandum patrandum id est sanciendum fit fœdus; multisque id verbis, quæ longo effata carmine non operæ est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis "Audi" inquit, "Jupiter; audi, pater patrate populi Albani; audi tu, populus Albanus. Ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt, sine dolo malo, utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico consilio, dolo malo, tum illo die, Jupiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque." Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque jusjurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

XXV.

Combat between the Horatii and Curiatii.

Fœdere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quidquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suopte ingenio, et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis præsentis quam curæ expertes: quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum: itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo incenduntur. Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut

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primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit; et, neutro inclinata spe, torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus, cum jam non motus tantum corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus sineret. Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes; unum haud procul ab sese abesse: in eum magno impetu rediit; et, dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, uti opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius, cæso hoste victor, secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adjuvant militem suum; et ille defungi prœlio festinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Jamque æquato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares: alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabant, alter, fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage, victori objicitur hosti. Nec illud prœlium fuit. Romanus exsultans "duos" inquit "fratrum Manibus dedi; tertium causæ belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo." Male sustinenti arma gladium superne jugulo defigit, jacentem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt, eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri ditionis alienæ facti. Sepulcra exstant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco pro-

pius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

XXVI.

Horatius, returning victorious, slays his own sister in a sudden burst of anger. — Duumviri appointed to try him. — He is condemned, but appeals to the people, who acquit him.

Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettio, ex fœdere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti juventutem in armis habeat: usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina spolia præ se gerens; cui soror virgo, quæ desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit; cognitoque super humeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines, et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet feroci juveni animum comploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans, transfigit puellam. "Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum" inquit, "oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriæ. Sic eat quæcumque Romana lugebit hostem." Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique; sed recens meritum facto obstabat: tamen raptus in jus ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratique ad vulgus judicii, aut, secundum judicium, supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato "Duumviros" inquit, "qui Horatio perduellionem judicent secundum legem facio." Lex horrendi carminis erat: "duumviri perduellionem judicent. Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato. Si vincent, caput obnubito; infelici arbori reste suspendito; verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium." Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege, ne innoxium quidem, posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex his "Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem judico" inquit: "I, lictor, colliga manus." Accesserat lictor injiciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius, auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, "Provoco" inquit. Ita de provocatione certatum ad populum est. Moti homi-

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nes sunt in eo judicio, maxime Publio Horatio patre proclamante, se filiam jure cæsam judicare: ni ita esset, patrio jure in filium animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. Inter hæc senex juvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur, ostentans, "Huncine" aiebat, "quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis, quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent? I, lictor, colliga manus, quæ paulo ante armatæ imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis hujus; arbore infelici suspende; verbera vel intra pomerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatiorum. Quo enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum e tanta fœditate supplicii vindicent?" Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum; absolveruntque, admiratione magis virtutis quam jure causæ. Itaque, ut cædes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is, quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quæ deinde genti Horatiæ tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto velut sub jugum misit juvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet; sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiæ sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

XXVII.

Mettius, the Alban dictator, secretly stirs up the Fidenates and Veientes against the Romans. — His treacherous conduct in the time of battle. — His

Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrupit; et, quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos cœpit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quærens, quia suæ civitati animorum plus

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treachery defeated by the skill of Tullus.

quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos; suis per speciem societatis proditionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Cum Fidenæ aperte descissent, Tullus, Mettio exercituque ejus ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem dirigit suos; Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei: nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem, fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques, citato equo, nuntiat regi, abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios, fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in prœlium jubet: nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo jussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant. Eidem imperat, ut hastas equites erigere jubeat. Id factum magnæ parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersepsit. Qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit: et audiverant clara voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant. Itaque, ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus, fusoque Fidenatium cornu, in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum; sed ab effusa fuga flumen objectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit, alii

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arma fœde jactantes in aquam cæci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugæ pugnæque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

XXVIII.

Tullus exposes to the Roman army, in a set speech, the treachery of Mettius.—Signifies his intention of punishing Mettius, and also of transplanting all the inhabitants of Alba to Rome.—Mettius put to death on the spot.

Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris jungere jubet; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi illuxit, paratis omnibus ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum jubet. Præcones ab extremo orsi primos excivere Albanos. Hi, novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum contionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana legio: centurionibus datum negotium erat, ut sine mora imperia exsequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit: "Romani, si umquam ante alias, ullo in bello, fuit, quod primum dîs immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestræ (ipsorum) virtuti, hesternum id prœlium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quæ dimicatio major atque periculosior est, cum proditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, injussu meo Albani subiere ad montes; nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit, ut nec, vobis ignorantibus deseri vos, averteretur a certamine animus; et hostibus, circumveniri se ab tergo ratis, terror ac fuga injiceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, omnium Albanorum est: ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris hujus, Mettius idem hujus machinator belli, Mettius fœderis Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne jam documentum mortalibus dedero." Centuriones armati Mettium circumsistunt. Rex cetera ut orsus erat peragit: "Quod bonum,

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faustum, felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi, vobisque, Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est; civitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere; unam urbem, unam rem publicam facere. Ut ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum redeat." Ad hæc Albana pubes, inermis ab armatis septa, in variis voluntatibus, communi tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus "Metti Fufeti," inquit, "si ipse discere posses fidem ac fœdera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset: Nunc, quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, quæ a te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita jam corpus passim distrahendum dabis." Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis, in currus earum distentum illigat Mettium; deinde in diversum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua inhæserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes ab tanta fœditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuisse pœnas.

XXIX.

Removal of the Albans to Rome. — Destruction of Alba. — The temples alone spared.

Inter hæc jam præmissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductæ ad diruendam urbem. Quæ ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille, nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum, effractis portis, stratisve ariete muris, aut arce vi capta, clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet; sed silentium triste ac tacita mœstitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut, præ metu obliti, quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio, rogitantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud visuri, pervagarentur. Ut vero jam equitum clamor exire juben-

tium instabat, jam fragor tectorum, quæ diruebantur ultimis urbis partibus, audiebatur, pulvisque, ex distantibus locis ortus, velut nube inducta omnia impleverat; raptim, quibus quisque poterat, elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent, jam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas. Vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum præcipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta præterirent, ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbem Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adæquat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templis tamen deûm (ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat) temperatum est.

XXX.

Albans incorporated with the Roman state.—Cælian mount added to the city.—War with the Sabines.—Defeat of the latter.

Roma interim crescit Albæ ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus. Cælius additur urbi mons; et, quo frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiæ capit, ibique deinde habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque pars rei publicæ cresceret, legit; Tullios, Servilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios; templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quæ Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum ætatem appellata est. Et, ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adjiceretur, equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit, et novas scripsit.

Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimæ viris armisque. Utrimque injuriæ factæ ac res nequiquam erant repetitæ: Tullus ad Feroniæ fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos querebatur; Sabini suos prius in lucum confugisse ac Romæ retentos. Hæ causæ belli ferebantur. Sabini, haud parum memores, et suarum virium partem Romæ ab Tatio locatam, et Romanam rem nuper

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etiam adjectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina; proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde, ob residuas bellorum iras maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem animis, voluntarios traxere; at apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit. Publico auxilio nullo adjuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes (nam de ceteris minus mirum est) pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides. Cum bellum utrimque summa ope pararent, vertique in eo res videretur, utri prius arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad silvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterum equitatu aucto nuper, plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repente invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum; nec pugna deinde illis constare, nec fuga explicari sine magna cæde potuit.

XXXI.

Shower of stones on the Alban mount.—Festival of nine days instituted.—A pestilence.—Tullus Hostilius is killed by lightning, after a reign of thirty-two years.

Devictis Sabinis, cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse. Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu, haud aliter quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere cœlo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quæ, velut diis quoque simul cum patria relictis, oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant, aut fortunæ, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant deûm. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novemdiale sacrum publice susceptum est; seu voce cœlesti ex Albano monte missa (nam id quoque traditur) seu haruspicum monitu. Mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriæ per novem dies agerentur. Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde cum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiæ quam domi juvenum

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corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquo morbo est implicatus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgo jam homines, eum statum rerum, qui sub Numa rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem ægris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata esset, credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem commentarios Numæ, cum ibi quædam occulta sollemnia sacrificia Jovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum his sacris se abdidisse; sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam cœlestium speciem, sed ira Jovis sollicitati prava religione, fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

XXXII.

Ancus Marcius succeeds.—Turns his attention to the public ceremonies of religion, which had been either neglected or not properly performed.—Establishes the mode of demanding restitution previous to a declaration of war.

Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia habente, Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numæ Pompilii regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Marcius erat. Qui ut regnare cœpit, et avitæ gloriæ memor, et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus, aut prave cultis, longe antiquissimum ratus sacra publica, ut ab Numa instituta erant, facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album elata proponere in publico jubet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis, et finitimis civitatibus, facta spes, in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum fœdus erat, sustulerant animos; et cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse

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regnum rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numæ et Romuli memor; et præterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam, quod illi contigisset otium, sine injuria id se haud facile habiturum: temptari patientiam et temptatam contemni, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numæ. Ut tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicæ cærimoniæ proderentur; nec gererentur solum, sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, jus ab antiqua gente Æquiculis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur. Legatus, ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo (lanæ velamen est), "Audi, Jupiter," inquit, "audite, fines" (cujuscumque gentis sunt, nominat), "audiat fas. Ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani: juste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit." Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit: "Si ego injuste impieque illos homines illasque res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriæ compotem me numquam sîris esse." Hæc, cum fines suprascandit, hæc, quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, hæc portam ingrediens, hæc forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis concipiendique jurisjurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deduntur, quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta (tot enim sollemnes sunt) peractis, bellum ita indicit: "Audi Jupiter et tu Juno, Quirine diique omnes cœlestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni audite: ego vos testor, populum illum" (quicumque est, nominat) "injustum esse neque jus persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria majores natu consulemus, quo pacto jus nostrum adipiscamur." Cum his nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex his ferme verbis patres consulebat. "Quarum rerum, litium, causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patre patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari solvi fieri oportuit, dic" inquit ei, quem primum sententiam rogabat, "quid censes?" Tum ille: "puro pioque duello quærendas censeo, itaque con-

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sentio consciscoque." Inde ordine alii rogabantur, quandoque pars major eorum, qui aderant, in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam præustam ad fines eorum ferret, et non minus tribus puberibus præsentibus diceret. " Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt; quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis jussit esse, senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret; ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque." Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitæ res ac bellum indictum; moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

XXXIII.

Politorium, a Latin city, taken by storm, and its inhabitants transferred to Rome. — The Aventine assigned to them. — Total defeat of the Latins, a large number of whom are admitted into the city. — Janiculum added to Rome. — Building of a wooden bridge across the Tiber. — City of Ostia built.

Ancus, demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto profectus, Politorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit; secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit. Et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Cælium montem Albani implessent, Aventinum novæ multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita multo post, Tellenis Ficanaque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini. Eaque causa diruendæ urbis ejus fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremo, omni bello Latino Medullian compulso, aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto, varia victoria, pugnatum est: nam et urbs tuta munitionibus præsidioque firmata valido erat, et, castris in aperto positis, aliquotiens

exercitus Latinus comminus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis connisus Ancus acie primum vincit, inde, ingenti præda potens, Romam redit, tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis; quibus, ut jungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciæ datæ sedes. Janiculum quoque adjectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muniri solum, sed etiam, ob commoditatem itineris, ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, conjungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciæ, media urbe, imminens foro ædificatur. Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque: silva Mæsia Veientibus adempta, usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita: salinæ circa factæ: egregieque rebus bello gestis ædes Jovis Feretrii amplificata.

XXXIV.

Legend of Lucumo. — He migrates to Rome with his wife Tanaquil. — Assumes here the name of L. Tarquinius Priscus. — Becomes very popular. — Appointed by Ancus, in his will, guardian to his children.

Anco regnante, Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris, cujus adipiscendi Tarquiniis (nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat) facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui, ob seditiones domo profugus, cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta, duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri, bonorum omnium heres, Arruns prior quam pater moritur, uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui cum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero, post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato, ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra, omnium

heredi bonorum, cum divitiæ jam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, et quæ haud facile his, in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea, quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem, exsule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitæ erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque una imagine Numæ esse. Facile persuadet, ut cupido honorum, et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Janiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila, suspensis demissa leniter alis, pileum aufert; superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans, rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti apte reponit; inde sublimis abit. Accepisse id augurium læta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, cœlestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum jubet: eam alitem ea regione cœli et ejus dei nuntiam venisse; circa summum culmen hominis auspicium fecisse; levasse humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet. Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinium Priscum edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiæque faciebant; et ipse fortunam benigno adloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando, adjuvabat, donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi, apud regem liberaliter dextereque obeundo officia; in familiaris amicitiæ adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset, et, per omnia expertus, postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

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XXXV.

Tarquinius offers himself as a candidate for the vacant throne.—His speech on that occasion.—Is chosen king.—Increases the number of senators by one hundred.—Marks out the space for the Circus.—Exhibits public games.

Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Jam filii prope puberem ætatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum, et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam, cum, se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romæ peregrinus regnum adfectet: et Tatium non ex peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste, regem factum; et Numam, ignarum urbis, non petentem, in regnum ultro accitum: se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum conjuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; majorem partem ætatis ejus, qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romæ se quam in vetere patria vixisse: domi militiæque sub haud pœnitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se jura, Romanos ritus didicisse: obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse. Hæc eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare jussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est: nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendæ rei publicæ memor, centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Appiolas vi cepit: prædaque inde majore, quam quanta belli fama fuerat, revecta, ludos opulentius instructiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tunc primum Circo, qui nunc Maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati. Spectavere

furcis duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruria maxime acciti. Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis ædificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernæque factæ.

XXXVI.

Roman territory suddenly invaded by the Sabines.—A battle ensues.—Victory undecided.—Tarquinius, feeling his deficiency in cavalry, doubles the number of the equites.—Legend of Attus Navius.

Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum Sabinum bellum cœptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent hostes, quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romæ est. Et primo dubia victoria magna utrimque cæde pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis, datoque spatio Romanis, ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquinius, equitem maxime suis desse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit, suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclutus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, "Age dum" inquit, "divine tu, inaugura, fierine possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio." Cum ille in augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, "Atqui hoc animo agitavi" inquit, "te novacula cotem discissurum: cape hæc, et perage quod aves tuæ fieri posse portendunt." Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio, in gradibus ipsis ad lævam curiæ fuit; cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi ejus monumentum. Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea, nisi auspicato, gereretur; concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum

centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero tantum alterum adjecit, ut mille et ducenti equites in tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores modo sub iisdem nominibus, qui additi erant, appellati sunt; quas nunc, quia geminatæ sunt, sex vocant centurias.

XXXVII.

Second battle with the Sabines.—Latter defeated.—Tarquinius pursues them into their own territory.—Sabines again defeated.—Sue for peace.

Hac parte copiarum aucta, iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed præterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis, qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa jacentem, ardentem in flumen conjicerent; ventoque juvante accensa ligna, et pleraque, in ratibus, impacta sublicis cum hærerent, pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis; et fusis eadem fugam impedit; multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius pæne, quam nuntiari posset, insignem victoriam fecere. Eo prœlio præcipua equitum gloria fuit: utrimque ab cornibus positos, cum jam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones, ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, præda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium (id votum Vulcano erat) ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere. Et, quamquam male gesta res erat, nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite; iterumque ibi fusi, perditis jam prope rebus, pacem petiere.

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XXXVIII.

Collatia taken from the Sabines.—Form of surrender.—Tarquinius subdues the whole Latin nation.—completes the fortifications of the city.—Builds the great sewers.—Levels an area for a temple to Jupiter in the Capitol.

Collatia, et quidquid citra Collatiam agri erat, Sabinis ademptum, Egerius (fratris hic filius erat regis) Collatiæ in præsidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio, eamque deditionis formulam esse. Rex interrogavit: "Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino, ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis?" Sumus. "Estne populus Collatinus in sua potestate?" Est. "Deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia, in meam populique Romani ditionem?" Dedimus. "At ego recipio." Bello Sabino perfecto, Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad universæ rei dimicationem ventum est, ad singula oppida circumferendo arma, omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, hæc de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta. Majore inde animo pacis opera inchoata, quam quanta mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset, quam militiæ fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cujus exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, qua nondum munierat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccat; et aream ad ædem in Capitolio Jovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, jam præsagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis.

XXXIX.

Legend of Servius Tullius.—Another account given by Livy.

Eo tempore in regia prodigium visu eventuque mirabile fuit. Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt

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—Tarquinius betroths his daughter to him.

multorum in conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantæ rei miraculum orto excitos reges; et, cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum: sedatoque jam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum, donec sua sponte experrectus esset: mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil "Viden' tu puerum hunc" inquit, "quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet, hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum, præsidiumque regiæ adflictæ. Proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris, omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus." Inde puerum liberûm loco cœptum haberi, erudirique artibus, quibus ingenia ad magnæ fortunæ cultum excitantur. Evenit facile, quod diis cordi esset: juvenis evasit vere indolis regiæ. Nec, cum quæreretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanæ juventutis ulla arte conferri potuit; filiamque ei suam rex despondit. Hic, quacumque de causa, tantus illi honos habitus credere prohibet, serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiæ sum, qui, Corniculo capto, Servii Tullii, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romæ edidisse, Prisci Tarquinii domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse: fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.

XL.

Servius Tullius in the highest esteem, not only with the king, but also with the Senate and people. — Tarquinius Priscus slain

Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare cœperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo, sed apud patres plebemque, longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant, se patrio regno tutoris fraude pul-

at the instigation of the sons of Ancus.

sos, regnare Romæ advenam, non modo vicinæ sed ne Italicæ quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed præceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quam Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis, tum præcipue id domus suæ dedecus fore, si, Anci regis virili stirpe salva, non modo advenis, sed servis etiam, regnum Romæ pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et injuriæ dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat; et quia gravior ultor cædis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus; tum, Servio occiso, quemcumque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur. Ob hæc ipsi regi insidiæ parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiæ, quam potuere tumultuosissime, specie rixæ in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt. Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent, clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari, et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore, et jussi in vicem dicere, tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem ex composito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput dejecit; relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras ejiciunt.

XLI.

Tanaquil fully equal to the emergency.—Her address to Servius Tullius, exhorting him to assume the supreme power.—Her advice followed.—Servius

Tarquinium moribundum cum qui circa erant excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam jubet, arbitros ejecit: simul, quæ curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat; si-

Tullius takes possession of the sovereignty by the consent of the Senate, without waiting for the authority of the people.

mul, si destituat spes, alia præsidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum pæne exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne ultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. "Tuum est" inquit, "Servi, si vir es, regnum; non eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te, deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa cœlestis excitet flamma; nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere." Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte ædium per fenestras in novam viam versus (habitabat enim rex ad Jovis Statoris) populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Jubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu; ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; jam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus abterso cruore: omnia salubria esse. Confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros: interim Servio Tullio jubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum jura redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea et lictoribus prodit; ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum jam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte, per speciem alienæ fungendæ vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam factum est, comploratione in regia orta. Servius præsidio firmo munitus, primus injussu populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi jam tum, cum comprensi sceleris ministri sunt, ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servii nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

XLII.

Servius gives his two daughters in marriage to the young princes Lucius

Nec jam publicis magis consiliis Servius, quam privatis, munire opes. Et ne, qualis Anci liberûm animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquinii liberûm esset,

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and Arruns, the sons of Tarquinius.—Routs the Veientes and Etruscans.—Institutes the census.—Divides the people into classes and centuries.

duas filias juvenibus regiis Lucio atque Arrunti Tarquiniis jungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportune ad præsentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus (jam enim indutiæ exierant) aliisque Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tullii; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu, haud dubius rex, seu patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit. Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut, quem ad modum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæque aliquid interlucet, posteri fama ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio; ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu descripsit, vel paci decorum vel bello.

XLIII.

Arrangement of classes and centuries.—The four Roman tribes.—Subsequent increase of the number.

Ex iis, qui centum milium æris aut majorem censum haberent, octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac juniorum: prima classis omnes appellati. Seniores ad urbis custodiam ut præsto essent, juvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreæ, lorica, omnia ex ære: hæc ut tegumenta corporis essent; tela in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additæ huic classi duæ fabrûm centuriæ, quæ sine armis stipendia facerent: datum munus ut machinas in bello ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta; et ex iis, senioribus junioribusque, viginti conscriptæ centuriæ. Arma imperata scutum pro clipeo, et præter loricam omnia eadem. Tertiæ classis in quinquaginta milium censum esse voluit.

Totidem centuriæ et hæc, eodemque discrimine ætatium factæ; nec de armis quicquam mutatum, ocreæ tantum ademptæ. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium, totidem centuriæ factæ. Arma mutata: nihil præter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta, centuriæ triginta factæ. Fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. In his accensi, cornicines, tubicinesque, in tres centurias distributi. Undecim milibus hæc classis censebatur. Hoc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit: inde una centuria facta est immunis militia. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub iisdem, quibus inauguratæ erant, nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia æris ex publico data; et, quibus equos alerent, viduæ attributæ, quæ bina milia æris in annos singulos penderent. Hæc omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera. Deinde est honos additus: non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium eadem vi eodemque jure promisce omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque excludsus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primæ classis centuriæ. Ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut secundæ classis vocarentur; (nec fere umquam infra ita descenderunt, ut ad infimos pervenirent.) Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est, post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero, centuriis juniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque, quæ habitabantur partes, eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror a tributo; nam ejus quoque æqualiter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est. (Neque eæ tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuere.

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XLIV.

Lustration of the whole people in the Campus Martius.—The Quirinal and Viminal hills added to the city.—The Esquiline enlarged.—The city surrounded with a rampart, a moat, and a wall.—The term pomœrium explained.

Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latæ cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit, ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis, in campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit; idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur: adjicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum qui arma ferre possent, eum numerum fuisse. Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque: inde deinceps auget Esquilias; ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem: ita pomœrium profert. Pomœrium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmœrium interpretantur esse: est autem magis circa murum locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte ædificia mœnibus continuarentur, quæ nunc vulgo etiam conjungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset, quam quod murus post id, pomœrium Romani appellarunt. Et in urbis incremento semper, quantum mœnia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

XLV.

Temple of Diana erected on the Aventine.—Legend connected with this temple.

Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Jam tum erat inclutum Dianæ

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Ephesiæ fanum: id communiter a civitatibus Asiæ factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter proceres Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria junxerat: sæpe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romæ fanum Dianæ populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat. Id quamquam omissum jam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infeliciter temptatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiæ dicitur, miranda magnitudine ac specie, fixa per multas ætates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianæ monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est; et cecinere vates, cujus civitatis eam cives Dianæ immolassent, ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianæ. Sabinus, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianæ, et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimæ celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita adloquitur: "Quidnam tu hospes paras?" inquit "inceste sacrificium Dianæ facere? quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? infima valle præfluit Tiberis." Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat Dianæ bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

XLVI.

Servius lays the question of his right to reign before the people.—The latter declare him king with great unanimity.—Designs of young Tarquin

Servius, quamquam jam usu haud dubie regnum possederat, tamen, quia interdum jactari voces a juvene Tarquinio audiebat se injussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis, agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent juberentne se regnare; tantoque consensu, quanto haud quis-

on the throne.—Account of the two brothers.—Domestic tragedy.

quam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem adfectandi regni minuit: immo eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse juvenis ardentis animi, et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut tædio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius (Prisci Tarquinii regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim) fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquinium, mitis ingenii juvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duæ Tulliæ regis filiæ nupserant, et ipsæ longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur, fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii regnum esset, constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiæ in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse: tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit malum malo aptissimum: sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum cælibem futurum fuisse contendere, quam cum impari jungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adolescentem suæ temeritatis implet. Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante.

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XLVII.

Tarquin, instigated especially by the ambitious solicitations of his wife, and having formed a party among the patricians, seizes upon the supreme power.

Tum vero in dies infestior Tullii senectus, infestius cœpit regnum esse. Jam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus; nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita præterita parricidia essent. Non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret: defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquinii filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet. "Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello: sin minus, eo nunc pejus mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est: di te penates patriique, et patris imago, et domus regia, et in domo regale solium, et nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad hæc parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium juvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinios aut Corinthum; devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratri similior quam patri." His aliisque increpando juvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres; admonere paterni beneficii, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; adlicere donis juvenes; cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo, ut jam agendæ rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum irrupit. Inde omnibus perculsis pavore, in regia sede pro curia sedens, patres in curiam per præconem ad regem Tarquinium citari jussit. Convenere extemplo, alii jam ante ad hoc præparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti et jam de Servio actum

rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus; servum servaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno ut antea inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienæ honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quæ communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

XLVIII.

Tarquinius hurls Servius down the steps of the Senate House, and then sends persons to slay him when returning wounded to his home. — Unnatural conduct of Tullia.—Reign of Servius had lasted forty-four years.

Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset, trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiæ magna voce "Quid hoc" inquit, "Tarquini, rei est? qua tu audacia, me vivo, vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considere mea?" Cum ille ferociter ad hæc, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiorem filium regis regni heredem; satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis; clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque regnaturum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate jam etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et ætate et viribus validior medium arripit Servium, elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus dejecit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam rediit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum: ipse prope exsanguis cum sine regio comitatu domum se reciperet, ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliæ id factum: carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta, nec reverita cœtum virorum, evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima appellavit: a quo facessere jussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet,

pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarium eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is, qui jumenta agebat, jacentemque dominæ Servium trucidatum ostendit. Fœdum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens, agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac cædis paternæ cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui; quibus iratis malo regni principio, similes prope diem exitus sequerentur. Servius Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis æmulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandæ patriæ consilia agitanti intervenisset.

XLIX.

Accession of Tarquinius.—Surnamed Superbus from his haughtiness and cruelty.—Puts to death the principal senators.—Takes a body-guard.—Assumes absolute power, treating with neglect both the Senate and people.—Forms connections among the Latins.

Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servii rebus favisse credebat, interfecit. Conscius deinde, male quærendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsepsit. Neque enim ad jus regni quicquam præter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi jussu, neque auctoribus patribus, regnaret. Eo accedebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset: quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed

unde nihil aliud quam prædam sperare posset. Præcipue ita patrum numero imminuto, statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, injussu populi ac senatus, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset; neque hospitia modo cum primoribus eorum, sed adfinitates quoque jungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano (is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famæ credimus, ab Ulixe deaque Circa oriundus) ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque ejus conciliat.

L.

Tarquinius summons the chief men of the Latins to assemble on a certain day at the grove of Feronia.—His own tardiness in coming to the place of meeting.—Exasperation of Herdonius at this conduct.—His speech on the occasion.—Tarquinius excuses his delay.

Jam magna Tarquinii auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certam, ut ad lucum Ferentinæ conveniant, indicit: esse quæ agere de rebus communibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce. Ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam sol occideret venit. Multa ibi tota die in concilio variis jactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: Haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romæ cognomen (jam enim ita, clam quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen eum appellabant): an quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum? Principibus longe a domo excitis, ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non adesse. Temptari profecto patientiam, ut, si jugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere, adfectare eum imperium in Latinos? quod si sui bene crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit,

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credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic quidem alienigenæ, debere. Sin suos ejus pœniteat, quippe qui alii super alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, amittant bona, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros, neque magis observaturos diem concilii, quam ipse, qui indixerit, observet. Hæc atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinerosusque homo, hisque artibus opes domi nactus, cum maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit: aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum. Qui, silentio facto, monitus a proximis ut purgaret se, quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium, cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse: et, quia ea res exemisset illum diem, postero die acturum, quæ constituisset. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt. Dixisse enim nullam breviorem esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.

LI.

Anger of Tarquinius against Herdonius.—His treacherous conduct towards the latter.—Procures his death on a false accusation.

Hæc Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur ægrius ferens, confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis injiceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversæ factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupit, ut in deversorium ejus vim magnam gladiorum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum, quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia illatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio: dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii afuerit, quem maxime

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peteret: inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum conjuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum: id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox, et oratio hesterna, et mora Tarquinii, quod videbatur ob eam differri cædes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen, nisi gladiis deprehensis, cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumsistunt custodes; comprehensisque servis, qui caritate domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa, injectæque Turno catenæ; et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa novo genere leti dejectus ad caput aquæ Ferentinæ, crate superne injecta saxisque congestis, mergeretur.

LII.

Tarquinius proposes that the treaty between the Romans and Latins be renewed, which is accordingly done.

Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius collaudatisque, qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto parricidio merita pœna adfecissent, ita verba fecit: Posse quidem se vetusto jure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, in eo fœdere teneantur, quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium. Ceterum se utilitatis magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id fœdus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante, perpessi sint, semper aut exspectent aut patiantur. Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo fœdere superior Romana res erat; ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et

Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum fœdus, indictumque junioribus Latinorum, ut ex fœdere die certa ad lucum Ferentinæ armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum, neve secretum imperium, propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret, binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

LIII.

War with the Volsci, and also with Gabii.—Treacherous conduct of Sextus Tarquinius towards the inhabitants of Gabii.

Nec, ut injustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit. Quin ea arte æquasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam ætatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Ubi cum divendita præda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Jovis templi, quæ digna deûm hominumque rege, quæ Romano imperio, quæ ipsius etiam loci majestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in ædificationem ejus templi seposuit. Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequicquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a mœnibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo adgressus est. Nam cum, velut posito bello, fundamentis templi faciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius ejus, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se sævitiam intolerabilem conquerens: jam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam, et liberorum quoque eum frequentiæ tædere, ut, quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum, nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquinii credidisse. Nam, ne errarent, manere iis bellum, quod positum simuletur; et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quod

si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium: Volscosque se inde, et Æquos, et Hernicos petiturum; donec ad eos perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum." Cum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro inde abiturus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum postremo sæviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum ejus esse, futurumque credere, brevi, ut illo adjuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana mœnia bellum transferatur.

LIV.

Continuation of the legend of Sextus Tarquinius.—Fall of Gabii.

Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eæ notiores essent; ipse identidem belli auctor esse, et in eo sibi præcipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis juvenum prædatum atque in expeditiones iret, et, dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis, vana accreceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum, inscia multitudine, quid ageretur, prœlia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinium dono deûm sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, prædam munifice largiendo tanta caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romæ quam filius Gabiis esset. Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quando quidem, ut omnia unus præ Gabinis posset, ei dii dedissent. Huic nuntio, quia credo dubiæ fidei

videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hortum ædium transit, sequente nuntio filii: ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quæ dixerit ipse quæque viderit, refert: seu ira, seu odio, seu superbia insita ingenio, nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi, quid vellet parens, quidve præciperet tacitis ambagibus, patuit, primores civitatis, criminando alios apud populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos, interemit. Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, aut in exsilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona juxta atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde prædæque; et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.

LV.

Building of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline.—Remarkable omen.—Heavy expenditure.

Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Æquorum gente fecit, fœdus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit. Quorum erat primum, ut Jovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinios reges ambos, patrem vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et, ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Jovis templique ejus, quod inædificaretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quæ aliquot ibi a Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnæ vota, consecrata inauguratoque postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi hujus operis movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos: nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere. Idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem, unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus, firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud

magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est: Caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse. Quæ visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat: idque ita cecinere vates, quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruria acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinæ manubiæ, quæ perducendo ad culmen operi destinatæ erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere. Eo magis Fabio, præterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadraginta milia pondo argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniæ neque ex unius tum urbis præda speranda, et nullius ne horum quidem magnificentiæ operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

LVI.

Cloaca Maxima.—Legend of L. Junius Brutus.—He accompanies the two princes, Titus and Arruns, to Delphi.—Prediction of the Oracle.—Act of Brutus, in accordance with it.

Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruria accitis, non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui cum, haud parvus et ipse, militiæ adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur se templa deûm exædificare manibus suis, quam postquam et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto majoris traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos, cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam: quibus duobus operibus vix nova hæc magnificentia quicquam adæquare potuit. His laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit, præsidia urbi futura terra marique.

Hæc agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis, ex columna lignea elapsus, cum terrorem fugamque in regiam fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus, quam anxiis implevit curis. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia

Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu, Delphos ad maxime inclutum in terris oraculum mittere statuit: neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Græciam misit. Titus et Arruns profecti. Comes iis additus L. Junius Brutus, Tarquinia sorore regis natus, juvenis longe alius ingenio, quam cujus simulationem induerat. Is cum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum, neque in fortuna cupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse, ubi in jure parum præsidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiæ, cum se suaque prædæ esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen, ut sub ejus obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis, cupido incessit animos juvenum sciscitandi, ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: "Imperium summum Romæ habebit qui vestrum primus, o juvenes, osculum matri tulerit." Tarquinius Sextus, qui Romæ relictus fuerat, ut ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri jubent: ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redissent, matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.

LVII.

War against the Rutuli.— Siege of Ardea, their capital.— Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea ætate, divitiis præpollens: eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus

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Legend of Lucretia.

cum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum præda delenire populares animos studebat, præter aliam superbiam regno infestos etiam, quod se in fabrorum ministerio ac servili tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset: ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque cœpti premi hostes. In his stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis quam militibus. Regii quidem juvenes interdum otium conviviis comissationibusque inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus cœnabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio: suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso, Collatinus negat verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris præstet Lucretia sua. "Quin, si vigor juventæ inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque præsentes nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis." Incaluerant vino. "Age sane" omnes. Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum æqualibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanæ inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio ædium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniique excepti benigne. Victor maritus comiter invitat regios juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiæ per vim stuprandæ capit. Cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno juvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

LVIII.

Continuation of the legend of Lucretia. — Her death.

Paucis interjectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius, inscio Collatino, cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus benigne ab ignaris consilii, cum post cœnam in hospitale cubiculum deductus

esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso "tace Lucretia" inquit; "Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est: moriere, si emiseris vocem." Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat, et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua jugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia mæsta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant: ita facto maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Spurius Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Junio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem mæstam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimæ obortæ: quærentique viro "Satin' salvæ?" "Minime" inquit: "quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons: mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras fidemque, haud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite, prior nocte, vi, armatus, mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium." Dant ordine omnes fidem; consolantur ægram animi, avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti: mentem peccare, non corpus, et, unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse. "Vos" inquit "videritis, quid illi debeatur: ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiæ exemplo vivet." Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit; prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.

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LIX.

Brutus throws off the mask. — His energetic conduct. — Oath taken against the continuance of kingly power at Rome. — Popular commotion at Collatia, and subsequently at Rome.

Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiæ extractum, manante cruore, præ se tenens "per hunc" inquit "castissimum ante regiam injuriam sanguinem juro, vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum, cum scelerata conjuge et omni liberorum stirpe, ferro, igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim, exsecuturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romæ passurum." Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut præceptum erat, jurant: totique ab luctu versi in iram Brutum, jam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem, sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiæ corpus in forum deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novæ atque indignitate hominis. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet cum patris mæstitia, tum Brutus castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum, auctorque (quod viros, quod Romanos deceret), arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque juvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera juventus. Inde pari præsidio relicto Collatiæ ad portas, custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam profecti. Ubi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit. Rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romæ tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiæ fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, præco ad tribunum Celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam ejus pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiæ et miserabili cæde, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiæ causa

mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis, miseriæque et labores plebis, in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersæ. Romanos hominès, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Servii Tullii regis memorata cædes, et invecta corpore patris nefando vehiculo filia; invocatique ultores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quæ præsens rerum indignitas, haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia, subjecit, memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret, exsulesque esse juberet L. Tarquinium cum conjuge ac liberis. Ipse junioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque, ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus: imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto urbis jam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit, exsecrantibus, quacumque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

LX.

Tarquinius hastens to Rome, but is refused admittance at the gates, and sentence of banishment is passed against him. — Brutus, meanwhile, proceeds to the army before Ardea.—He is received with joy, and the king's sons are driven out. — Death of Sextus Tarquinius.— Two consuls chosen at Rome, L. Junius Brutus, and L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus (senserat enim adventum) ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausæ portæ exsiliumque indictum: liberatorem urbis læta castra accepére, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Cære in Etruscos ierunt. Sextus Tarquinius, Gabios, tamquam in suum regnum, profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatium, quas sibi ipse cædibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romæ ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo

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consules inde comitiis centuriatis a præfecto urbis ex commentariis Servii Tullii creati sunt, L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

LIBER II.

I.

Speculations of Livy on the peculiar fitness of the time when the regal power was overthrown.—Brutus binds the people by an oath never to suffer any king to reign at Rome.—Fills up the vacancies in the Senate.—Origin of the term Conscripti.

Liberi jam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quæ libertas ut lætior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt, ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctæ multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriæ Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturæ cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari cœpta esset tribuniciis procellis, et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignora conjugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatæ res nondum adultæ discordia forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Omnia jura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior, concedente collega, fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex liber-

tatis fuerat quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum, avidum novæ libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, jurejurando adegit neminem Romæ passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cædibus regiis deminutum patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit. Traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent: conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis jungendosque patribus plebis animos.

II.

A Rex Sacrificulus created, to discharge certain religious duties which had hitherto been performed by the kings in person.—Brutus prevails upon Collatinus, his colleague in the consulship, to resign that office and leave the state.

Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura: et quia quædam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subjecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cujus tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo modum excesserint. Consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit: Nimium Tarquinios regno adsuesse: initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum, tamquam alieni, regni Superbum Tarquinium velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse: pulso Superbo, penes Collatinum imperium esse: nescire Tarquinios privatos vivere: non placere nomen, periculosum libertati esse. Hic primo sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum jusjurandum populi recitat, neminem regnare passuros, nec esse Romæ, unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullam rem, quæ eo pertineat, contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causa,

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nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicæ vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem recuperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere, id obstare libertati. "Hunc tu" inquit "tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, ejecisti reges: absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen: res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui, auctore me, sed, si quid deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi; exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum." Consuli primo tam novæ rei ac subitæ admiratio inclusérat vocem: dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus: postquam Spurius Lucretius, major ætate ac dignitate, socer præterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque cœpit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione, additaque alia insuper ignominia, acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniæ gentis exsules essent. Collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adjutore reges ejecerat.

III.

Some of the Roman youth of the higher families, dissatisfied with the present state of things, conspire with the ambassadors of the Tarquins for the restoration of the latter.

Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset, bellum ab Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec hi tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, æquales sodalesque adolescentium Tarquiniorum, adsueti more regio vivere. Eam tum æquato jure omnium licentiam quærentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur: Regem hominem esse,

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a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit: esse gratiæ locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse; inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti: nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere, si modum excesseris. Periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita jam sua sponte ægris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione reditus, bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit; ne non reddita belli causa, reddita belli materia et adjumentum essent. Interim legati alii alia moliri; aperte bona repetentes, clam recuperandi regni consilia struere; et tamquam ad id, quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt, et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus colloquuntur.

IV.

The two sons of Brutus are implicated in the conspiracy.—The plot discovered by a slave of the Vitellii.—The conspirators thrown into prison.

Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat; jamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi adsumunt. Præterea aliquot nobiles adolescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia, quæ censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam moræ in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum conjuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando, ut litteræ sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos, non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis adferri? Datæ litteræ, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur, cœnatum forte apud Vitellios esset, conjuratique ibi, remotis arbitris, multa inter

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se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui jam antea id senserat agi: sed eam occasionem, ut litteræ legatis darentur, quæ deprehensæ rem coarguere possent, exspectabat: postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos conjuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere; litterarum in primis habita cura, ne intercidierent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincla conjectis, de legatis paululum addubitatum est, et, quamquam visi sunt commisisse, ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen gentium valuit.

V.

The effects of the Tarquins given up to the people to be plundered.—Origin of the Insula Tiberina.—The sons of Brutus put to death by their own father the consul.—The discoverer of the plot rewarded and made free.

De bonis regiis, quæ reddi ante censuerant, res integra refertur ad patres. Ii victi ira vetuere reddi, vetuere in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut, contacta regia præda, spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit. Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis hæsitantis frumenti acervos sedisse illitos limo: insulam inde paulatim, et aliis, quæ fert temere flumen, eodem invectis factam. Postea credo additas moles, manuque adjutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum, damnati proditores, sumptumque supplicium, conspectius eo, quod pœnæ capiendæ ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et, qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes: sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non pœnæ magis homines quam

sceleris, quo pœnam meriti essent: illos, eo potissimum anno, patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Junia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli, proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis cædunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os ejus spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium. Secundum pœnam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, præmium indici pecunia ex ærario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus. Quidam vindictæ quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum, ut, qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.

VI.

Tarquin supplicates the aid of the Etrurians. — The Veientes and Tarquinienses take the field in his behalf. — Battle. — Brutus and Arruns slay each other. — The Romans rout the Veientes; the Tarquinienses compel the Romans to give way.

His, sicut acta erant, nuntiatis, incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantæ ad irritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obseptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriæ urbes; orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne se ortum, ejusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno, cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos: se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata conjuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere, et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, adjuvarent; suas quoque veteres injurias ultum irent, totiens cæsas legiones, agrum ademptum. Hæc moverunt Veientes; ac pro se quisque Romano saltem duce ignominias demendas belloque

amissa repetenda minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet: pulchrum videbatur suos Romæ regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatium exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit; præerat Arruns Tarquinius, filius regis: rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur. Arruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde jam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit, inflammatus ira "ille est vir" inquit "qui nos extorres expulit patria. Ipse en ille, nostris decoratus insignibus, magnifice incedit. Di regum ultores adeste." Concitat calcaribus equum, atque in ipsum infestus consulem dirigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus; avide itaque se certamini offert: adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendi corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus hærentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna cœpit; neque ita multo post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut æquo Marte pugnatum est: dextera utrimque cornua vicere, læva superata. Veientes, vinci ab Romano milite adsueti, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis novus hostis non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit.

VII.

Valerius celebrates his colleague's funeral. —Is suspected by the people of harboring designs against their freedom. —His speech in his own defense.

Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut, omissa irrita re, nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adjiciunt miracula huic pugnæ: silentio proximæ noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; hæc dicta, uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie;

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vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro victis: nam postquam illuxit, nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit, triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegæ funus quanto tum potuit apparatu fecit. Sed multo majus morti decus publica fuit mæstitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronæ annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatæ pudicitiæ fuisset.

Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat (ut sunt mutabiles vulgi animi), ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum adfectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti, et ædificabat in summa Velia; ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fieri. Hæc dicta vulgo creditaque cum indignitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad consilium populo, summissis fascibus, in contionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque factam populi quam consulis majestatem vimque majorem esse. Ibi audire jussis consul laudare fortunam collegæ, quod liberata patria, in summo honore, pro re publica dimicans, matura gloria necdum se vertente in invidiam, mortem occubuisset. Se superstitem gloriæ suæ ad crimen atque invidiam superesse; ex liberatore patriæ ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidisse. "Numquamne ergo" inquit "ulla adeo a vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subiturum timerem? Ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis? Tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides, ut, ubi sim, quam qui sim, magis referat? non obstabunt Publii Valerii ædes libertati vestræ, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modo ædes, sed colli etiam subjiciam, ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis. In Velia ædificent, quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas." Delata confestim materia omnis infra

Veliam, et, ubi nunc Vicæ Potæ est, domus in infimo clivo ædificata.

VIII.

Popular laws brought forward by Valerius. — Sp. Lucretius chosen consul to supply the place of Brutus. — Dies a few days after. — M. Horatius Pulvillus chosen in his place. — The Capitol dedicated.

Latæ deinde leges, non solum quæ regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quæ adeo in contrarium verterent, ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen factum Publicolæ est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum, sacrandoque cum bonis capite ejus, qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratæ in vulgus leges fuere. Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegæ subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu, non sufficientibus jam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda, intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem; Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt. Credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoria intercidisse. Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Jovis ædes. Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti, uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit: Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus. Ægrius, quam dignum erat, tulere Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam incluti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem jam tenenti consuli fœdum inter precationem deûm nuntium incutiunt, mortuum ejus filium esse, funestaque familia dedicare eum templum non posse. Non crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus, quam ut cadaver efferri juberet, tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum. Hæc post exactos reges domi militiæque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum T. Lucretius consules facti.

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IX.

Porsena, king of Clusium, undertakes a war in favor of the Tarquins.—Alarm at Rome.—Politic conduct of the Senate towards the people.

Jam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsenam Clusinum regem perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque, nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, ejusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur; nunc monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis: nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, æquari summa infimis; nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimæ. Porsena, cum regem esse Romæ, tum Etruscæ gentis regem, amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non umquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit: adeo valida res tum Clusina erat, magnumque Porsenæ nomen. Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonæ in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni sumptu, ademptum privatis. Portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educerent. Itaque hæc indulgentia patrum, asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame, adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

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X.

Legend of Horatius Cocles. —Defence of the Sublician bridge.

Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam sepiunt præsidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi objecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius iter pæne hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles (id munimentum illo diè fortuna urbis Romanæ habuit), qui, positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino impetu Janiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens, obtestansque deûm et hominum fidem testabatur, nequidquam deserto præsidio eos fugere. Si transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent, jam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Janiculo fore. Itaque monere, prædicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant: se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis; insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugna terga, obversis comminus ad ineundum prœlium armis, ipso miraculo audaciæ obstupefecit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Lartium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam, et quod tumultuosissimum pugnæ erat, parumper sustinuit. Deinde eos quoque ipsos, exigua parte pontis relicta, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coegit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum, nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes, servitia regum superborum, suæ libertatis immemores, alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut prœlium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et, clamore sublato, undique in unum hostem tela conjiciunt. Quæ cum in objecto cuncta scuto hæsissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, jam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate per-

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fecti operis sublatus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles "Tiberine pater" inquit, "te sancte precor, hæc arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias." Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famæ habituram ad posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit: statua in comitio posita, agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant: nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid fraudans se ipse victu suo contulit.

XI.

Porsena changes his plans from an assault on the city to a siege. — Plunders the surrounding country. — Successful skirmish of P. Valerius.

Porsena, primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, præsidio in Janiculo locato, ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus undique accitis, et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut prædatum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis trajiceret; brevique adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera solum ex agris, sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet. Hoc tantum licentiæ Etruscis, non metu magis, quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improviso adoriundi, in parvis rebus negligens ultor, gravem se ad majora vindicem servabat. Itaque, ut eliceret prædatores, edicit suis, postero die frequentes porta Esquilina, quæ aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugerent. Et sciere perfugæ indicio; multoque plures, ut in spem universæ prædæ, flumen trajiciunt. P. Valerius inde T. Herminium cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considere jubet, Sp. Lartium cum expedita juventute ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis prætereat, inde se objicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus. Con-

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sulum alter T. Lucretius porta Nævia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Valerius Cælio monte cohortes delectas educit: hique primi apparuere hosti. Herminius ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex insidiis, versisque in Valerium Etruscis terga cædit; dextra lævaque hinc a porta Collina illinc ab Nævia redditus clamor. Ita cæsi in medio prædatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares, et ad fugam septis omnibus viis: finisque ille tam effuse evagandi Etruscis fuit.

XII.

Legend of C. Mutius Scævola.

Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsena habebat, cum C. Mucius, adolescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur populum Romanum servientem, cum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum sæpe exercitus fuderit—itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit; dein metuens, ne, si consulum injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. "Transire Tiberim" inquit, "patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non prædo, nec populationum in vicem ultor: majus, si di juvant, in animo est facinus." Approbant patres: abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Ubi eo venit, in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret, eum milites vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari, uter Porsena esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum, concursu ad clamorem facto, comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum quoque inter tantas fortunæ

minas metuendus magis quam metuens, "Romanus sum" inquit, "civis, C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui; nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad cædem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi: longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiæ. Hoc tibi juventus Romana indicimus bellum: nullam aciem, nullum prœlium timueris; uni tibi et cum singulis res erit." Cum rex, simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus, circumdari ignes minitabundus juberet, nisi expromeret propere, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages jaceret: "En tibi" inquit, "ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit iis, qui magnam gloriam vident;" dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex, cum ab sede sua prosiluisset, amoverique ab altaribus juvenem jussisset, "Tu vero abi" inquit, "in te magis quam in me hostilia ausus. Juberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret: nunc jure belli liberum te, intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto." Tunc Mucius, quasi remunerans meritum "quando quidem" inquit "est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod minis nequisti, trecenti conjuravimus principes juventutis Romanæ, ut in te hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, ut cuique ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt."

XIII.

Porsena, alarmed for his personal safety, makes peace with the Romans. — Legend of Cloelia.

Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scævolæ a clade dextræ manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsena Romam secuti sunt. Adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, quo nihil se præter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio totiens, quot conjurati superessent, ut pacis condiciones ultro ferret Romanis. Jactatum in condici-

onibus nequidquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis, quam quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Janiculo præsidium deduci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace, exercitum ab Janiculo deduxit Porsena, et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio, virtutis causa, trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere, quæ postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo ita honorata virtute, feminæ quoque ad publica decora excitatæ: et Clœlia virgo, una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sospitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Clœliam obsidem deposcendam; alias haud magni facere: deinde in admirationem versus, supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et præ se ferre, quemadmodum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto fœdus se habiturum, sic deditam inviolatamque ad suos remissurum. Utrimque constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex fœdere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit: ipsa quos vellet legeret. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat, eam ætatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quæ maxime opportuna injuriæ esset. Pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

XIV.

Allusion to the old custom, still existing in Livy's time, of selling at auc-

Huic tam pacatæ profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram ætatem inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona Porsenæ regis vendendi. Cu-

tion the effects of King Porsena. —After ending the Roman war, Porsena sends part of his forces to besiege Aricia. — Etrurians defeated. — Hospitably received by the Romans.

jus originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse, neque omissam in pace; aut a mitiore crevisse principio, quam hic præ se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis, quæ traduntur, Porsenam, discedentem ab Janiculo, castra opulenta, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriæ arvis commeatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinqua obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsenæ appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante titulo quam auctionem fortunæ regiæ, quæ ne in potestatem quidem populi Romani esset.

Omisso Romano bello Porsena, ne frustra in ea loca exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primo Aricinos res necopinata perculerat; arcessita deinde auxilia et a Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie decernere auderent. Prœlio inito, adeo concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci, ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos. Cumanæ cohortes, arte adversus vim usæ, declinavere paulum, effuseque prælatos hostes conversis signis ab tergo adortæ sunt. Ita in medio prope jam victores cæsi Etrusci: pars perexigua, duce amisso, quia nullum propius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortuna et specie supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benigne excepti, divisique in hospitia. Curatis vulneribus alii profecti domos, nuntii hospitalium beneficiorum; multos Romæ hospitum urbisque caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt.

XV.

Ambassadors again come from Porsena, about the restoration of the Tarquins. —The

M. Horatius et P. Valerius Publicola, inde Sp. Lartius et T. Herminius consules facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Porsena de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus cum responsum esset, missurum ad regem se-

Romans in turn send ambassadors to the king. —Final understanding on the subject.—Tarquin retires to Tusculum.

natum legatos, missi confestim honoratissimus quisque e patribus: "Non quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi reges, ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos quam legatis ejus Romæ daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio ejus rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in vicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret, quod contra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in perniciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent, cui nihil negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse: ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius portas quam regibus patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut, qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde, si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse, orare." Rex verecundia victus, "quando id certum atque obstinatum est" inquit, "neque ego obtundam sæpius eadem nequidquam agendo, nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est, seu quieto exsilio, quærant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat." Dictis facta amiciora adjecit: obsidum quod reliquum erat reddidit, agrum Veientem fœdere ad Janiculum icto ademptum restituit. Tarquinius, spe omni reditus incisa, exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsena fuit.

XVI.

Appius Claudius removes from the country of the Sabines to Rome. —Claudian tribe formed.—Valerius dies.—War with the Aurunci.

Consules M. Valerius P. Postumius. Eo anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumpharunt. Majore inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos, et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, unde etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat, repentini periculi oreretur, P. Valerius quartum T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio, inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis, aliquantum inde virium trans-

tulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romæ nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur, nec par factioni esset, ab vico Regillo, magna clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem: vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro, appellata. Appius, inter patres lectus, haud ita multo post in principum dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti, cum ita vastatione, dein prœlio, adflixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post, Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus, moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est datus. Luxere matronæ ut Brutum. Eodem anno duæ coloniæ Latinæ, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsum est. Nec magis post prœlium quam in prœlio cædibus temperatum est: et cæsi aliquanto plures erant quam capti, et captos passim trucidaverunt. Ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romæ triumphatum.

XVII.

War with the Aurunci continued. — Pometia surrenders. — Cruelty towards the inhabitants.

Secuti consules Opiter Verginius Sp. Cassius Pometiam primo vi deinde vineis aliisque operibus oppugnarunt. In quos Aurunci, magis jam inexpiabili odio, quam spe aliqua aut occasione, coorti, cum plures igni, quam ferro, armati excucurrissent, cæde incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum (verum nomen auctores non adjiciunt) gravi vulnere ex equo dejectum prope interfecerunt. Romam

inde male gesta re reditum; inter multos saucios consul spe incerta vitæ relatus. Interjecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, cum ira majore belli tum viribus etiam auctis Pometiæ arma illata. Et cum, vineis refectis aliaque mole belli, jam in eo esset, ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihilo minus fœde, dedita urbe, quam si capta foret, Aurunci passim principes securi percussi, sub corona venierunt coloni alii; oppidum dirutum; ager venit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas, quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.

XVIII.

Sabines inclined to a renewal of hostilities. — First dictator created at Rome. — Sabines sue for peace.

Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Lartium consules habuit. Eo anno Romæ, cum per ludos ab Sabinorum juventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope prœlium fuit: parvaque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur. Super belli Sabini metum id quoque accesserat, quod triginta jam conjurasse populos, concitante Octavio Mamilio, satis constabat. In hac tantarum exspectatione rerum sollicita civitate, dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquinia essent (id quoque enim traditur), parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Lartium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum, creatos invenio. Consulares legere: ita lex jubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis adducor ut credam Lartium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M'. Valerium, M. filium, Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum: qui, si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem vellent, patrem multo potius M. Valerium, spectatae virtutis et consularem virum, legissent.—Creato dictatore primum Romæ, postquam præferri secures viderunt, magnus

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plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim, ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romæ dictator eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt; quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque, ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum, ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent. Actum tamen est de pace; impetrataque foret, si quod impensæ factum in bellum erat, præstare Sabini (id enim postulatum erat) in animum induxissent. Bellum indictum: tacitæ indutiæ quietum annum tenuere.

XIX.

Postumius, the Dictator, engages in battle, at the lake Regillus, with the Latins. — The Tarquins in the army of the Latins. — Obstinate conflict.

Consules Ser. Sulpicius M'. Tullius; nihil dignum memoria actum; T. Æbutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenæ obsessæ, Crustumeria capta; Præneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit. Nec ultra bellum Latinum, gliscens jam per aliquot annos, dilatum. A. Postumius dictator T. Æbutius magister equitum magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti, ad lacum Regillum, in agro Tusculano, agmini hostium occurrerunt: et quia Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit, quin extemplo confligerent. Ergo etiam prœlium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem adfuere, sed suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscuere certamina. Nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine vulnere, præter dictatorem Romanum, excessit. In Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruentemque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam jam ætate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit; ictusque ab latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu Æbutius, ma-

gister equitum, in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat. Nec fefellit veniens Tusculanum ducem, contra quem et ille concitat equum: tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit, ut brachium Æbutio trajectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere; Æbutius, cum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugna excessit. Latinus dux nihil deterritus vulnere prœlium ciet; et, quia suos perculsos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui Lucii Tarquinii filius præerat. Ea, quod majore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

XX.

Account of the conflict continued. — The Romans finally prove victorious, and take the camp of the enemy.

Referentibus jam pedem ab ea parte Romanis, M. Valerius, Publicolæ frater, conspicatus ferocem juvenem Tarquinium, ostentantem se in prima exsulum acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cujus familiæ decus ejecti reges erant, ejusdem interfecti forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium, temere invectum in exsulum aciem, ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit; nec quidquam equitis vulnere equo retardato, moribundus Romanus, labentibus super corpus armis, ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter citato agmine invehi, suos perculsos cedere animadvertit, cohorti suæ, quam delectam manum præsidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum, ut quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi a fuga Romani in hostem, et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum prœlium iniit. Integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exsules cædunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus

conspicatus, interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi majore, quam paulo ante magister equitum, cum hostium duce prœlium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat, obtestans, ut, fesso jam pedite, descendant ex equis, et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruere: desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis parmas objiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam juventutis proceres, æquato genere pugnæ, secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impulsi Latini perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti admoti equi, ut persequi hostem posset. Secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi, nihil nec divinæ nec humanæ opis dictator prætermittens, ædem Castori vovisse fertur, ac pronuntiasse militi præmia, qui primus, qui secundus castra hostium intrasset: tantusque ardor fuit, ut eodem impetu, quo fuderant hostem Romani, castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediere.

XXI.

Uncertainty of ancient dates.—Tarquinius Superbus dies at Cumæ.—Great joy at Rome.—Tribes increased to twenty-one.—Temple of Mercury dedicated.

Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. Consules Quintus Cœlius et T. Lartius, inde A. Sempronius et M. Minucius. His consulibus ædes Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. Aulus deinde Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiæ fidei fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum. Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut, nec qui consules secundum quosdam, nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum digerere

possis. Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio erecti patres, erecta plebes. Sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit lætitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inservitum erat, injuriæ a primoribus fieri cœpere. Eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum, iterum deducta est. Romæ tribus una et viginti factæ. Ædes Mercurii dedicata est idibus Maiis.

XXII.

War with the Volsci. — They sue for peace and give hostages. — Not long after they make, in conjunction with the Hernici, secret preparations for war. — The Latins give information to the Romans, and are rewarded accordingly.

Cum Volscorum gente, Latino bello, neque pax neque bellum fuerat: nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia, quæ mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset; et maturavit Romanus, ne prœlio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet. Hac ira consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii pœnam non metuentes necopinata res perculit: armorum immemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia liberos: ita sine certamine inde abductæ legiones. Nec ita multo post Volscis levatis metu suum rediit ingenium: rursus occultum parant bellum, Hernicis in societatem armorum adsumptis. Legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimittunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos ira odioque ejus, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit. Comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere; ibi traditi consulibus, indicatumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis. Relata re ad senatum, adeo fuit gratum patribus, ut et captivorum sex milia Latinis remitterent, et de fœdere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad novos magistratus trajicerent. Enimvero tum Latini gaudere facto, pacis auctores in in-

genti gloria esse. Coronam auream Jovi donum in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque, qui captivorum remissi ad suos fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo venit. Pergunt domos eorum, apud quem quisque servierant; gratias agunt, liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate sua; inde hospitia jungunt. Numquam alias ante publice privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio conjunctius fuit.

XXIII.

Complaints of the lower orders in relation to the pressure of debts. — An occurrence takes place which gives rise to violent popular commotions. — Alarm of the upper orders. — Debates in the Senate.

Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maxime propter nexos ob æs alienum. Fremebant, se, foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse; tutioremque in bello, quam in pace, et inter hostes, quam inter cives, libertatem plebis esse: invidiamque eam, sua sponte gliscentem, insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum projecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, fœdior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiæ decora vulgo, miserantes eum, jactabant. Ipse, testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum, cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore imperatum æs alienum fecisse: id, cumulatum usuris, primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis; postremo, velut tabem, pervenisse ad corpus: ductum se ab creditore, non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum, fœdum recentibus vestigiis verbe-

rum. Ad hæc visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non jam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit: nexi, vincti solutique, se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo, qui forte patrum in foro erant, in eam turbam inciderunt. Nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. Hæc se meritos dicere, exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam. Postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent; curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat. Nec agi quidquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare; et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendæ rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari; nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas. Jam prope erat, ut ne consulum quidem majestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti, morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia, non modo inter patres, sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos, satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto, quieturos alios. Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti, quam frangi, putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

XXIV.

Intelligence brought to Rome that the Volsci are marching on

Inter hæc major alius terror. Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quæ audita (adeo duas ex una civi-

the city. — Different feelings of the people and the fathers. —Conciliating acts of the consul Servilius. — Edict published by him. —Good feeling restored.

tate discordia fecerat) longe aliter patres ac plebem adfecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes; ultores superbiæ patrum adesse dicere deos. Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent; cum omnibus potius, quam solos, perituros. Patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eos dem pericula belli, penes quos præmia essent. At vero curia, mœsta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste, Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum consul, misso senatu, in contionem prodit. Ibi curæ esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi. Ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis, metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello prævertisse quidquam; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta, arma pro patria non cepisse; neque patribus satis decorum, per metum potius, quam postmodo voluntate, adflictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret; neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet, liberos nepotesve ejus moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto, et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina; et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum retinendi jus creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

XXV.

The Volsci attack the Roman camp.—The Romans sally forth

Proxima inde nocte Volsci, discordia Romana freti, si qua nocturna transitio proditione fieri posset, temptant castra. Sensere vigiles;

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and defeat them. —Suessa Pometia taken and plundered.—Peace granted to the Volsci of the town of Ecetra, but their territory taken from them.

excitatus exercitus; signo dato concursum est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum. Postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis vallum invadunt. Jamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique, et nexi ante omnes, ut signum daret clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo, militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga cæsa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra, legionibus circumdatis, cum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur; captum prædæ datum: inde paulum recreatus egens miles. Consul cum maxima gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt: his ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

XXVI.

Inroad of the Sabines into the Roman territory.—Defeated by A. Postumius.—Collision with the Aurunci.—Defeat of the latter.

Confestim et Sabini Romanos territavere: tumultus enim fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte in urbem nuntiatum est, exercitum Sabinum prædabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat: secutus consul Servilius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit. Nec advenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio: fessi, cum itinere, tum populatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugæ quod satis esset virium habuere. Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero die in magna jam

spe undique partæ pacis, legati Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat. Cujus fama haud procul jam ab Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine patres, nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur, nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa collata prœlioque uno debellatum est.

XXVII.

Fresh troubles at Rome on account of the pressure of debts.—Want of energy on the part of Servilius.—Haughty conduct of Appius.

Fusis Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus exspectabat; cum Appius, et insita superbia animo, et ut collegæ vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat jus de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexi fuerant, creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi incideret, collegam appellabat; concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa jactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant, ut aut referret ad senatum, aut ut auxilio esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem hæc; sed tergiversari res cogebat: adeo in alteram causam non collega solum præceps ierat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita, medium se gerendo, nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem; brevique apparuit adæquasse eum Appii odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercurii ædem. Senatus a se rem ad populum rejecit: utri eorum dedicatio jussu populi data esset, eum præesse annonæ, mercatorum collegium instituere, solemnia pro pontifice jussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem ædis dat M. Lætorio, primi pili centurioni: quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem ejus, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum, quam ad consulum ignominiam. Sævire inde utique consulum alter patresque, sed plebi creve-

rant animi; et longe alia, quam primo instituerant, via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in jus duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis præ strepitu et clamore poterat; neque, cum decresset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum libertatis, cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super hæc timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque decreto, nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio, et insectante ambitionem collegæ, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia jus non dixisset, adjiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet. Non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam, neque projectum consulare imperium. Se unum et suæ et patrum majestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret quotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, adripi unum insignem ducem seditionum jussit. Ille cum a lictoribus jam traheretur, provocavit. Nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi judicium, nisi ægre victa pertinacia foret, consilio magis et auctoritate principum, quam populi clamore: adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies, non clamoribus modo apertis, sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

XXVIII.

Domestic troubles continue.—The people hold nightly meetings among themselves.—The Consuls reprimanded by the Senate for want of energy.—Are directed to hold a levy.—

A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. Tum vero plebs, incerta quales habitura consules esset, cœtus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars in Aventino, facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis, et omnia temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam, ad patres deferunt. Sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit: adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et

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No one comes forward to enlist. — Senate again ineffectually consulted.

indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequendum esset, invidiam ejus consules ad senatum rejicerent. Profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romæ nisi publicum consilium: nunc in mille curias contionesque, cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant concilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. Unum hercule virum (id enim plus esse quam consulem) qualis Appius Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discussurum illos cœtus fuisse. Correpti consules, cum, quid ergo se facere vellent (nihil enim segnius molliusve quam patribus placeat acturos), percunctarentur, decernunt, ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant: otio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt, citant nominatim juniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare, ultra decipi plebem posse; numquam unum militem habituros, ni præstaretur fides publica. Libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque non pro dominis pugnent. Consules, quid mandatum esset a senatu, videbant; sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiæ ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse invidiæ suæ participem: et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum prope convolare minimus quisque natu patrum, abdicare consulatum jubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

XXIX.

The Consuls call upon the Senators to aid them in enforcing the levy. — Some of the most violent of that order lend their assistance accordingly.

Utraque re satis experta, tum demum consules: "Ne prædictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut ii, qui maxime ignaviam increpant, adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cujusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus." Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex

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—Collision with the people. —Senate again convened.—Appius proposes that a dictator be chosen.

iis, qui in conspectu erant, dedita opera jubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum vero, indignum facinus esse clamitantes, qui patrum consulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam prendere prohibito, cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est; in qua tamen, sine lapide, sine telo, plus clamoris atque irarum, quam injuriæ, fuerat. Senatus, tumultuose vocatus, tumultuosius consulitur, quæstionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque, non sententiis magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum iræ resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia, quam in foro, esse, ordine consuli cœpit. Tres fuere sententiæ. P. Verginius rem non vulgabat: de iis tantum, qui, fidem secuti Publii Servilii consulis, Volsco, Aurunco, Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. Titus Lartius, non id tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem ære alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse, ni omnibus consulatur: quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura immitis, et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis, ait, sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascivire magis plebem quam sævire. Id adeo malum ex provocatione natum: quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos, qui una peccaverint, provocare liceat. "Agedum" inquit "dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus. Jam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticiscet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, qui sciet jus de tergo vitaque sua penes unum illum esse, cujus majestatem violarit."

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XXX.

M'. Valerius chosen dictator. —His conciliatory edict. — A levy is held. — The Æqui driven back. — The Volsci defeated.

Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appii sententia; rursus Verginii Lartiique exemplo haud salubres. Utique Lartii putabant sententiam, quæ totam fidem tolleret: medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium Verginii habebatur. Sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quæ semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit; ac prope fuit ut dictator ille idem crearetur. Quæ res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Æquique et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curæ fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperium, suo vehemens, mansueto permitteretur ingenio. M'. Valerium dictatorem, Volesi filium, creant. Plebes, etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, cum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos, Servilii fere consulis edicto conveniens. Sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi, omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus numquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectæ; ternæ indc datæ consulibus, quattuor dictator usus. Nec jam poterat bellum differri. Æqui Latinum agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant, ut aut mitterent subsidium, aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos, quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est. Is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Æqui campis, locoque magis quam armis freti summis se jugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vastandis maxime agris hostem ad conferenda propius castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo, ante suum quisque vallum, infestis signis constitere. Multitudine aliquantum Volsci superabant; itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem, nec clamorem

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reddi passus, defixis pilis stare suos jussit; ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coortos tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci, cursu et clamore fessi, cum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam, et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in prœlium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnæ quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facile adepti fessos, et castra impetu ceperunt, et, castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti, uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem irrupere: plusque ibi sanguinis, promiscua omnium generum cæde, quam in ipsa dimicatione factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

XXXI.

Defeat of the Sabines. — The Æqui also defeated. — The dictator, on his return to Rome, brings up before the Senate the question respecting debtors. — His motion is rejected. — He resigns, in consequence, the dictatorship.

Dum hæc in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque exuitque castris. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium aciem, qua, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum ordinibus aciem firmaverant; turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus; sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum Æquis post aliquanto pugnatum est, invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes: sed milites extrahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret, irritaque, sicut ante consulis, promissa ejus caderent, perpulere, ut forte temere in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id male commissum ignavia hostium in bonum vertit; qui, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti au-

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dacia Romanorum, relictis castris, quæ munitissimis tenuerant locis, in aversas valles desiluere; ubi satis prædæ et victoria incruenta fuit.

Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat. Tanta cum gratia, tum arte præparaverant feneratores, quæ non modo plebem, sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius, post Vetusii consulis reditum, omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, rettulitque, quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quæ cum rejecta relatio esset, "Non placeo" inquit "concordiæ auctor. Optabitis, me dius fidius, prope diem, ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos, neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiæ intestinæ, bellum externum fecere, ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica. Pax foris parta est, domi impeditur. Privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero." Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse. Itaque, velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin præstaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

XXXII.

Secession of the Commons to the Sacred Mount.—Menenius Agrippa is sent as ambassador to them by the Senate.—His apologue, and the impression produced by it.

Timor inde patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus cœtus occulti conjurationesque fierent. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba jurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Æquis belli educi ex urbe legiones jussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum cæde, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore, injussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. Trans Anienem amnem est tria ab urbe milia passuum. Ea frequentior fama est, quam cujus Piso auctor est, in Aven-

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tinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam, nisi necessariam ad victum, sumendo, per aliquot dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes, sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam patrum; timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti, manere eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam quæ secesserit multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum exsistat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere: Eam per æqua, per iniqua, reconciliandam civitati esse. Sic placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum. Is, intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud, quam hoc, narrasse fertur: Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentiebant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes, sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio, ventri omnia quæri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui, conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira, dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse, ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum, confecto cibo, sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset iræ plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

XXXIII.

Reconciliation effected. — The Commons allowed to have magistrates of their own. — Tribunes of the

Agi deinde de concordia cœptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei

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Commons chosen.—Defeat of the Volscians.—Capture of Corioli.—C. Marcius Coriolanus.—Death of Menenius Agrippa.

creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Hi tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisse seditionis auctorem; de duobus qui fuerint minus convenit. Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consulatum inierunt. His consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum fœdus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romæ mansit; alter, ad Volscum bellum missus, Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque. Compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus, mœnibus potitur. Inde Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit; tum magna vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores juvenum C. Marcius, adolescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Cum subito exercitum Romanum, Coriolos obsidentem, atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminentis belli, Volscae legiones, profectæ ab Antio, invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. Is, cum delecta militum manu, non modo impetum erumpentium retudit, sed per patentem portam ferox irrupit; cædeque in proxima urbis facta, ignem, temere abreptum imminentibus muro ædificiis injecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum, mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu, ad terrorem, ut solet, primum ortus et Romanis auxit animum et turbavit Volscos, utpote capta urbe, qui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum. Tantumque sua laude obstitit famæ consulis Marcius, ut, nisi fœdus cum Latinis columna ænea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset. Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni vita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic, interpreti arbitroque concordiæ civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanæ in urbem, sumptus fu-

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neri defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus collatis in capita.

XXXIV.

Scarcity of provisions at Rome.—Persons sent in every direction to buy up corn.—A large quantity of corn imported from Sicily.—Proposition in the Senate to get rid of the tribunician power by lowering the price of corn.—Speech of Coriolanus in favor of this measure.

Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent, et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem invasit; caritas primum annonæ, ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris; fames deinde, qualis clausis solet. Ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum, non in Etruriam modo dextris ab Ostia litoribus, lævoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quæsitum in Siciliam quoque: adeo finitimorum odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, retentæ sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit: eo sustenta est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos jam moventes arma pestilentia ingens invasisset. Ea clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset, terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbæ in montes novam coloniam, quæ arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt. M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus, magna vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta; agitatumque in senatu, quanti plebi daretur. Multi venisse tempus premendæ plebis putabant, recuperandique jura, quæ extorta secessione ac vi patribus essent. In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciæ potestatis, "si annonam" inquit "veterem volunt, jus pristinum reddant patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem video, sub jugum missus, tamquam

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ab latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc, avocet plebem: patet via in Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta ex agris, quem ad modum tertio anno rapuere. Utantur annona, quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere, hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore, quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant." Haud tam facile dictu est, faciendumne fuerit, quam potuisse arbitror fieri, ut, condicionibus laxandi annonam, et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia invitis jura imposita patres demerent sibi.

XXXV.

Anger of the Commons at Coriolanus.—He is summoned for trial by the Tribunes.—The Senate strive to intercede for him.—He does not appear on the day of trial, and is condemned while absent.—Goes into exile among the Volsci.—Is well received by them.

Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et plebem ira prope armavit: Fame se jam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quæ sola alimenta ex inperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi Caio Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanæ satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui aut mori aut servire jubeat. In exeuntem e curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent. Ibi ira est suppressa: se judicem quisque, se dominum vitæ necisque inimici factum videbat. Contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii non pœnæ jus datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius pœna defungendum esset patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversa invidia, usique sunt qua suis quisque qua totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est, si, dispositis clientibus, absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque disjicere rem possent. Universi deinde processere (quidquid erat patrum reos diceres) precibus plebem exposcentes, unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente donarent. Ipse cum die

dicta non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in Volscos exsulatum abiit, minitans patriæ hostilesque jam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci benigne excepere, benigniusque in dies colebant, quo major ira in suos eminebat, crebræque nunc querelæ nunc minæ percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Attii Tullii. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facile credebant plebem suam impelli posse, ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma caperent. Multis sæpe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa juventute, fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto jam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

XXXVI.

Celebration at Rome of the Great games.—Occurrence on the morning of the day.—Dream and warning of Latinius.—After long delay, for which he is severely punished by the gods, he discloses his dream, and the warning accompanying it, to the Consuls and Senate.

Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romæ parabantur. Instaurandi hæc causa fuerat: ludis mane servum quidam pater familiæ, nondum commisso spectaculo, sub furca cæsum medio egerat circo. Cœpti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Jupiter dicere sibi ludis præsultatorem displicuisse: nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore. Iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen majestatis magistratuum timorem vicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit: filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cujus repentinæ cladis ne causa dubia esset, ægro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satin' magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem: majorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. Jam præsentior res erat: cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enimvero deorum ira admonuit.

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Fessus igitur malis præteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito, cum visa atque audita et obversatum totiens somno Jovem, minas irasque cœlestes repræsentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubio omnium, qui aderant, in forum ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in curiam jussu consulum delatus eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriæ est.

XXXVII.

The Games ordered by the Senate to be celebrated on as grand a scale as possible.—A large number of the Volsci are attracted by them to Rome.—Artful conduct of Attius Tullius, the Volscian, to bring about a rupture between the Romans and his countrymen.—The Volsci ordered to depart from Rome.

Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit esse quæ secreto agere de re publica velit. Arbitris remotis "invitus" inquit, "quod sequius sit, de meis civibus loquor; non tamen admissum quidquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed cautum, ne admittant. Nimio plus quam velim nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia: multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito, sed vestra patientia incolumes simus. Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini, quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum juventute in hac urbe commissum sit. Horret animus, ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. Hæc nostra vestraque causa prius dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cujus facti dictive contagione præsens violer." Hæc locutus abiit. Consules cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad præcavendum vel ex supervacuo movit; factoque senatus consulto, ut urbem excederent Volsci, præcones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos

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proficisci ante noctem juberent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit. Proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se, ut consceleratos contaminatosque, ab ludis, festis diebus, cœtu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

XXXVIII.

Address of Tullius to his countrymen when departing from Rome.—Revolt of the Volscian nation.

Cum prope continuato agmine irent, prægressus Tullius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens, querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos, sedulo audientes secunda iræ verba, et per eos multitudinem aliam in subjectum viæ campum deduxit. Ibi in contionis modum orationem exorsus "veteres populi Romani injurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia," inquit "obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis spectaculo abeuntes fuisse; vestras conjuges vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos, qui audivere vocem præconis, quid, qui nos videre abeuntes, quid eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii, existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse, quo, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri; ideo nos ab sede piorum cœtu concilioque abigi? Quid deinde? illud non succurrit, vivere nos, quod maturarimus proficisci? si hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est magno eorum malo, qui indixere, si viri estis." Ita, et sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati, domos inde digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere, ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

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XXXIX.

Tullius and Coriolanus chosen generals of the Volsci.—Numerous Roman towns taken.—The Volsci pitch their camp five miles from Rome.—Great alarm in the city.—Fruitless efforts to negotiate with the Volsci.

Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sententia lecti Attius Tullius et C. Marcius exsul Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam spem nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios profectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberamque eam urbem Volscis tradidit. Inde in Latinam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus, Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam, Coriolos, Mugillam; hæc Romanis oppida ademit. Inde Lavinium recepit; tum deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebium, Labicos, Pedum cepit. Postremum ad urbem a Pedo ducit, et ad fossas Cluilias, quinque ab urbe milia passuum, castris positis, populatur inde agrum Romanum, custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia inde inter patres plebemque oreretur. Quæ profecto orta esset (adeo tribuni jam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant), sed externus timor, maximum concordiæ vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se jungebat animos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatûs consulesque nusquam alibi spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam bellum malebat. Sp. Nautius jam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos recensentes legiones, præsidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat, loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterruit; deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad C. Marcium mittendis coegit. Acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si præda belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et civium injuriæ, et hospitum beneficii, adnisu-

rum, ut appareat exsilio sibi irritatos, non fractos animos esse. Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus velatos, isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihilo magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

XL.

The Roman matrons, taking with them the mother and the wife and children of Coriolanus, go forth to his camp.—Speech of Veturia, his mother.—The resolution of Coriolanus is at length overcome, and he withdraws his forces from the Roman territory.—The Romans erect a temple to female Fortune.

Tum matronæ ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem, frequentes coeunt. Id publicum consilium, an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio. Pervicere certe, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia, duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum, in castra hostium irent, et, quoniam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est, nuntiatumque Coriolano est adesse ingens mulierum agmen, in primo (ut qui nec publica majestate in legatis, nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus esset), multo obstinatior adversus lacrimas muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem mæstitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam, inter nurum nepotesque stantem, "nisi me frustrantur" inquit "oculi, mater tibi conjunxque et liberi adsunt." Coriolanus, prope ut amens, consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviæ complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa "sine, prius quam complexum accipio, sciam," inquit, "ad hostem an ad filium venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exsulem te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc terram, quæ te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit 'intra illa mœnia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, conjunx liberique?' Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua essem. Sed ego nihil jam?

pati, nec tibi turpius quam mihi miserius, possum; nec, ut sum miserrima, diu futura sum: de his videris, quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet." Uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi, fletusque ab omni turba mulierum ortus, et comploratio sui patriæque, fregere tandem virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt, alii alio leto. Apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem invenio: refert certe, hanc sæpe eum exacta ætate usurpasse vocem, multo miserius seni exsilium esse. Non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani: adeo sine obtrectatione gloriæ alienæ vivebatur: monumento quoque quod esset, templum Fortunæ muliebri ædificatum dedicatumque est. Rediere deinde Volsci, adjunctis Æquis, in agrum Romanum, sed Æqui Attium Tullium haud ultra tulere ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Æquine imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox prœlium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci certamine confecit. Consules Titus Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Volsci, Aquilio Hernici (nam ii quoque in armis erant) provincia evenit. Eo anno Hernici devicti; cum Volscis æquo Marte discessum est.

XLI.

The agrarian law first introduced. — Many even of the Commons opposed to it. — Cassius, the proposer of this law, regarded as aiming at regal power. — Condemned and put to death.

Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules facti. Cum Hernicis fœdus ictum, agri partes duæ ademptæ. Inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi divisurus consul Cassius erat. Adjiciebat huic muneri agri aliquantum, quem publicum possideri a privatis criminabatur. Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. Sed et publica patribus sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem periculosas libertati opes struere. Tum primum lex agraria promulgata est, numquam deinde usque

ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter largitioni resistebat, auctoribus patribus, nec omni plebe adversante, quæ primo cœperat fastidire, munus vulgatum a civibus isse in socios. Sæpe deinde et Verginium consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat, pestilens collegæ munus esse; agros illos servitutem iis, qui acceperint, laturos; regno viam fieri. Quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinuisse Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut eæ gentes pro Coriolano ducem Cassium habeant? Popularis jam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariæ cœperat. Uterque deinde consul certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passurum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Romano adsignentur: Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, jubere pro Siculo frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id vero haud secus quam præsentem mercedem regni aspernata plebes: adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut abundarent omnia, munera ejus in animis hominum respuebantur. Quem, ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem actorem ejus supplicii ferant: eum, cognita domi causa, verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum "Ex Cassia familia datum." Invenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quæstoribus Kæsone Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi judicio, dirutas publice ædes. Ea est area ante Telluris ædem. Ceterum, sive illud domesticum, sive publicum fuit judicium, damnatur Servio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulibus.

XLII.

Agrarian law begins to be regarded with more favor.—The Volsci and

Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariæ legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat animos; accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate patrum, qui, devictis eo anno

Æqui defeated. —Dedication of the temple of Castor. — War with the Veientes. — Oppia, a Vestal Virgin, punished for breaking her vow.

Volscis Æquisque, militem præda fraudavere. Quidquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul ac redegit in publicum. Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novissimum consulem: tenuere tamen patres, ut cum L. Æmilio Kæso Fabius consul crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum externum excivit; bello deinde civiles discordiæ intermissæ. Uno animo patres ac plebes rebellantes Volscos et Æquos duce Æmilio prospera pugna vicere. Plus tamen hostium fuga quam prœlium absumpsit: adeo pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt equites. Castoris ædes eodem anno Idibus Quinctilibus dedicata est. Vota erat Latino bello Postumio dictatore: filius ejus duumvir ad id ipsum creatus dedicavit. Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariæ legis animi plebis. Tribuni plebi popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant. Patres, satis superque gratuiti furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones temeritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi patribus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. Ea igitur pars rei publicæ vicit; nec in præsens modo, sed in venientem etiam annum M. Fabium, Kæsonis fratrem, et magis invisum alterum plebi, accusatione Sp. Cassii, L. Valerium consules dedit. Certatum eo quoque anno cum tribunis est. Vana lex, vanique legis auctores, jactando irritum munus, facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens post tres continuos consulatus, unoque velut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciis certaminibus, habitum. Itaque, ut bene locatus, mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos. Bellum inde Veiens initum; et Volsci rebellarunt. Sed ad bella externa prope supererant vires; abutebanturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad ægras jam omnium mentes prodigia cœlestia, prope quotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas. Motique ira numinis causam nullam aliam vates canebant, publice privatimque, nunc extis, nunc per aves consulti, quam haud rite sacra fieri. Qui terrores tamen eo evasere, ut Oppia, virgo Vestalis, damnata incesti pœnas dederit.

XLIII.

Dissensions at home, on account of the agrarian law.—War with the Æqui, and also with the Veientes.—Dissensions in the army led against the Æqui, the infantry refusing to pursue, after the enemy had been routed by the cavalry alone.

Q. Fabius inde et C. Julius consules facti. Eo anno non segnior discordia domi, et bellum foris atrocius fuit. Ab Æquis arma sumpta. Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum crescente cura Kæso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Æqui oppugnabant; Veientes, pleni jam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnaturos minabantur. Qui terrores, cum compescere deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis; redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detractandi militiam, sed Spurius Licinius, tribunus plebis, venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariæ patribus injungendæ, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciæ potestatis versa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acrius, quam ipsi ejus collegæ coorti sunt; auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: ducendus Fabio in Æquos, in Veientes Furio datur. Et in Veientibus quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est: Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus quam cum hostibus fuit. Unus ille vir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul, præter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem, ut, solo equitatu emisso, exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, etsi non adhortatio invisi ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in præsentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare, aut, si aliud nihil, stare instructos. Injussu signa referunt, mæstique (crederes victos) exsecrantes nunc imperatorem, nunc navatam ab equite operam, redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quæsita sunt: adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius

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defuerit ars, qua civem regant, quam qua hostem superent. Consul Romam rediit, non tam belli gloria aucta quam irritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. Obtinuere tamen patres, ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret: M. Fabium consulem creant; Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.

XLIV.

Agrarian law again brought forward by one of the tribunes. —Advice of Appius Claudius to the Senate to employ the tribunician power against itself.— The patricians act in accordance with this suggestion.— The Consuls hold a levy by the aid of four of the tribunes.— March against the Veientes.— Motives which induce the states of Etruria to take part in the war.

Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariæ habuit. Tib. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut processisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper impediit. Perturbatis iterum patribus, Appius Claudius victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere, priore anno; in præsentia re ipsa, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim umquam defuturum, qui, et ex collega victoriam sibi, et gratiam melioris partis bono publico velit quæsitam: et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Darent modo et consules et primores patrum operam, ut, si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicæ ac senatui conciliarent. Præceptis Appii moniti patres, et universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare; et consulares, ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid juris adversus singulos erat, partim gratia, partim auctoritate, obtinuere, ut tribuniciæ potestatis vires salubres vellent rei publicæ esse: quattuorque tribunorum adversus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum consules habent. Inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo undique ex Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veientium gratia concitata, quam quod in spem ventum erat discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Principesque in omnium Etruriæ populorum conciliis fremebant, æternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus sæviant. Id unum vene-

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num, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum, partim patrum consiliis, partim patientia plebis, jam ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates ex una factas; suos cuique parti magistratus, suas leges esse. Primum in dilectibus sævire solitos; eosdem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus. Qualicumque urbis statu, manente disciplina militari, sisti potuisse. Jam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra quoque Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsa acie, in ipso certamine, consensu exercitus traditam ultro victoriam victis Æquis, signa deserta, imperatorem in acie relictum, injussu in castra reditum. Profecto, si instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud opus esse, quam indici ostendique bellum; cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos. Hæ spes Etruscos armaverant multis in vicem casibus victos victoresque.

XLV.

The Roman Consuls keep their forces within the camp.—Effect of this on the enemy, and also on the Romans themselves.—The latter, incensed by the insults of the foe, beg to be led forth to battle.—Politic conduct of the Consuls.—Orders at length given to engage with the foe.

Consules quoque Romani nihil præterea aliud quam suas vires, sua arma horrebant: memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eo, ubi duæ simul acies timendæ essent. Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi: diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leniturum iras, sanitatemque animis adlaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis præpropere agere; lacessere ad pugnam, primo obequitando castris provocandoque, postremo, ut nihil movebant, qua consules ipsos qua exercitum increpando: simulationem intestinæ discordiæ remedium timoris inventum; et consules magis non confidere, quam non credere suis militibus. Novum seditionis genus, silentium otiumque inter armatos. Ad hæc in novitatem generis originisque, qua falsa, qua vera jacere. Hæc cum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud ægre consules pati. At imperitæ multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor

pectora versare, et ab intestinis avertere malis: nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum, non patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant externa: adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in prætorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam, postulant ut signum detur. Consules, velut deliberabundi, capita conferunt, diu colloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant; sed retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum immaturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnæ esse: castris se tenerent. Edicunt inde, ut abstineant pugna: si quis injussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accedunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisse non pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se insultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque venisse Romano imperio. His freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra, ægre abstinent quin castra oppugnent. Enimvero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse: totis castris undique ad consules curritur. Non jam sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde, ad crescentem tumultum jam metu seditionis collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecisset: "Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum atque decretum est, non dare signum, nisi victores se redituros ex hac pugna jurant. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit, deos numquam fallet." Centurio erat M. Flavoleius, inter primores pugnæ flagitator. "Victor" inquit, "M. Fabi, revertar ex acie." Si fallat, Jovem patrem, Gradivumque Martem, aliosque iratos invocat deos. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque jurat. Juratis datur signum; arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam irarum speique pleni. Nunc jubent Etruscos probra jacere, nunc armatis sibi quisque lingua promptum hostem offerri. Omnium illo die, qua plebis,

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qua patrum, eximia virtus fuit. Fabium nomen Fabia gens maxime enituit. Multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi reconciliare statuunt.

XLVI.

Fierce onset of the Romans.—Gallantry of the Fabian family.

Instruitur acies; nec Veiens hostis Etruscæque legiones detrectant. Prope certa spes erat, non magis secum pugnaturos, quam pugnarint cum Æquis; majus quoque aliquod, in tam irritatis animis, et occasione ancipiti, haud desperandum esse facinus. Res aliter longe evenit. Nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus (adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant) prœlium iniit. Vix explicandi ordines spatium Etruscis fuit, cum, pilis inter primam trepidationem abjectis temere magis quam emissis, pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Quintum Fabium (tertio hic anno ante consul fuerat), principem in confertos Veientes euntem, ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit. Telo extracto, præceps Fabius in vulnus abiit. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus; cum M. Fabius consul transiluit jacentis corpus, objectaque parma "hoc jurastis" inquit, "milites, fugientes vos in castra reditu ros? adeo ignavissimos hostes magis timetis, quam Jovem Martemque, per quos jurastis? At ego injuratus aut victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam." Consuli tum Kæso Fabius prioris anni consul: "Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent, te impetraturum credis? Dii impetrabunt, per quos juravere. Et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius, quam adhortando, accendamus militum animos." Sic in primum infensis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

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XLVII.

Desperate conflict.—The enemy attack and gain possession of the Roman camp.—Are subsequently driven out.—The Romans obtain a glorious victory, but lose Q. Fabius, and Manlius, one of the Consuls.

Prœlio ex parte una restituto, nihilo segnius in cornu altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat; ubi prope similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium, jam velut fusos agentem hostes, et impigre milites secuti sunt; et, ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati gradum rettulere: cessissentque loco, ni consul alter, cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos. Simul et vanior jam erat hostium acies, dum, abundante multitudine freti, subtracta subsidia mittunt ad castra oppugnanda. In quæ haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum prædæ magis, quam pugnæ, memores terunt tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam irruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiis, quo loco res essent, conglobati ad prætorium redeunt, et sua sponte ipsi prœlium renovant. Et Manlius consul revectus in castra, ad omnes portas milite opposito, hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit. Nam cum incursantes, quacumque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquotiens impetu issent, globus juvenum unus in ipsum consulem, insignem armis, invadit. Prima excepta a circumstantibus tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit: consul mortifero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis crescit audacia; Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit; et ad extrema ventum foret, ni legati, rapto consulis corpore, patefecissent una porta hostibus viam. Ea erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum cæsi fusique passim. Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus

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tam claris funeribus. Itaque consul, decernente senatu triumphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum respondit: se, familia funesta Quinti Fabii fratris morte, re publica ex parte orba consule altero amisso, publico privatoque deformem luctu lauream non accepturum. Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit: adeo spreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior redit. Funera deinde duo deinceps collegæ fratrisque ducit, idem in utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor ejus, quod initio consulatus imbiberat, reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati, nec alibi majore cura habiti. Inde populares jam esse Fabii, nec hoc ulla nisi salubri rei publicæ arte.

XLVIII.

Fabius proposes to the patricians the passage of an agrarian law.—They reject his proposition with scorn.—Collisions with the Æqui and the Veientes.—The Fabian family request of the Senate to be allowed to take upon themselves the conduct of the war with Veii.—Leave is granted with the warmest thanks.

Igitur non patrum magis, quam plebis, studiis Kæso Fabius cum Tito Verginio consul factus, neque belli, neque dilectus, neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quam ut, jam aliqua ex parte inchoata concordiæ spe, primo quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrariæ legis auctor tribunus exsisteret, occuparent patres ipsi suum munus facere; captivum agrum plebi quam maxime æqualiter darent: verum esse habere eos, quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati patres sunt; questi quoque quidam, nimia gloria luxuriare et evanescere vividum quondam illud Kæsonis ingenium. Nullæ deinde urbanæ factiones fuere. Vexabantur incursionibus Æquorum Latini. Eo cum exercitu Kæso missus in ipsorum Æquorum agrum depopulandum transit. Æqui se in oppida receperunt, murisque se tenebant: eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit.

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At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis, actumque de exercitu foret, ni Kæso Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit; res proxime formam latrocinii venerat. Legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut præsentia instabant, ut ab Æquis Volscisque, non diutius, quam recens dolor proximæ cladis transiret, quiescentibus; aut mox moturos se apparebat Sabinos semper infestos, Etruriamque omnem. Sed Veiens hostis, adsiduus magis, quam gravis, contumeliis sæpius, quam periculo, animos agitabat; quod nullo tempore neglegi poterat, aut averti alio sinebat. Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur: "Adsiduo magis, quam magno, præsidio, ut scitis, patres conscripti, bellum Veiens eget. Vos alia bella curate, Fabios hostes Veientibus date. Auctores sumus tutam ibi majestatem Romani nominis fore. Nostrum id nobis velut familiare bellum privato sumptu gerere in animo est: res publica et milite illic et pecunia vacet." Gratiæ ingentes actæ. Consul e curia egressus, comitante Fabiorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiæ, senatus consultum exspectantes, steterant, domum redit. Jussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse, domos inde discedunt.

XLIX.

The Fabii march forth amid the plaudits of the people, and fortify a post at the River Cremera.—They both protect the Roman territory in this quarter and ravage that of the enemy.—Assault on the Fa-

Manat tota urbe rumor; Fabios ad cœlum laudibus ferunt: familiam unam subisse civitatis onus; Veiens bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum. Si sint duæ roboris ejusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant hæc Volscos sibi, illa Æquos: populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente, omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die arma capiunt; quo jussi erant conveniunt. Consul, paludatus egrediens, in vestibulo gentem omnem suam

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bian post by the Veientes and their allies.—The Consul Æmilius leads an army against and defeats them.

instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium signa ferri jubet. Numquam exercitus neque minor numero, neque clarior fama et admiratione hominum, per urbem incessit. Sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneret egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiæ viribus Veienti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba, propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo; alia publica, sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, ire felices jubent, inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia præmia ab se, omnes honores sperare. Prætereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templa, quidquid deorum oculis, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur, ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. Incassum missæ preces. Infelici via dextro Jano portæ Carmentalis profecti, ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo præsidio. L. Æmilius inde et G. Servilius consules facti, et, donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad præsidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adjacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit; dum et Veientes, accito ex Etruria exercitu, præsidium Cremeræ oppugnant, et Romanæ legiones, ab L. Æmilio consule adductæ, comminus cum Etruscis dimicant acie. Quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit: adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnæ modo incipiendæ, sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra (ibi castra habebant) pacem supplices petunt; cujus impetratæ, ab insita animis levitate, ante deductum Cremera Romanum præsidium, pœnituit.

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L.

The Fabii, elated by success, conceive a contempt for their foes, and, having ventured too far into the Veientan territory, fall into an ambuscade, and are all cut off.—Only one of the family, still quite young, survives at Rome.

Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo, sine ullo majoris belli apparatu, certamen; nec erant incursiones modo in agros, aut subiti impetus incursantium, sed aliquotiens æquo campo collatisque signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani sæpe ex opulentissima, ut tum res erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tulit. Id primo acerbum indignumque Veientibus est visum; inde consilium, ex re natum, insidiis ferocem hostem captandi. Gaudere etiam, multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora prædantibus aliquotiens, velut casu incidissent, obviam acta; et agrestium fuga vasti relicti agri; et subsidia armatorum, ad arcendas populationes missa, sæpius simulato, quam vero pavore, refugerunt. Jamque Fabii adeo contempserant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Hæc spes provexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora (quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma) decurrerent. Et cum improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent, palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore injecto, raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique hostes erant. Primo clamor circumlatus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant; coeuntibusque Etruscis, jam continenti agmine armatorum septi, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogebantur breviore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere. Quæ res et paucitatem eorum insignem, et multitudinem Etruscorum, multiplicatis in arto ordinibus, faciebat. Tum omissa pugna, quam in omnes partes parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eo nisi corporibus armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem: inde primo restitere. Mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit, recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; vincebatque auxi-

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lio loci paucitas, ni jugo circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii cæsi ad unum omnes, præsidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex perisse satis convenit; unum prope puberem ætate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiæ, dubiisque rebus populi Romani sæpe domi bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium.

LI.

The Etrurians seize upon the Janiculum.—After several encounters, they are entrapped by the same stratagem as the Fabii.

Cum hæc accepta clades est, jam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos victoria elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Janiculum hostes occupavere; obsessaque urbs foret, super bellum annona premente (transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim), ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus: adeoque id bellum ipsis institit mœnibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit æquo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quamquam parvo momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem, recepto pristino animo, in futura prœlia id certamen fecit. A. Verginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post acceptam proximam pugnæ cladem Veientes abstinuere acie. Populationes erant, et velut ab arce Janiculi passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant. Non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde eadem arte sunt, qua ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita opera passim ad illecebras propulsa pecora præcipitavere in insidias: quo plures erant, major cædes fuit. Ex hac clade atrox ira majoris cladis causa atque initium fuit. Trajecto enim nocte Tiberi, castra Servilii consulis adorti sunt oppugnare: inde fusi magna cæde in Janiculum se ægre recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Janiculo communit. Postero die, luce orta, nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnæ ferox, magis tamen, quod inopia frumenti, quamvis in præcipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere adverso Janiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, fœdiusque inde pulsus, quam

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pridie pepulerat, interventu collegæ ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, cum in vicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

LII.

Peace having returned, the agrarian troubles recommence.—Condemnation and subsequent death of Menenius.—Servilius arraigned.—Defends himself with great boldness, and escapes.

Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit, et advecto ex Campania frumento, et, postquam timor sibi cuique futuræ inopiæ abiit, eo, quod abditum fuerat, prolato. Ex copia deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi, et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quærere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege; in resistentes incitare patres, nec in universos modo, sed in singulos. Quintus Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariæ legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiæ erat amissum Cremeræ præsidium, cum haud procul inde stativa consul habuisset. Ea oppressit, cum et patres haud minus quam pro Coriolano adnisi essent, et patris Agrippæ favor haud dum exolevisset. In multa temperarunt tribuni: cum capitis anquisissent, duo milia æris damnato multam edixerunt. Ea in caput vertit: negant tulisse ignominiam ægritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse. Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim anni ab L. Cædicio et T. Statio tribunis die dicta, non, ut Menenius, precibus suis aut patrum, sed cum multa fiducia innocentiæ gratiæque tribunicios impetus tulit. Et huic prœlium cum Tuscis ad Janiculum erat crimini. Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo ante, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modo sed plebem oratione feroci refutando, exprobrandoque T. Menenii damnationem mortemque, cujus patris munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos, quibus tum sæviret, magistratus, eas leges haberet, periculum audacia discussit. Juvit et Verginius collega, testis productus, participando laudes; magis tamen Menenianum (adeo mutaverant animum) profuit judicium.

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LIII.

War with the Veientes and Sabines.—Both defeated.—The Volsci and Æqui invade the Latin territory.—Are defeated by the Latins and Hernici without the assistance of the Romans.

Certamina domi finita. Veiens bellum exortum, quibus Sabini arma conjunxerunt. P. Valerius consul accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis, cum exercitu Veios missus castra Sabina, quæ pro mœnibus sociorum locata erant, confestim adgreditur; tantamque trepidationem injecit, ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta, cui signa primum intulerat, caperetur. Intra vallum deinde cædes magis, quam prœlium, esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat: tamquam Veiis captis, ita pavidi Veientes ad arma currunt; pars Sabinis eunt subsidio; pars Romanos, toto impetu intentos in castra, adoriuntur. Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utroque versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule immissus Tuscos fundit fugatque: eademque hora duo exercitus, duæ potentissimæ et maximæ finitimæ gentes superatæ sunt.—Dum hæc ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Æquique in Latino agro posuerant castra, populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini, adsumptis Hernicis, sine Romano aut duce aut auxilio, castris exuerunt. Ingenti præda præter suas recuperatas res potiti sunt. Missus tamen ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius. Mos, credo, non placebat, sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliæque non editum in Volscos est; nec tamen perpelli potuere ut acie dimicarent.

LIV.

Truce for forty years with the Veientes.—Fresh agrarian commotions.—Furius and Manlius sum-

L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Veientes provincia evenit. Non tamen bellatum: indutiæ in annos quadraginta petentibus datæ, frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externæ confestim continuatur dis-

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moned to trial before the people.—Desperate expedient of the patricians to oppose the tribunician power.—Mysterious death of Genucius, the tribune.—His colleagues intimidated.

cordia domi. Agrariæ legis tribuniciis stimulis plebs furebat. Consules, nihil Menenii damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii, summa vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius tribunus plebis arripuit.—L. Æmilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt. Vopiscum Julium pro Verginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno (quoscumque consules habuit) rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis, quam juniores patrum. Suadent, monent, honoribus et administratione rei publicæ abstineant; consulares vero fasces, prætextam curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pompam funeris putent: claris insignibus velut infulis velatos ad mortem destinari. Quod si consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, jam tunc ita in animum inducant, consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse; consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. Si se commoverit, si respexerit patres, si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica crediderit, exsilium C. Marcii, Menenii damnationem et mortem sibi proponant ante oculos. His accensi vocibus patres consilia inde, non publica, sed in privato, seductaque a plurium conscientia, habuere. Ubi cum id modo constaret, jure an injuria eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quæque maxime placebat sententia; nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur judicii die cum plebs in foro erecta exspectatione staret, mirari primo, quod non descenderet tribunus; dein, cum jam mora suspectior fieret, deterritum a primoribus credere, et desertam ac proditam causam publicam queri; tandem, qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant, nuntiant domi mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Præcipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacratæ leges haberent, morte collegæ monitos. Nec patres satis moderate ferre lætitiam; adeoque neminem noxiæ pæ-

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nitebat, ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur, malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

LV.

Affair of Volero. — Collision between the Consuls and the people. — Consuls with their lictors driven from the Forum.

Sub hac pessimi exempli victoria dilectus edicitur; paventibusque tribunis, sine intercessione ulla consules rem peragunt. Tum vero irasci plebes tribunorum magis silentio, quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum; cum Genucio una mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud agendum, ac cogitandum, quo modo resistatur patribus. Id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebes, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quatuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus, et eos ipsos plebis homines: nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si sint qui contemnant. Sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et virgas expediri jubent. "Provoco" inquit "ad populum" Volero, "quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis cædi malunt, quam ipsi in lectō suo a vobis trucidari." Quo ferocius clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero, et prævalens ipse, et adjuvantibus advocatis, repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eo se in turbam confertissimam recepit, clamitans, "Provoco, et fidem plebis imploro. Adeste cives, adeste commilitones: nihil est quod exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro auxilio opus est." Concitati homines veluti ad prœlium se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse, nihil cuiquam sanctum non publici fore non privati juris. Huic tantæ tempestati cum se consules obtulissent, facile experti sunt, parum tutam majestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis

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lictoribus, fascibus fractis, e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti, quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam. Conticiscente deinde tumultu, cum in senatum vocari jussissent, queruntur injurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis, vicere seniores, quibus ira patrum adversus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

LVI.

Volero created a tribune of the Commons.—Introduces an important law that plebeian magistrates should be elected at the Comitia by tribes.—Violent struggles between the two orders.—Collision between Appius Claudius, the consul, and the tribune Lætorius.—Quintius, the other consul, at length stills the tumult.

Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum, qui Lucium Pinarium P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus permissurum tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus, rogationem tulit ad populum, ut plebeii magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci ferebatur; sed quæ patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi, quos vellent, tribunos auferret. Huic actioni, gratissimæ plebi, cum summa vi resisterent patres, nec, quæ una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet, aliquis ex collegio auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen, suo ipsa molimine gravis, certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebes Voleronem tribunum reficit. Patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium, Appii filium, jam inde a paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt. Collega ei Titus Quinctius datur.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Lætorius collega ejus, auctor cum recentior tum acrior erat: ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod ætatis ejus haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil præterquam de lege loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusa-

tionem Appii, familiæque superbissimæ ac crudelissimæ in plebem Romanam, exorsus, cum a patribus non consulem, sed carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem, creatum esse contenderet; rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati animoque. Itaque deficiente oratione "Quando quidem non facile loquor" inquit, "Quirites, quam quod locutus sum præsto, crastino die adeste. Ego hic aut in conspectu vestro moriar, aut perferam legem." Occupant tribuni templum postero die. Consules nobilitasque ad impediendam legem in contione consistunt. Submoveri Lætorius jubet præterquam qui suffragium ineant. Adolescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori. Tum ex his prendi quosdam Lætorius jubet. Consul Appius negare jus esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in plebeium: non enim populi, sed plebis eum magistratum esse. Nec illum ipsum submovere pro imperio posse more majorum, quia ita dicatur "Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites." Facile, contemptim de jure disserendo, perturbare Lætorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatæ multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertinacia tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento prœlio foret, ni Quinctius, consul alter, consularibus negotio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem sævientem precibus lenisset, nunc orasset tribunos, ut concilium dimitterent: Darent iræ spatium, non vim suam illis tempus adempturum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et patres in populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

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LVII.

The Consuls convene the Senate. — Thanks are returned to Quinctius for having, by his exertions, quieted the disturbance. — The law is finally carried without opposition.

Ægre sedata ab Quinctio plebes, multo ægrius consul alter a patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis senatum consules habent. Ubi cum timor atque ira in vicem sententias variassent; quo magis, spatio interposito, ab impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plus abhorrebant a certatione animi; adeo ut Quinctio gratias agerent, quod ejus opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem majestatem esse vellet, quanta esse in concordi civitate posset. Dum tribunique et consules ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rem publicam magis quorum in manu sit, quam ut incolumis sit, quæri. Appius contra testari deos atque homines, rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseri; non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse; graviores accipi leges quam in Sacro monte acceptæ sint. Victus tamen patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.

LVIII.

Tribunes elected for the first time by the tribes. — War breaks out with the Volsci and Æqui. — Appius Claudius sent against the Volsci, and Quinctius against the Æqui. — Mutinous spirit of the army under Appius.

Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt. Numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, Cn. Siccium L. Numitorium M. Duellium Sp. Icilium L. Mecilium.

Volscum Æquicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet. Compositis deinde rebus castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus; Quinctio Æqui provincia evenit. Eadem in militia sævitia Appii, quæ domi, esse; liberior, quod sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio:

se victum ab ea; se unico consule electo adversus tribuniciam potestatem, perlatam legem esse; quam minore conatu, nequaquam tanta patrum spe, priores impedierunt consules. Hæc ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum sævo imperio exercitum stimulabat; nec ulla vi domari poterat: tantum certamen animis imbiberant. Segniter, otiose, neglegenter, contumaciter omnia agere: nec pudor nec metus coercebat. Si citius agi vellet agmen, tardius sedulo incedere: si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua sponte motam remittere industriam: præsenti vultus demittere, tacite prætereuntem exsecrari; ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur. Omni nequidquam acerbitate prompta, nihil jam cum militibus agere; a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere, tribunos plebei cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare.

LIX.

State of things in the Roman army known to the Volsci, who press on with redoubled vigor. —The Romans, when led out, are unwilling to fight, and retreat ignominiously from the field.—Merely defend their ramparts from the foe. —Appius, yielding to the insubordinate spirit of his soldiers, gives orders to march from the Volscian territory. —Volsci attack the Romans on their march. — Disgraceful

Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo magis, sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio, quam Fabio, violentior fuit: non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra; nec ante restitit, quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit fœdamque extremi agminis cædem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor jam a vallo summoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tantum castra militem Romanum noluisse; alibi gaudere sua clade atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus cum insuper sævire vellet, contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique monentes, ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cujus vis omnis in con-

flight of the latter. — Appius decimates his army.

sensu obedientium esset. Negare vulgo milites se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri voces postulantium, ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse; ingentisque mali non suspicionem modo sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus tandem (quando quidem nihil præter tempus noxæ lucrarentur), remissa contione, iter in insequentem diem pronuntiari cum jussisset, prima luce classico signum profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo excitati, novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit, ut neque imperia exaudiri, neque instrui acies posset. Nemo ullius, nisi fugæ, memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque evasere, ut prius hostis desisteret sequi, quam Romanus fugere. Tandem, collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus, consul, cum revocando nequidquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; advocataque contione, invectus haud falso in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinæ, desertorem signorum; ubi signa ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos; ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque, qui reliquerant ordines, virgis cæsos securi percussit; cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad supplicium lecti.

LX.

Good feeling in the army under Quinctius. — The Æqui dare not meet the Romans in the field. — Their territory ravaged.

Contra ea in Æquis inter consulem ac milites comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quinctius erat lenior, et sævitia infelix collegæ, quo is magis gauderet ingenio suo, effecerat. Huic tantæ concordiæ ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se, Æqui vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi sunt. Nec ullo ante bello latius inde actæ prædæ. Ea omnis militi data est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus haud minus quam præmio gaudent militum animi. Cum duci, tum propter

ducem patribus quoque placatior exercitus redit, sibi parentem alteri exercitui dominum datum ab senatu memorans. Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forisque annum exactum, insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt; res major victoria suscepti certaminis, quam usu: plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est, patribus ex concilio summovendis, quam virium aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus.

LXI.

Fresh struggles on account of the agrarian law.—Appius Claudius summoned for trial.—His bold deportment.—Makes a fearless defence. — Adjournment of trial.—Appius dies during the interval.

Turbulentior inde annus excepit, L. Valerio Tib. Æmilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria, tum propter judicium Appii Claudii, cui, acerrimo adversario legis, causamque possessorum publici agri, tamquam tertio consuli, sustinenti, M. Duellius et Cn. Siccius diem dixere. Numquam ante tam invisus plebi reus ad judicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum. Patres quoque non temere pro ullo æque adnisi sunt: propugnatorem senatus majestatisque vindicem suæ, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus, modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, iratæ objici plebi. Unus e patribus, ipse Ap. Claudius, et tribunos et plebem et suum judicium pro nihilo habebat. Illum non minæ plebis, non senatus preces perpellere umquam potuere, non modo ut vestem mutaret aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis, cum ad populum agenda causa esset, aliquid leniret atque summitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus reum timeret, quam consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu; adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupefecit et plebem, ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent, trahi deinde rem sinerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit: ante tamen,

quam prodicta dies veniret, morbo moritur. Cujus cum laudationem tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebes fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit; et laudationem tam æquis auribus mortui audivit, quam vivi accusationem audierat, et exsequias frequens celebravit.

LXII.

The consul Valerius marches against the Æqui. — Deterred from assaulting their camp by a religious scruple. — Ravages the land. — The other consul marches against the Sabines. — Nothing decisive effected.

Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Æquos profectus, cum hostem ad prœlium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit fœda tempestas cum grandine ac tonitribus cœlo dejecta. Admirationem deinde auxit, signo receptui dato, adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita, ut, velut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum, religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Æmilius in Sabinis bellum gessit: et ibi, quia hostis mœnibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modo sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habitabatur, Sabini exciti, cum prædatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti prœlio digressi, postero die rettulere castra in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum, cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

LXIII.

Agrarian commotions. — The Volsci invade the Roman territory, but soon retreat. — The Consuls march forth against them and the Æqui. — The Volsci are routed and flee into the city of Antium. — The Sabines ravage the Roman territory.

Inter hæc bella, manente discordia domi, consules Titus Numicius Priscus A. Verginius facti. Non ultra videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariæ legis, ultimaque vis parabatur, cum, Volscos adesse fumo ex incendiis villarum fugaque agrestium cognitum est. Ea res maturam jam seditionem ac prope erumpentem repressit. Consules, coacti extemplo ab senatu ad bellum, educta ex urbe juventute, tranquilliorem ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem, nihil aliud quam perfusis vano

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timore Romanis, citato agmine abeunt. Numicius Antium adversus Volscos, Verginius contra Æquos profectus. Ibi ex insidiis prope magna accepta clade, virtus militum rem prolapsam neglegentia consulis restituit. Melius in Volscis imperatum est: fusi primo prœlio hostes, fugaque in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant, opulentissimam acti. Quam consul oppugnare non ausus, Cænonem, aliud oppidum nequaquam tam opulentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Æqui Volscique Romanos exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis populantes incessere. Deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in fines, plus cladium quam intulerant acceperunt.

LXIV.

War with the Sabines. — Conflict with the Volsci. — Drawn battle. — Skilful manœuvre of the consul Quinctius.

Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed ut semper alias, sollicitæ pacis certamine patrum et plebis. Irata plebes interesse consularibus comitiis noluit: per patres clientesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini, Crustuminos campos citato agmine transgressi, cum cædes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina mœnibusque pulsi, ingentes tamen prædas hominum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus, ipsum quidem agmen adipisci æquis locis non potuit; populationem adeo effuse fecit, ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret, multiplicique capta præda rediret. Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta, cum ducis, tum militum opera. Primum æquo campo signis collatis pugnatum, ingenti cæde utrimque, plurimo sanguine: et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo propior erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans, concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vincere, vicere. Consul metuens, ne nimis instando renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere pauci dies, velut tacitis

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA LIBRI.

LIBER XXI.

I.

Origin of the Second Punic War.—Reflections on its importance.—Hannibal's oath against the Romans, taken in early boyhood, at the instance of his father, Hamilcar.

In parte operis mei licet mihi præfari, quod in principio summæ totius professi plèrique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quæ umquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessère. Nam neque validiores opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum umquam virium aut roboris fuit; et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese, sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello; et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope majoribus certarunt quam viribus: Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma; Pœnis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam, Hannibalem annorum ferme novem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo trajecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum, tactis sacris jurejurando adactum, se, cum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum [illegible]ssam, et Sardiniam inter motum

Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.

II.

Conduct and movements of Hamilcar in Spain, with a view to the enlargement of the Carthaginian sway in that country.—On his death Hasdrubal succeeds to the command.—Murder of Hasdrubal.—The Iberus previously made the boundary between the Roman and Carthaginian dependencies in Spain, with the exception of Saguntum.

His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret majus eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Pœnos arma Italiæ illaturos fuisse, qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore ætatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus; gener inde ob altam indolem profecto animi adscitus, et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane voluntate principum, in imperio positus. Is, plura consilio quam vi gerens, hospitiis regulorum magis, conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus, quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam, ob iram interfecti ab eo domini, obtruncat; comprensusque ab circumstantibus, haud alio quam si evasisset vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut, superante lætitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem præbuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia miræ artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo jungendis fuerat, fœdus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Iberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

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III., IV.

Discussion in the Carthaginian Senate as to Hannibal's being appointed successor in command to Hasdrubal.—He is sent into Spain accordingly.—His character and talents.

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin prærogativam militarem, qua extemplo juvenis Hannibal in prætorium delatus, imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se arcessierat; actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat, Barcinis nitentibus, ut adsuesceret militiæ Hannibal, atque in paternas succederet opes. —Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit: Hamilcarem juvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset: neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam præficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciæ ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari, aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par: cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus. Vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora: id, quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio arcessita: multi sæpe militari sagulo opertum humi jacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat: princeps in prœlium ibat, ultimus conserto prœlio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus

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deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quæ agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, prætermissa.

V.

Hannibal, on being sent as commander, makes war on some Spanish tribes, concealing his real object, which was to attack the Saguntines. — His victory over the united forces of the Carpetani, Olcades, and Vaccæi.

Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta, bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines (ultra Iberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat) induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, jungendoque, tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam, urbem opulentam, caput gentis ejus, expugnat diripitque; quo metu perculsæ minores civitates, stipendio imposito, imperium accepere. Victor exercitus, opulentusque præda, Carthaginem novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo prædam, stipendioque præterito cum fide exsolvendo, cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccæos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala eorum urbes vi captæ. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi exsulibus Olcadum, priore æstate domitæ gentis, cum se junxissent, concitant Carpetanos; adortique Hannibalem, regressum ex Vaccæis, haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave præda turbavere. Hannibal prœlio abstinuit; castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado trajecit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus præcepit, ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur

impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos (quadraginta autem erant) disponit. Carpetanorum cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccæorumque centum milia fuere, invicta acies, si æquo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti, et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato, passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera ripæ vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum; quippe ubi pedes instabilis, ac vix vado fidens, vel ab inermi equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset; eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam, verticoso amni delati in hostes, ab elephantis obtriti sunt: postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam ex tanto pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal, agmine quadrato amnem ingressus, fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris, intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit.

Et jam omnia trans Iberum præter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

VI.

The Saguntines, having become aware of the designs of Hannibal, send ambassadors to Rome. — The Senate resolve to send envoys to Hannibal. — Before any thing is done, however, news arrives that Saguntum is besieged. — Second debate in the Senate.—

Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum jam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen juris, sed vim quæri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi, auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romæ erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Tib. Sempronius Longus; qui cum, legatis in senatum introductis, de re publica rettulissent, placuisse mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna

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Ambassadors sent to Hannibal at Saguntum, who are to proceed to Carthage if he does not desist from the war.

causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam trajicerent, ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari adlatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et alii, provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes, terra marique rem gerendam censebant; alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intenderant bellum. Erant qui non temere movendam rem tantam, exspectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Hæc sententia, quæ tutissima videbatur, vicit; legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Bæbius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in pœnam fœderis rupti deposcendum.

VII.

Siege of Saguntum is pressed with great vigor.—Origin of the city.—Hannibal wounded.—Dismay of the Carthaginians.

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, jam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Iberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis: ceterum in tantas brevi creverant opes, seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento, seu disciplinæ sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis passim agris, urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque, quam cetera circa, vallem vergens. Adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries mœnibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis æquus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, cœptis succedebat. Et turris ingens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceteræ modum altitudinis munitus

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erat; et juventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi majore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus summovere hostem nec quidquam satis tutum munientibus pati. Deinde jam non pro mœnibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat: quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Pœni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset, quin opera ac vineæ desererentur.

VIII.

Vigorous renewal of the siege.—Resolute bravery of the Saguntines.—Description of the missile called Phalarica, as used by the Saguntines. — Its formidable nature.

Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur: per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus (vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis) vineæ cœptæ agi admoverique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Pœnus (ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur); oppidani, ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri cœpti, non sufficiebant. Itaque jam feriebantur arietibus muri, quassataeque multæ partes erant. Una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres deinceps turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fragore ingenti prociderant. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Pœni; qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariæ pugnæ simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conciri solent; sed justæ acies, velut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat; Pœno cepisse jam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente; Saguntinis pro nudata mœnibus patria corpora opponentibus, nec ullo pedem

referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur, nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Falarica erat Saguntinis, missile telum hastili abiegno et cetera tereti præterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat. Id, sicut in pilo quadratum, stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice. Ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si hæsisset in scuto, nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur, conceptumque ipso motu multo majorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat, nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus præbebat.

IX.

The besiegers driven back to their camp.—Arrival of the ambassadors from Rome.—Hannibal puts them off, and writes word and sends messengers to the leaders of the Barcine faction at Carthage.

Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia præter spem resisterent, crevissent animi; Pœnus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset; clamorem repente oppidani tollunt, hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt. Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent, nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operæ esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos Carthaginem protinus ituros; litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinæ præmittit, ut præpararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari pro Romanis posset.

X.

The Roman ambassadors proceed to Carthage.—Debate in the Senate.—

Itaque præterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque irrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam fœderis, magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam,

Hanno alone, in opposition to the rest of the Senate, pleads the cause of the treaty with Rome.—His speech on this occasion.

non cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos, fœderum arbitros ac testes, senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum. Monuisse, prædixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent. Non manes, non stirpem ejus conquiescere viri; nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana fœdera. "Juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni, viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni præbentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur fœdere: mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanæ legiones ducibus isdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta fœdera sunt ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, jus gentium sustulit. Hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur, pulsi ad vos venerunt. Res ex fœdere repetuntur. Publica fraus absit; auctorem culpæ et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum cœperint, vereor ne perseverantius sæviant. Ægates insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, quæ terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex fœdere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo dii hominesque; et id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus fœdus rupisset, eventus belli velut æquus judex, unde jus stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis mœnia quatit ariete: Sagunti ruinæ (falsus utinam vates sim) nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias. Sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse

quod, si ille viveret, bellum jam haberemus [illegible]is; et hunc juvenem tamquam furiam facemque hujus belli odi ac detestor. Nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti fœderis, sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque ejus accedere, neque ille sollicitare quietæ civitatis statum possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant, alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex fœdere Romanis dedant: tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno."

XI.

The Carthaginian Senate decide in favor of the war with Saguntum.—Their answer to the Roman ambassadors.—Attack on Saguntum renewed.—Desperate fighting on both sides.

Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat; infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est, bellum ortum ab Saguntinis non ab Hannibale esse: populum Romanum injuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimæ Carthaginiensium societati præponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem prœliis operibusque habebat, paucorum his dierum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe præmiorum accendit. Ut vero pro contione prædam captæ urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt, ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a prœliis quietem habuerant, nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die umquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est; nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum

omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire [illegible] Hannibal, qua turris mobilis, omnia munimenta [illegible] rans altitudine, agebatur, hortator aderat. Quæ cum admota, catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis, muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal, occasionem ratus, quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus, quod cæmenta non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto, structuræ antiquæ genere. Itaque latius, quam cæderetur, ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt, collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro circumdant. Et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrimque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant: sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione, et minuitur exspectatio externæ opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus, metum defectionis cum præbuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis, omiserunt mota arma.

XII.

The slight chance of a peace tried by two persons—Alcon, a Saguntine, and Alorcus, a Spaniard.—Harsh terms insisted upon by Hannibal.

Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat, Maharbale Himilconis filio (eum præfecerat Hannibal) ita impigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et prœlia aliquot secunda fecit, et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque prœlium cum multorum utrimque cæde initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem

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Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco, insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimæ movebant, condicionesque tristes, ut ab irato victore, ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus, apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento, egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent, ubi Pœnus jussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Sanguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos, ubi alia vincantur, adfirmans, se pacis ejus interpretem fore pollicetur. Erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium, transgressus munimenta, ad prætorem Saguntinum (et ipse ita jubebat) est deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, summota cetera multitudine, senatus Alorco datus est, cujus talis oratio fuit.

XIII.

Speech of Alorcus to the Saguntine Senate.

"Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem. Cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem (sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus) ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem ca[illegible] me, [illegible] ullius alterius, loqui quæ loquor [illegible]d vos, vel ea [illegible]des [illegible]t, quod neque dum vestris viribu[illegible] neque [illegible]um auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pa[illegible]d vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab [illegible]manis [illegible]lla est spes, nec vestra vos jam aut arma aut mœnia satis [illegible]ndunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam æqu[illegible] Cujus ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut vi[illegible]fert Hannibal, sic vos ut

victi audiatis; et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed, quidquid relinquitur, pro munere habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam, ex magna parte diru-tam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum ædificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se jubet deferri: corpora vestra conjugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Hæc victor hostis imperat; hæc, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum: sed vel hæc patienda censeo potius quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra conjuges ac liberos belli jure sinatis."

XIV.

The chief men of Saguntum throw all the gold and silver, collected from both public and private stores, into a fire hastily kindled, and then most of them consign themselves also to the flames.—The Carthaginians in the mean time break into and take the city.

Ad hæc audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores, secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne, ex publico privatoque in forum collatum, in ignem ad id raptim factum conjicientes, eodem plerique semet ipsi præcipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam ejus cohors Pœnorum, impetu facto, cum signum imperatori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerent. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit e[illegible], qui aut inclusi cum conjugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnæ quam morientes fecerunt.

XV.

Immense plunder obtained by the foe.—Inquiry by Livy into the dates assigned by different writers for the events belonging to this part of the war.

Captum oppidum est cum ingenti præda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in cædibus vix ullum discrimen ætatis ira fecerat, et captivi militum præda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniæ redactum esse constat, et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense, quam cœptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quæ si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius Tib. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuêre, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Tib. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non cœptum oppugnari est sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servilii et C. Flaminii non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Tib. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

XVI.

News of the fall of Saguntum brought to Rome.—Excitement and alarm in that city.

Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul mæror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si jam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis

quam consulerent. Nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum. Pœnum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis Iberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, conciturum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes: cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro mœnibus Romanis esse.

XVII.

Arrangements made by the Romans against the foe.

Nominatæ jam antea consulibus provinciæ erant, tum sortiri jussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretæ legiones, et sociûm quantum ipsis videretur, et classis quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti equites; naves ducentæ viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti deductæ. Latum inde ad populum, vellent juberent populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici: ejusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita, atque adorati dii, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret, quod bellum populus Romanus jussisset. Inter consules ita copiæ divisæ: Sempronio datæ legiones duæ (ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni equites), et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves longæ centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Tib. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Pœnum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius prætor et ipse cum haud invalido præsidio in Galliam mittebatur. Navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta

quinqueremes datæ (neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant), et duæ Romanæ legiones cum suo justo equitatu et quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sexcentis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia nondum versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

XVIII.

Ambassadors are again sent to Carthage, to inquire whether Hannibal had laid siege to Saguntum by public authority.—Speech of one of the Carthaginian Senate, acknowledging this to have been the case.—War thereupon declared by the Roman ambassadors.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia justa ante bellum fierent, legatos majores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Æmilium, C. Licinium, Q. Bæbium, in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset, et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: "Præceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis: ceterum hæc legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur: nunc ab nobis et confessio culpæ exprimitur, et, ut a confessis, res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quærendum censeam, sed utrum jure an injuria. Nostra enim hæc quæstio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio: vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per fœdus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum fœdus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis (necdum enim erant socii

vestri) cautum est. At enim eo fœdere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici: vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum fœdus fecit, quia neque auctoritate patrum nec populi jussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro fœdus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent fœdera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut jussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis fœdus, quod nobis insciis fecit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Iberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat." Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto, "hic" inquit "vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite." Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret utrum vellet, succlamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt, et, quibus acciperent animis, isdem se gesturos.

XIX.

Comments of Livy on the Saguntine question.—The Roman ambassadors pass into Spain, and endeavor with but little success to detach the Spanish tribes from the Carthaginian side.

Hæc directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est, quam de fœderum jure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid fœdus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore fœdere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, cum in Lutatii fœdere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset; in Hasdrubalis fœdere nec exceptum tale quidquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit fœdus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quidquam mutaretur. Quamquam, et si priore fœdere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis: nam neque additum erat iis qui tunc essent, nec ne qui postea adsumerentur: et cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis æquum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? Tantum ne Carthaginien-

sium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem, aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romæ imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, et in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Pœnis, trajecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia tædebat imperii Punici, multos trans Iberum populos ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit: "Quæ verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiæ præponamus, cum, qui id fecerunt, Saguntinos crudelius, quam Pœnus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quæratis socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est: Hispanis populis, sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinæ erunt, ne quis fidei Romanæ aut societati confidat." Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum jussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniæ benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequidquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

XX.

The Roman ambassadors having passed into Gaul, endeavor to prevail upon the Gallic tribes to refuse a passage through their territories to the Carthaginian army. — Their attempts are received with shouts of derision, and meet with a prompt denial. — They then, after visiting Massilia, an

In iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Pœno bellum Italiæ inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus majoribusque natu juventus sedaretur: adeo stolida impudensque postulatio visa est, censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id advertere in se, agrosque suos pro alienis populandos objicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meri-

allied city, return to Rome.

tum esse neque Carthaginiensium injuriam, ob quæ aut pro Romanis aut adversus Pœnos sumant arma: contra ea audire sese, gentis suæ homines agro finibusque Italiæ pelli a populo Romano, stipendiumque pendere, et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliæ conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quidquam pacatumve satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita, præoccupatos jam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse: sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore (adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse), ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniæ et Galliæ populis legati Romam redeunt, haud ita multo post quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem in exspectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama jam Iberum Pœnos tramisisse.

XXI.

Hannibal retires to New Carthage into winter-quarters.—He allows his Spanish auxiliaries to visit their homes, on condition of their returning early in the spring.—On the arrival of spring he makes arrangements for the safety of Africa during his overland march against Italy.

Hannibal, Sagunto capto, Carthaginem novam in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis quæ Romæ quæque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquiis prædæ, nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis milites convocat. "Credo ego vos," inquit "socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniæ populis, aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse, aut in alias terras transferendum bellum: ita enim hæ gentes non pacis solum sed etiam victoriæ bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus prædam et gloriam quæremus. Itaque cum longinqua a domo instet militia, incertumque sit, quando domos vestras et quæ cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere vult, commeatum do. Primo vere edico adsitis, ut, diis bene juvantibus bellum in-

gentis gloriæ prædæque futurum incipiamus." Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et jam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut jam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal, cum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades profectus Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido præsidio firmare eam statuit. Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime jaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pigneribus obligati, stipendia facerent. Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites cetratos misit in Africam, et funditores Baleares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini præsidio esse, partim distribui per Africam jubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis quattuor milia conscripta delectæ juventutis, præsidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem jubet.

XXII.

He then assigns Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, and strengthens him with African and other troops. — Commencement of his march to the river Iberus. —His dream.

Neque Hispaniam negligendam ratus (atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos), Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eum Africis maxime præsidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Balearibus quingentis. Ad hæc peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphœnices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinqua-

ginta, et Numidæ Maurique, accolæ Oceani, ad mille octingenti, et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, ducenti equites, et, ne quid terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus. Classis præterea data ad tuendam maritimam oram, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duæ, triremes quinque; sed aptæ instructæque remigio triginta et duæ quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit; atque inde profectus præter Etovissam urbem ad Iberum maritimamque oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo juvenem divina specie, qui se ab Jove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde sequeretur, neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum, quidnam id esset quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse eum; vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri, ac post insequi cum fragore cœli nimbum. Tum, quæ moles ea quidve prodigii esset, quærentem audisse vastitatem Italiæ esse: pergeret porro ire, nec ultra inquireret, sineretque fata in occulto esse.

XXIII.

Hannibal crosses the Iberus. — Subdues the Ilergetes and other Spanish tribes adjacent to the Pyrenees. — Places Hanno in command over these regions, in order to secure the narrow gorges which connect Spain

Hoc visu lætus tripertito Iberum copias traject, præmissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent, Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Iberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quæ subjecta Pyrenæis montibus est, subegit; oræque huic omni præfecit Hannonem, ut fauces quæ Hispanias Galliis jungunt in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad præsidium obti-

with Gaul. — Three thousand of the Carpetani turn back, being discouraged by the length and difficulty of the intended march. —Hannibal sends home also seven thousand of the other Spaniards.

nendæ regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenæum saltum traduci exercitus est cœptus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viæ insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi irritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipse gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

XXIV.

Hannibal crosses the Pyrenees. — Some of the Gallic tribes take up arms to oppose him, and assemble at Ruscino. —But their leaders are won over by presents, and he is allowed to pass on without any molestation.

Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenæum transgreditur, et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli, quamquam Italiæ bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenæum Hispanos fama erat præsidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, colloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se lætum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliæ, non hostem, advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. Et per nuntios quidem hæc. Ut vero reguli Gallorum, castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis, haud gravanter ad Pœnum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos præter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

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XXV.

Revolt of the Boii, who also instigate the Insubres to take up arms.—Flight of the Roman commissioners who had come to assign lands for the colonies of Placentia and Cremona.—They take refuge in Mutina, which the Gauls besiege.—Ambassadors sent to expostulate with the Boii.—They are seized by the latter, and held in confinement.—L. Manlius, the prætor, marches to the aid of Mutina, but falls into an ambuscade and loses many of his men.—He makes a second attempt to reach Mutina, but on entering the woods is again attacked by the Gauls, and is defeated with considerable loss.

In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Iberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpis jam transisset, Boii sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas ægre patiebantur. Itaque, armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto, tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo, sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffisi Placentiæ mœnibus, Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est: pro Annio Servilioque Q. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinæ cum obsiderentur, et gens, ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari cœptum de pace agi; evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium, non contra jus modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quæ data in id tempus erat, fide, comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Cum hæc de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina præsidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius prætor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvæ tunc circa viam erant, plerisque incultis. Ibi, inexplorato profectus, in insidias præcipitatus, multaque cum cæde suorum ægre in apertos

campos emersit. Ibi castra communita; et, quia Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro cœptum; nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis: ubi rursus silvæ intratæ, tum postremos adorti, cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium, septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere. Inde, apertis locis facile tutantes agmen, Romani Tannetum, vicum propinquum Pado, contendere: ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio, adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium, tutabantur.

XXVI.

The Senate orders the prætor Atilius to carry aid to Manlius. — P. Cornelius also sets out with sixty ships of war, arrives at Massilia, and pitches his camp at the nearest mouth of the Rhone. — Hannibal enters the territory of the Volcæ, who retreat to the opposite bank of the Rhone. — Hannibal makes preparations to force the passage of the stream.

Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium prætorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum, dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio jubent; qui sine ullo certamine (abscesserant enim metu hostes) Tannetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius, in locum ejus, quæ missa cum prætore erat, scripta legione nova, profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus, præter oram Etruriæ Ligurumque, et inde Saluviûm montes, pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum ostium Rhodani (pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit) castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenæos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis ab jactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites, ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis, ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto

hostes præmittit. Hannibal, ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis, jam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validæ. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Pœnum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum trajectis, ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal, et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suæ tenuerant, simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque; simul et ipsi trajici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus; deinde et ipsi milites, simul copia materiæ simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquæ et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

XXVII.

Stratagem of Hannibal.—The Carthaginian forces cross the river.

Jamque omnibus satis comparatis ad trajiciendum, terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes; quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei jubet, et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime trajecto amni, circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvæ insulæ circumfusum amnem latiorem, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim cæsa materia ratesque fabricatæ, in quibus equi virique et alia onera trajicerentur. Hispani, sine ulla mole, in utres vestimentis conjectis ipsi cætris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus junctis trajectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad con-

silium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco, prodito fumo significant, transisse, et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad trajiciendum. Jam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres: eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen, ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis, parte superiore transmittens, tranquillitatem infra trajicientibus lintribus præbebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur, præter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves.

XXVIII.

The Gauls are defeated and driven back from the river. —Mode of transporting the elephants across the stream.

Galli occursant in ripam cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita, vibrantesque dexteris tela, quamquam ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum militumque, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa trajicientes suos hortabantur. Jam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente, et ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli, postquam, utroque vim facere conati, pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt, trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium trajectis, spernens jam Gallicos tumultus, castra locat.

Elephantorum trajiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo; certe variata memoria actæ rei. Quidam, congregatis ad ripam elephantis, tradunt, ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destituerat vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat ratibus trajectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem

unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam, a terra in amnem porrexerunt; quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripæ religatam, pontis in modum humo injecta constraverunt, ut beluæ audacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis, æque lata, longa pedes centum, ad trajiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; et cum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam, prægredientibus feminis, acti, in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis, alii deinde repetiti ac trajecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur: primus erat pavor, cum, soluta ab ceteris rate, in altum raperentur. Ibi, urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant; donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam sævientes quidam in flumen; sed, pondere ipso stabiles, dejectis rectoribus, quærendis pedetentim vadis, in terram evasere.

XXII.

While the elephants are being conveyed across the stream Hannibal sends five hundred Numidian horsemen towards the Roman camp, to ascertain if possible the numbers and probable movements of the enemy.—These fall in with the Roman horsemen and Gauls, sent out by Scipio for a similar purpose.—A fierce encounter ensues, in which the Ro-

Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantæ copiæ essent et quid pararent. Huic alæ equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Prœlium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur. Nam, præter multa vulnera, cædes etiam prope par utrimque fuit; fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis, jam admodum fessis, victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum; victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque belli, ut summæ rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam, Romanis

Romans prove victorious.

portendit. Ut, re ita gesta, ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis cœptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet; et Hannibalem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam intenderet iter, an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a præsenti certamine Boiorum legatorum reguliquæ Magali adventus; qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

Harangue of Hannibal to his troops on their intended march over the Alps.

XXX. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione, varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: Mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terræ, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Iberum trajecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter. Nunc, postquam multo majorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenæum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi, trajectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiæ sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere—quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenæi jugis:— nullas profecto terras cœlum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere

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atque alere animantes. Pervias paucis esse, exercitibus invias? Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes transgressos? ne majores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiæ cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus sæpe agminibus cum liberis ac conjugibus, migrantium modo, tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato, nihil secum præter instrumenta belli portanti, quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quidquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quæ adiri posse Pœnus desperet? Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victæ, aut itineris finem sperent campum interjacentem Tiberi ac mœnibus Romanis.

XXXI.

Hannibal proceeds upward along the bank of the Rhone, making for the inland parts of Gaul.—Reason for doing this.—Arrives at the junction of the Isara and the Rhone.—Acts as arbitrator in settling the dissensions of the Allobroges.—Is supplied by them with provisions and other necessaries.—Continues his march.—Crosses the Druentia.

His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare jubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliæ petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes, diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi, confluunt in unum: mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens jam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambigebant fratres. Major, et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et cœtu juniorum, qui jure minus vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Hujus seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem rejecta esset, ar-

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biter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium majori restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adjutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes præparari cogebant. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum, cum jam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliæ fluminum difficillimus transitu est. Nam, cum aquæ vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque isdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti præbet. Et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

XXXII.

P. Cornelius, the Roman consul, having fruitlessly attempted to overtake Hannibal, resolves to encounter him when descending from the Alps.—He sends his brother, Cn. Scipio, with the principal part of his forces, into Spain, to oppose Hasdrubal.—He himself, with a very small force, returns to Genua.—March of Hannibal over the Alps.—Difficulties encountered by him,

P. Cornelius consul, triduo fere post quam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta, nec facile se tantum progressos adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo, qui circa Padum erat, exercitu Italiam defensurus. Hannibal ab Druentia, campestri maxime

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from the nature of the route and the attacks of the mountaineers.

itinere, ad Alpes, cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum, pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in majus vero ferri solent, præcepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo, nivesque cœlo prope immixtæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaliaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu fœdiora, terorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani; qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa jussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca præmissis postquam comperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia præruptaque, quam extentissima potest valle, locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuissent colloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in suo quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud quam quod parabatur consumpto, cum eodem quo constiterant loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis, impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit, iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit.

XXXIII.

March over the Alps continued.—Fresh difficulties and disasters.—Puts the mountaineers at length to flight.—Makes now considerable progress.

Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen reliquum incedere cœpit. Jam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios, arce occupata sua, super caput imminentes, alios via transire hostes. Utraque simul objecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos de-

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fixit. Deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid adjecissent ipsi terroris satis ad perniciem fore rati, perversis rupibus, juxta invia ac devia adsueti, decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Pœni oppugnabantur; plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussæque valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent. Multosque turba, cum præcipites deruptæque utrimque angustiæ essent, in immensum altitudinis dejecit; quosdam et armatos. Sed ruinæ maxime modo jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quæ quamquam fœda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret. Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit, periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequidquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco, et cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur; nec per otium modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, viculosque circumjectos capit, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit, et, quia nec montanis primo perculsis nec loco magno opere impediebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viæ confecit.

XXXIV.

Hannibal comes to another tribe of mountaineers.—Suffers severely by their treachery and stratagems.

Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Pœnum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memoran-

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tes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Pœnorum: itaque obedienter imperata facturos, commeatum itinerisque duces, et, ad fidem promissorum, obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset, obsidibus quos dabant acceptis, et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos, composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post, cum robore peditum, circumspectans sollicitusque omnia incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam, et parte altera subjectam jugo insuper imminenti, ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quidquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua montani, interrupto medio agmine, viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

XXXV.

Attacks of the mountaineers now become less vigorous, being confined mostly to small plundering parties.—On the ninth day Hannibal reaches the summit of the Alps.—Remains encamped there for two days.—Fall

Postero die, jam segnius intercursantibus barbaris, junctæ copiæ, saltusque haud sine clade, majore tamen jumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus. Inde montani paciores jam, et latrocinii magis quam belli more, concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti, sicut per artas præcipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia

of snow.—The soldiers become dispirited.—Hannibal shows them the plains of Italy in the distance.—The army begins its descent, which proves more difficult than the ascent had been.

insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen prælebebant.

Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est, per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus, aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initæ valles a conjectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in jugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; jumentaque aliquot, quæ prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis tædio tot malorum nivis etiam casus, occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adjecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum, signis prima luce motis, segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, prægressus signa Hannibal in promontorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat, subjectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos: mœniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiæ modo, sed etiam urbis Romanæ. Cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero prælio arcem et caput Italiæ in manu ac potestate habituros. Procedere inde agmen cœpit, jam nihil ne hostibus quidem præter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via præceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec, qui paulum titubassent, hærere adflicti vestigio suo, aliique super allos et jumenta in homines occiderent.

XXXVI.

The further progress of the army obstructed by a precipitous rock, and the difficulty increased by a recent fall of earth.

Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem, atque ita rectis saxis, ut ægre expeditus miles temptabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. Natura locus jam ante præceps recenti lapsu terræ in pedum mille admodum altitudi-

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—Depth of the precipice nearly a thousand feet. —Hannibal resolves to make a circuitous route for his troops.—The attempt proves unavailing.—Sufferings of the men and of the beasts of burden.

nem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viæ equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quæ res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit. Nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova, modicæ altitudinis esset, molli nec præaltæ facile pedes ingredientium insistebant. Ut vero tot hominum jumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Tetra ibi luctatio erat, via lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium, et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adjuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerunt; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant: ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Jumenta secabant interdum etiam tamen infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa jactandis gravius in connitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta hærerent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

XXXVII.

A passage is at length cut through the cliff, the operation being facilitated by kindling large fires, and then pouring vinegar on the heated rocks, thus rendering them soft and crumbling.—Four days spent in this work.—The beasts of burden nearly

Tandem nequidquam jumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in jugo posita, ægerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato, tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliuntque anfractibus modi-

perish with hunger. — They are subsequently recruited in pastures lower down the mountains.

cis clivos, ut non jumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum, jumentis prope fame absumptis: nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles apricosque quosdam colles habent, rivosque prope silvas, et jam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi jumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data triduo. Inde ad planum descensum, et jam locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

XXXVIII.

Conflicting accounts of different writers as to the number of troops which Hannibal brought into Italy.—Remarks of Livy on the question over what part of the Alps Hannibal crossed.—He censures and rejects two opinions on this subject, the former being the one which was general in his time, namely, that he crossed the Penine Alps.

Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantæ copiæ transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi conderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis; cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta (in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt): ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse. E Taurinis, quæ Galliæ proxima gens erat, in Italiam degressum cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Penino (atque inde nomen ei jugo Alpium inditum) transgressum, Cœlium per Cremonis jugum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxerint. Nec veri simile est ea

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tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quæ ad Peninum ferunt obsepta gentibus semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, norint nomen inditum, sed ab eo quem in summo sacratum vertice Peninum montani appellant.

XXXIX.

P. Cornelius, the consul, hastens with his forces to the Po, in order to engage with the enemy before they should have recruited from their passage over the Alps. — Hannibal, at the same time, moves from the Taurini. — Scipio crosses the Po, and pitches his camp at the river Ticinus.

Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximæ genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat: otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, jam ex stativis moverat Hannibal, Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis ejus, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; et junxisset sibi, non metu solum sed etiam voluntate, Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quæ pars sequenda esset, Gallos præsentem se secuturos esse ratus. Jam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita jam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos jam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, præstantem virum credebat. Et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat

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in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci trajiciendarum Alpium et effectu.

Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum trajicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

XL.

Harangue of the consul Scipio to his soldiers.

"Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos: quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniæ provinciæ scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Pœnos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis; a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis; a quibus capta belli præmia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt, nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, cum plures perierint quam supersint, plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustineri vis ulla possit. Effigies, immo umbræ hominum, fame, frigore, illuvie, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque: ad hoc præusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi— cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis;

reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis. Ac nihil magis vereor, quam ne, vos cum pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum fœderum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos, sine ulla humana ope, committere ac profligare bellum; nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.

XLI.

Harangue of Scipio continued.

"Non vereor, ne quis me hæc vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam provinciam meam, quo jam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli: tamen, cum præterveherer navibus Galliæ oram, ad famam hujus hostis in terram egressus, præmisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri prœlio, qua parte copiarum consederendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta maxime potui celeritate, tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum, cum declinarem certamen, improvisus incidisse videor an occurrere in vestigiis ejus, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri juvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Ægates pugnaverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis æstimatos emisistis; et utrum Hannibal hic sit æmulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus: quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et fœdera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui jussus ab consule nostro præsidium deduxit ab Eryce; qui graves impositas victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens mœrensque accepit; qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo

Romano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos, ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam trajicere, atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere—: veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelæ deinde nostræ duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his impertitis, furiosum juvenem sequentes, oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliæ ac Sardiniæ, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliæ sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova possint præsidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana mœnia pugnemus. Unus quisque se non corpus suum, sed conjugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum; qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore."

XLII.

Hannibal having drawn his army around for the spectacle, places in the midst the captive mountaineers, and asks, through an interpreter, whether any among them, on condition of being released

Hæc apud Romanos consul.

Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit; armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum projectis, interrogare interpretem jussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent, et dejecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum op-

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from fetters, and receiving, if victorious, armor and a horse, were willing to combat with the sword. — They all to a man agree to do so.— Lots are cast, and they contend bravely with one another.

tabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret. Ut cujusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter ejusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

XLIII.

Harangue of Hannibal to his soldiers.

Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata, ita apud eos locutus fertur: "Si, quem animum in alienæ sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in æstimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites. Neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quædam veluti imago vestræ condicionis erat. Ac nescio an majora vincula majoresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit. Dextra lævaque duo maria claudunt, nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentibus: contra Padus amnis, major Padus ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitæ. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quæ necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, præmia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus amplior homines ne ab diis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent. Quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite, cum diis bene juvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniæ Celtiberiæque montibus pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis: tempus est jam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et

magna operæ pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam fore. Sæpe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit, et incluti populi regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam, dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est cur illi vobis comparandi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum, per tot ferocissimos Hispaniæ et Galliæ populos, vincentes huc pervenistis: pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa æstate cæso, victo, circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in prætorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniæ Galliæque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo majus est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis, demptis signis, Pœnos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi æstimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cujus non ante oculos ipse sæpe militare aliquod ediderim facinus; cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me milies donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.

XLIV.

Harangue of Hannibal to his soldiers continued.

"Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris; veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos Carthaginienses, cum ob patriam tum ob iram justissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum, infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam

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hostis, quanto major spes, major est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accendit præterea et stimulat animos dolor, injuria, indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere æquum censet: circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus; neque eos quos statuit terminos observat. Ne transieris Iberum, ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis! ad Iberum est Saguntum: nusquam te vestigio moveris! Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam adimis? Etiam Hispanias? Et inde cessero: in Africam transcendes. Transcendes autem dico? duos consules hujus anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil umquam nobis relictum est nisi quod armis vindicaremus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient. Vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse, et, omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis, aut vincere, aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in prœlio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus si destinatum in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum eo telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est."

XLV.

The Romans throw a bridge over the Ticinus, and erect a fort to defend it.— Maharbal is sent by Hannibal, while the Romans are engaged in this work, with a body of Numid-

His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum jungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt. Pœnus, hostibus opere occupatis, Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime jubet, principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte per-

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ian horse to lay waste the territories of the Roman allies.—The Romans cross the Ticinus, and take up a position near Hannibal.—Hannibal animates his soldiers by promises of rewards, if they should prove victorious.

fecto, traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum præmonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa præmia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi qui accepisset liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cujus suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum læva manu, dextera silicem retinens, si falleret, Jovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id moræ quod nondum pugnarent ad potienda sperata rati, prœlium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

XLVI.

The Romans dispirited.—Scipio sets out with his cavalry and light-armed spearmen towards the camp of the enemy, to observe their force from a nearer point of view.—Encounters Hannibal, who had also advanced to ex-

Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis: nam et lupus intraverat castra, laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore prætorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis, Scipio, cum equitatu jaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium, exque propinquo copias, quantæ et cujus generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros

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plore the adjacent country.—Battle of cavalry.—Rout of the Roman spearmen.—The consul wounded.—His life saved by his young son.—Defeat, but orderly retreat of the Roman horse.

primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum et equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad prœlium sese expediebant. Scipio jaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos, sociorumque quod roboris fuit, in subsidiis. Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato jaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps. Dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, jam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna iverat, donec Numidæ, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic erit juvenis penes quem perfecti hujusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Pœnisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa jaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidæ invaserunt. Alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra, nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo, reduxit. Servati consulis decus Cœlius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat: malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores, et fama obtinuit.

XLVII.

The battle of the Ticinus shows the superiority of Hannibal's cavalry.—The Roman army, therefore, is withdrawn by night from the

Hoc primum cum Hannibale prœlium fuit; quo facile apparuit et equitatu meliorem Pœnum esse, et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte, jussis militibus vasa silentio colligere, castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est,

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level country between the Alps and the Po. — They cross this latter river, and arrive at Placentia. — Hannibal pursues. — Delayed, however, for some time in effecting the passage of the Ticinus. — Encamps finally six miles from Placentia. — Offers the Romans battle.

ut ratibus, quibus junxerat flumen, nondum resolutis, sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis, copias trajiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenire quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos: tamen ad sexcentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Cœlius auctor est, Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo transnasse; ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis ejus vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites, armis equisque salvis, tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut jam Hispanos omnes inflati transvexerint utres; et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerint, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis transduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate jungendo flumini inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites Hispanorum expeditos præmissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, trajicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie directa potestatem pugnæ fecit.

XLVIII.

A large body of Gauls, having slain the guards at the gates, leave the Roman camp, and pass over to Hannibal. — He receives them

Insequenti nocte cædes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re major, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites, vigilibus ad portas trucidatis, ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos Pœnus benigne adlocutus, et spe ingentium donorum accensos, in civitates quemque suas ad sollici-

kindly, promises great rewards, and sends them back to their several states, for the purpose of gaining over their countrymen.—Scipio removes his camp to the river Trebia.—Hannibal in want of provisions.—Obtains a supply from Clastidium, where the Romans had collected a large quantity of grain, and which place he gains by treachery.

tandos popularium animos dimisit. Scipio, cædem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere velut injecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium, jam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate prædæ in vacua Romana castra Numidæ devertissent. Ibi dum, perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum, nullo satis digno moræ pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et cum jam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio, nec vexationem vulneris in via jactati ultra patiens et collegam (jam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat) ratus exspectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quæ per hostium agros euntem nusquam præparatis commeatibus major in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino præfecto præsidii, corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Pœnis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama clementiæ in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil sævitum est.

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XLIX.

While the war by land is at a stand beside the Trebia, operations are going on by land and sea around Sicily and the islands adjacent to Italy. —A Carthaginian fleet is sent to lay waste the coast of Italy.—Three of the vessels are taken by Hiero of Syracuse.—He learns from the captives that another Carthaginian fleet had been sent to obtain possession of Lilybæum.—Hiero accordingly puts the Romans upon their guard, and Lilybæum is made secure.—Preparations for a naval battle on the part of the Carthaginian fleet off Lilybæum.—The Romans do not decline the conflict.

Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiæ imminentes, et a Sempronio consule, et ante adventum ejus, terra marique res gestæ. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiæ a Carthaginiensibus missæ, novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt; tres in fretum avertit æstus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missæ, qui tum forte Messanæ erat, consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis, præter viginti naves, cujus ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybæi occupandi præcipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disjecti forent, cam quoque classem ad Ægates insulas dejectam. Hæc, sicut audita erant, rex M. Æmilio prætori, cujus Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit, monetque ut Lilybæum firmo teneret præsidio. Extemplo et circa a prætore ad civitates missi legati tribunique: suos ad curam custodiæ intenderent; ante omnia Lilybæum teneri; ad apparatum belli edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent, et, ubi signum datum esset, ne quis moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem. Simul itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybæum, præsensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant: extem-

plo signum datum ex speculis, et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum. Pars militum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnæ esset, exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detractavere pugnam, et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.

L.

Naval conflict.—The Carthaginian vessels, being abundantly supplied with mariners, but deficient in soldiers, seek to make it a battle of ships rather than of men and arms. —The Romans, encouraged by this, press on to close conflict, and surround and take seven Carthaginian vessels; the rest of the enemy take to flight. — Arrival of Sempronius, the consul, at Messana.—Conference between him and Hiero. —They both proceed to Lilybæum with united fleets. —Receive intelligence on their

Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle: contra eludere Pœnus, et arte non virem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebant; et sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum, et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves Punicæ circumventæ, fugam ceteræ ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautæque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris ejus qui Messanæ erant, Tib. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem armatam ornatamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in prætoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac

passage of the naval battle that had just been fought.

felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulæ et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit, pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum juvenis adjuvisset, eo senem adjuturum; frumentum vestimentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis præbiturum: grande periculum Lilybæo maritimisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob hæc consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybæum classe peteret: et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybæum fusasque et captas hostium naves accepere.

LI.

The consul, having left the prætor to defend the coast of Sicily, sails to the island of Melita. — Surrender of Melita. — He proceeds in quest of the other Carthaginian fleet which had ravaged the territory of Vibo. — Despatches received from the Senate, directing the consul to bring aid to his colleague as soon as possible. — He sends his army by sea to Ariminum. — He himself, soon after, sails for the same place, and joins his colleague at Trebia.

A Lilybæo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso, relictoque prætore ad tuendam Siciliæ oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quæ a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, trajecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, præfectus præsidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum, oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybæum, captivique et a consule et a prætore, præter insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, trajecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus. Jam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiæ oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi agro, urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli exscensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteræque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore collegæ ferret auxilium, missæ traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves impositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sexto Pom-

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ponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram Italiæ tuendam attribuit, M. Æmilio prætori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse, compositis Siciliæ rebus, decem navibus oram Italiæ legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegæ conjungitur.

LII.

The country between the Trebia and the Po inhabited by Gauls, who sought to remain neutral until one of the parties should prove victorious.—Hannibal, irritated at this, and in order to maintain his troops by the plunder, lays waste the country.—The Gauls apply to the Romans for aid.—Sempronius sends out a force to protect them.—A battle ensues, but ends in nothing decisive, though the fame of the victory was more with the Romans than the enemy.

Jam ambo consules, et quidquid Romanarum virium erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri prœlio uno et vulnere suo deminutus, trahi rem malebat: recentis animi alter, eoque ferocior, nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant; in duorum præpotentium populorum certamine, per ambiguum favorem, haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid moverint, æquo satis, Pœnus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut præda militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas jussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus injuriæ ad vindices futuros declinant; legatisque ad consulem missis, auxilium Romanorum terræ, ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti, orant. Cornelio nec causa, nec tempus agendæ rei placebat; suspectaque ei gens erat, cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam. Sempronius contra, continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos quosque,

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qui eguissent ope, defensos, censebat. Tum, collega cunctante, equitatum suum, mille peditum jaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Ii sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc graves præda plerosque, cum inopinatos invasissent, ingentem terrorem cædemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi, rursus subsidio suorum prœlium restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes cedentesque cum ad extremum æquassent certamen, major tamen quam hostium Romano fama victoriæ fuit.

LIII.

Exultation of Sempronius.— He indulges in rash and boastful speculations. — Finally, notwithstanding the opposition of his colleague, he orders the soldiers to get ready for an immediate engagement.— Hannibal, being informed of this, through his Gallic spies, looks about for a place for an ambuscade.

Ceterum nemini omnium major justiorque quam ipsi consuli videri: gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse. Restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse præter collegam qui dilatam dimicationem vellet: eum animo magis quam corpore ægrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum ægro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum exspectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Iberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. "Quantum ingemiscant" inquit "patres nostri circa mœnia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra; Pœnum, quod inter Alpes Apenninumque agri sit, suæ dicionis fecisse:" hæc adsidens ægro collegæ, hæc in prætorio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendæ gloriæ, dum æger collega erat. Itaque,

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nequidquam dissentiente Cornelio, parari ad propinquum certamen milites jubet.

Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quidquam consules acturos. Cum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum prædatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendæ rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cujus ne quod prætermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob hæc taliaque speraret propinquum certamen, et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quæ vellet, tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnæ esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Pœnus cœpit.

LIV.

A spot selected for an ambuscade.—A chosen body of troops, under command of Mago, detailed for that office.—Commencement of the battle made by the Numidian horse, who cross the Trebia for the purpose of drawing the enemy over the stream.—Battle fought on a cold and snowy day.—The Romans suffer from the weather.

Erat in medio rivus peraltis utrimque clausus ripis, et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis veribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, "Hic erit locus" Magoni fratri ait "quem teneas: delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias: nunc corpora curare tempus est." Ita prætorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora virorum cerno," inquit Hannibal; "sed uti numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis: hostem cæcum ad has belli artes habetis." Ita mille equitibus Magoni mille peditibus dimissis,

Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare jubet hostium portis, jaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem; injecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Hæc mandata Numidis: ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque præceptum, ut prandere omnes juberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum exspectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum jam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumæ tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interjectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum prægelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat; et quidquid auræ fluminis appropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt (et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri) tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et procedente jam die fame etiam deficere.

LV.

Hannibal meanwhile refreshes the main body of his forces.—Arrangement of his army for battle.—Number of men on the Roman side.—Description of the fight.

Hannibalis interim miles, ignibus ante tentoria factis, oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso, et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baleares locat ante signa, levemque armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum; dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat. In cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effusos sequentes equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato, revocatos circumdedit peditibus.

Duodeviginti milia Romani erant, sociûm nominis Latini viginti; auxilia præterea Cenomanorum: ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. His copiis concursum est. Prœlium a Balearibus ortum est; quibus cum majore robore legiones obsisterent, deductæ propere in cornua leves armaturæ sunt. Quæ res efficit ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur: nam cum vix jam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia, et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube jaculorum a Balearibus conjecta. Ad hoc elephanti, eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentes Pœnus, paulo ante curatis corporibus, in prœlium attulerat: contra jejuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum: sed et Baleares, pulso equite, jaculabantur in latera, et elephanti jam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant; et Mago Numidæque, simul latebras eorum improvida præterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime præter spem omnium adversus elephantos. Eos velites, ad id ipsum locati, verutis conjectis et avertere, et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

LVI.

Continuation of the fight. — Defeat of the Romans.—A large body cut their way through the foe, and escape to Placentia. — Others recross the Trebia, and reach their camp.—The foe pursue as far as

Trepidantes inde, et prope jam in suos consternatos, media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi jussit Hannibal. Ii extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam, eoque novus terror additus Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum jam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alibi evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quæ Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti cæde hostium perrupere: et cum neque

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the Trebia, and then return to their own encampment.—The remnant of the Roman army is subsequently led off by Scipio, silently, in the night-time, to Placentia, and thence across the Po to Cremona.

in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque præ imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factæ; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt, aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere. Aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et jumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostes Pœnis flumen Trebia fuit; et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix lætitiam victoriæ sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum præsidium castrorum, et quod reliquum ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam trajicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia, aut, quia jam moveri nequibant præ lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietisque Pœnis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado trajectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

LVII.

Great alarm at Rome.—Sempronius, the consul, makes his way to the city, at great risk, and holds the Comitia.—New consuls chosen.—Winter movements of Hannibal.—Fails in an attempt on a magazine of provis-

Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut jam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quidquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo portis mœnibusque vim arcerent. Uno consule ad Ticinum victo, altero ex Sicilia revocato, duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse quæ arcessantur? Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad prædandum hostium equites, audacia magis quam

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ions near Placentia. — More successful in an attack on Victumviæ.—The place surrenders. — Cruel treatment of the inhabitants.

consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Id quod unum maxime in præsentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus, et ut quæque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit, et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum præsidio. Ejus castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiæ quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat, jussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre interim prœlium commissum; in quo, quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus injecto defensum egregie præsidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta, et vixdum satis percurato vulnere, ad Victumvias oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat munitum: inde locum frequentaverant accolæ mixti undique ex finitimis populis; et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Hujus generis multitudo, fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam præsidii accensa, armis arreptis, obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt; et, cum ex altera parte nihil præter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta præsidium intra mœnia accepere; jussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem diriperent. Neque ulla, quæ in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, prætermissa clades est: adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhu-

manæ superbiæ editum in miseros exemplum est. Hæ fuere hibernæ expeditiones Hannibalis.

LVIII.

On the approach of spring Hannibal marches into Etruria.—Encounters a violent storm in crossing the Apennines.—Graphic description of the scene.

Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, quies militi data est; et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adjuncturus. Transeuntem Apenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope fœditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut contra enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; dein, cum jam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono cœlum strepere, et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes: captis auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere. Tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec explicare quidquam nec statuere poterant, nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, cum super gelida montium juga concreta esset, tantum nivosæ grandinis dejecit, ut, omnibus omissis, procumberent homines, tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti: tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum jumentorumque strage cum se quisque extollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos, et raris locis ignis fieri est cœptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere: multi homines, multa jumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui prœlio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

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LIX.

Hannibal, having descended from the Apennines, moves his camp back towards Placentia. — Skirmish. — The Romans attack the Carthaginian camp. —Hannibal sallies forth upon them.—Fierce but indecisive encounter.—Hannibal retires among the Ligurians, Sempronius to Luca.

Digressus Apennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit, et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit. Nec Sempronius consul (jam enim redierat ab Roma) detractavit certamen: atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere. Postero die ingentibus animis, vario eventu, pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal, paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis, ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum spectare jubet. Jam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequidquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit, laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra lævaque emissis in hostem, ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla sæva et utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset. Nox accensum ingentibus animis prœlium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam cædes; et sicut æquata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sexcentis plus peditibus, et dimidium ejus equitum cecidit. Sed major Romanis quam pro numero jactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et præfecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quæstores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum, et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

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LX.

Operations of Cn. Scipio in Spain.—Encounter with Hanno.—The latter defeated and taken prisoner.

Dum hæc in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenæosque montes circumvectus, Emporiis appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Lacetanis, omnem oram usque ad Iberum flumen, partim renovandis societatibus, partim novis instituendis, Romanæ dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata facilitatis clementiæque fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores jam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parata est, validæque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptæ sunt. Hannonis cis Iberum provincia erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis ejus præsidium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim, quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit: sex milia hostium cæsa, duo capta cum præsidio castrorum. Nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum præda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum: castra militem ditavere, non ejus modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et ejus, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenæum relictis.

LXI.

Operations in Spain continued.—Movements and partial successes of

Priusquam certa hujus cladis fama accideret, transgressus Iberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, pos-

Hasdrubal.—Counter-movements of Scipio.—Subdues the Ilergetes, who had revolted at the instigation of Hasdrubal.—Overcomes the Ausetani, who had also revolted.

quam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios, vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundæ res neglegentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna cæde, majore fuga ad naves compellit. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Iberum sese recepit. Et Scipio, raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos præfectos navium animadvertisset, præsidio Tarracone modico relicto, Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo, Hasdrubal aderat; et, Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum juventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis, hostico cis Iberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio, relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quæ caput ejus populi erat, circumsedit; intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in jus dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Iberum, socios et ipsos Pœnorum, procedit; atque, urbe eorum obsessa, Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul jam urbe, cum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis. Cæsa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros dif-fugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro umquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta jacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquotiens conjectis ab hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

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LXII.

Prodigies at Rome and other places.—Sibylline books consulted.—Various religious ceremonies performed.—Public mind, in consequence, greatly relieved.

Romæ aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta, aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt; in quis ingenuum infantem, semestrem, in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse; et foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse, atque inde tumultu habitorum territum sese dejecisse; et navium speciem de cœlo adfulsisse; et ædem Spei, quæ est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam; et Lanuvii hastam se commovisse, et corvum in ædem Junonis devolasse, atque in ipso pulvinario consedisse; et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos, nec cum ullo congressos; et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse; et Cære sortes extenuatas; et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri jussi: quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiæque majores, quibus editum est, diis cæsæ; et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Junoni portatum est; et signum æneum matronæ Junoni in Aventino dedicaverunt; et lectisternium Cære, ubi sortes attenuatæ erant, imperatum; et supplicatio Fortunæ in Algido: Romæ quoque et lectisternium Juventati et supplicatio ad ædem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta; et Genio majores hostiæ cæsæ quinque; et C. Atilius Serranus prætor vota suscipere jussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Hæc procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

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LXIII.

Flaminius, one of the consuls elect, gives great offence to the Senate by resolving to enter upon the consular office in his province, and not at Rome.—Reasons for this resolve on his part.—The Senate express their indignation at his conduct, and resolve that he should be recalled to Rome.—He refuses to obey.—Inauspicious omen at a sacrifice performed by him a few days after he had entered upon his office.

Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui hæ legiones, quæ Placentiæ hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus Idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Huic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat, memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quæ tribunus plebis et quæ postea consul, prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat; invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum, atque, uno patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio, tulerat, ne quis senator, cuive senator pater fuisset, maritimam navem, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob hæc ratus auspiciis ementiendis, Latinarumque feriarum mora, et consularibus aliis impedimentis, retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis jam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo sed jam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere: consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Jovis optimi maximi templum adiret; ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque: ne Latinas indiceret, Jovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret; ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum licto-

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ribus in provinciam iret. Lixæ modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsilii causa solum vertisset. Magis pro majestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romæ magistratum initurum, et in diversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos prætextam sumpturum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt, et cogendum omnibus prius præsentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem (legatos enim mitti placuit) Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt, quam priore consulatu litteræ moverant ab senatu missæ. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei vitulus jam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit. Fuga procul etiam major apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio prætore acceptis, in Etruriam per Apennini tramites exercitus duci est cœptus.

LIBER XXII.

I.

Spring being now at hand, Hannibal leaves his winter-quarters. — Dissatisfaction on the part of the Gauls at finding their own territories made the seat of war. — Cn. Servilius, the other consul, enters upon his office at Rome on the Ides of March. — Prodigies in various quar-

Jam ver appetebat, cum Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequidquam ante conatus transcendere Apenninum intolerandis frigoribus, et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos prædæ populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis viderent, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque sæpe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et, mutando nunc vestem nunc

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tera. — Various expiatory acts and ceremonies decreed.

tegumenta capitis, errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romæ Idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere. Quod enim illi justum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis secum ferre: nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum; et Præneste ardentes lapides cœlo cecidisse; et Arpis parmas in cœlo visas pugnantemque cum luna solem; et Capenæ duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Cæretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse, fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis; et Antii metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse; et Faleriis cœlum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte attenuatas, unamque excidisse ita scriptam "Mavors telum suum concutit;" et per idem tempus Romæ signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuæ speciem cœli ardentis fuisse lunæque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nuntiata, expositis, auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de religione patres consuluit. Decretum, ut ea prodigia partim majoribus hostiis partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemvi-

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ri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quem ad modum cordi esse divis carminibus præfarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Jovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, Junoni Minervæque ex argento dona darentur, et Junoni Reginæ in Aventino, Junonique Sospitæ Lanuvii, majoribus hostiis sacrificaretur; matronæque peeunia collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Junoni Reginæ in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret; quin ut libertinæ et ipsæ, unde Feroniæ donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Hæc ubi facta, decemviri Ardeæ in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri jam mense ad ædem Saturni Romæ immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum (et eum lectum senatores straverunt) et convivium publicum; ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque cum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum jussus.

II.

Hannibal, learning that the consul Flaminius had arrived at Arretium, takes a nearer route through the marshes formed by the Arno. — Hardships of the march. — Loses many men and baggage animals. — Contracts a disorder in his eyes from the malaria and exposure, and loses one of them.

Dum consul placandis Romæ diis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia jam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludem petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus, admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire jussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; novissimos ire equites; Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo præirent duces, per prærupta fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti pæne limo immergentesque se tamen signa

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sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant, aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa ægre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis tædio animis procubuissent, inter jumenta et ipsa jacentia passim morientes. Maximeque omnium vigiliæ conficiebant per quadriduum jam et tres noctes toleratæ. Cum, omnia obtinentibus aquis, nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aquas sarcinis insuper incumbebant. Jumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod exstaret aqua, quærentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, æger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno humore palustrique cœlo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

III.

Emerging from the marshes, he encamps on dry ground.—Seeks to provoke Flaminius to a battle by ravaging the adjacent country. — The consul falls into the snare, and marches to meet him.

Multis hominibus jumentisque fœde amissis, cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat; certumque per præmissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arretii mœnia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum, et situm regionum, itineraque, et copias ad commeatus expediendos, et cetera, quæ cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiæ fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Fæsulas inter Arretiumque jacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore, et non modo legum aut patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines consulentem, ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset in vitia sua,

agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat; et læva relicto hoste Fæsulas petens, medio Etruriæ agro prædatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest, cædibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam jam Italiam vagari Pœnum, atque, obsistente nullo, ad ipsa Romana mœnia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus; collegam exspectandum, ut conjunctis exercitibus communi animo consilioque rem gererent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa prædandi licentia hostem cohibendum; iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnæque cum dedisset, "Immo Arretii ante mœnia sedeamus," inquit "hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal, emissus e manibus, perpopuletur Italiam, vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana mœnia perveniat; nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veiis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint." Hæc simul increpans, cum ocius signa convelli juberet, et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit, consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut fœdo omine incipiendæ rei, insuper nuntiatur, signum, omni vi moliente signifero, convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium "Num litteras quoque" inquit "ab senatu adfers, quæ me rem gerere vetant? Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus præ metu obtorpuerit." Incedere inde agmen cœpit; primoribus (superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio) territis etiam duplici prodigio; milite in vulgus læto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam, quam causam spei, intueretur.

IV.

Hannibal plants an ambuscade on the shore of the lake

Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindican-

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Trasumennus.—The army of Flaminius is surrounded.

das sociorum injurias acuat. Et jam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles adinsurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret: Baleares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut ubi intrassent Romani, objecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato, postero die, vixdum satis certa luce, angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen cœpit, id tantum hostium quod ex adverso erat conspexit: ab tergo ac super caput decepere insidiæ. Pœnus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit; et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari cœptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies, aut expediri arma, stringique gladii possent.

V.

Battle of the lake Trasumennus.—Desperate encounter.—The conflict so violent that none of the combatants felt an earthquake which occurred at the time, and was very severe in its effects.

Consul, perculsis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in re trepida, impavidus, turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur, ac stare et pugnare jubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deûm, sed vi ac virtute, evadendum esse. Per medias acies ferro viam fieri; et quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi

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esse. Ceterum præ strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat; tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordinem et locum nosceret miles, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnæ competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis his quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine major usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum, et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores, circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati hærebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequidquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset: fors conglobat, et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentus pugnæ animus, ut eum motum terræ, qui multarum urbium Italiæ magnas partes prostravit, avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

VI.

Flaminius, the consul, is slain. — The Romans flee. — Great slaughter.—Bad faith of the Carthaginians towards a large body of Romans who had escaped from the field.

Tres ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter. Circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques (Ducario nomen erat) facie quoque noscitans consulem "En" inquit "hic est," populariibus suis "qui legiones nostras cecidit, agrosque et ur-

bem est depopulatus! jam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum fœde civium dabo:" subditisque calcaribus equo, per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit; obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam objecerat, consulem lancea transfixit. Spoliare cupientem triarii objectis scutis arcuere. Magnæ partis fuga inde primum cœpit; et jam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant; per omnia arta præruptaque velut cæci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii præcipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugæ deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus, humeris, exstare possunt, sese immergunt. Fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit, quæ ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus, aut nequidquam fessi vada retro ægerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium quæ post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et, cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quæ fortuna pugnæ esset, neque scire nec perspicere præ calligine poterant. Inclinata denique re, cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida jam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere fœde Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine, sese abripuerunt. Postero die, cum, super cetera, extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt. Quæ Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.

VII.

Number slain on either side. —Great alarm at Rome. — Pro-

Hæc est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna, atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie

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Prolonged deliberations of the Senate.

cæsa sunt; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam aversis itineribus urbem petiere: duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea utrimque ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex cædes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis: ego, præterquam quod nihil haustum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium æqualem temporibus hujusce belli potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal, captivorum qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri jussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus, funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum, non invenit.

Romæ ad primum nuntium cladis ejus cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronæ vagæ per vias, quæ repens clades adlata, quæve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. Et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius prætor "Pugna" inquit "magna victi sumus;" et, quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum magna parte copiarum cæsum; superesse paucos, aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos, aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas dispertiti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quæ cujusque suorum fortuna esset: nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas major prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de his opperiens circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres, ut cuique læta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum præcipue et gaudia

insignia erant et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu ejus exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, mœstam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum prætores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut copiis quibus resisti victoribus Pœnis posset.

VIII.

Another unexpected defeat announced. — Four thousand horse cut off by Hannibal in Umbria. — The state, in great alarm, appoints Q. Fabius Maximus pro-dictator, and M. Minucius Rufus master of the horse.

Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio proprætore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Ejus rei fama varie homines adfecit: pars, occupatis majore ægritudine animis, levem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum jacturam; pars non id quod acciderat per se æstimare, sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum ægræ et adfectæ civitati quodcumque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil quod adgravaret pati possent, æstimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium jam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populus creare poterat, quod numquam ante eam diem factum erat, prodictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; hisque negotium ab senatu datum ut muros turresque urbis firmarent, et præsidia disponerent quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

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IX.

Hannibal marches through Umbria. — Is repulsed from Spoletium. — Turns aside into Picenum, where he obtains great plunder. — Cn. Servilius, the other consul, after some slight conflicts with the Gauls, marches towards Rome to lend aid to the city. —The Sibylline books consulted on the suggestion of Fabius. — Public vows offered up.

Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde, cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna cæde suorum repulsus, conjectans ex unius coloniæ haud nimis prospere temptatæ viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum præda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via prælioque magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili adfectus. Ubi satis quieti datum præda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Prætutianum Hadrianum agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliæ regionem. Cn. Servilius consul, levibus prœliis cum Gallis actis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegæ exercitusque cæde audivit, jam mœnibus patriæ metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magistratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, cum edocuisset patres, plus neglegentia cærimoniarum auspiciorumque quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quæque piacula iræ deum essent, ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur nisi cum tetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire juberentur. Qui, inspectis fatalibus libris, rettulerunt patribus, quod ejus belli causa votum Marti foret, id, non rite factum, de integro atque amplius faciundum esse; et Jovi ludos magnos et ædes Veneri Erycinæ ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum voven-

dum, si bellatum prospere esset, resque publica, in eodem quo ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Æmilium prætorem ex collegii pontificum sententia omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare jubet.

X.

A sacred spring vowed, at the suggestion of the Pontifex Maximus. — Form of the vow. — A supplication proclaimed. — A lectisternium celebrated for three days. — Temples vowed.

His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente collegio prætorum, omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet; injussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in hæc verba populus: "Velitis jubeatis hæc sic fieri: si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum sicut velim eam, salva servata erit hisce duellis (quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quæque duella cum Gallis sunt qui cis Alpes sunt), datum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quæque profana erunt, Jovi fieri ex qua die senatus populusque jusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito: quo modo faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si anteidea senatus populusque jusserit fieri ac faxit, eo populus solutus liber esto." Ejusdem rei causa ludi magni voti æris trecentis triginta tribus milibus, trecentis triginta tribus, triente; præterea bubus Jovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum conjugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per tri-

duum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianæ, quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum ædes votæ. Veneri Erycinæ ædem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris edictum erat, ut is voveret cujus maximum imperium in civitate esset. Menti ædem T. Otacilius prætor vovit.

XI.

Senate consulted by Fabius as to the number of troops to be raised.—Proclamation of the dictator to the inhabitants of the tract through which Hannibal was about to march to burn their dwellings and destroy the productions of the earth.—Ships of burden, conveying provisions from Ostia for the army in Spain, captured by a Carthaginian fleet.—Large levies at Rome.

Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque de publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet præterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adjecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoque proposito, ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, ii commigrarent in loca tuta; ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis ejus, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cujus rei copia esset; ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituique, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen, consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturæ apud cives sociosque, vetustate jam prope oblitos ejus imperii, fecisset, litteræ ab urbe adlatæ sunt, naves onerarias, commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes, a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum

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captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci jussus, navibusque, quæ ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiæ essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiæ tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romæ erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et ætas militaris, in verba juraverant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi; alii ut urbi præsiderent relicti.

XII.

Fabius leads his forces against the enemy, and pitches his camp in sight of the foe, not far from Arpi.—Hannibal leads out his force to give him battle, but Fabius remains quiet.—He then tries to provoke the Roman commander to conflict, by laying waste the adjacent country, but without success.—The caution of Fabius dissatisfactory to the master of the horse, who openly expresses his feelings.

Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Præneste, ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde, itineribus summa cum cura exploratis, ad hostem ducit; nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunæ se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Pœnus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes, nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem suos Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit: ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, quod cum duce haudquaquam Flaminio Sempronioque simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quæsissent. Et prudentiam quidem non vim dictatoris extemplo timuit: constantiam hauddum expertus, agitare ac temptare animum movendo crebro castra, populandoque in oculis ejus agros sociorum, cœpit. Et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viæ, si excipere degressum in æquum posset, occultus obsistebat.

Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessario cogeret, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturæ statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus præbebat. Neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur; et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto cœptorum, finitimoque receptu, adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pœnitere suæ. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio, moræ ad rem publicam præcipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque in consiliis ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat; premendoque superiorem, quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

XIII.

Hannibal crosses over into Samnium, and lays waste the territory of Beneventum.—He then directs his course towards Campania, at the suggestion of some Campanian captives whom he had released.—By a mistake on the part of his guides he is led to Casilinum instead of Casinum.

Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit; irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus et cladibus sociorum detrahere ad æquum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis jam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuæ potiendæ copiam fore, cum res major quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio pe-

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teret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam ut promissa rebus adfirmarent, jussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens os ab Latinorum nominum prolatione Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet fuit; aversusque ab suo itinere, per Allifanum Calatinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque cæso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum prædatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidæ fecerunt: nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia justo et moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

XIV.

Hannibal, having reached Campania, proceeds to devastate this fine region.—Indignation and inflammatory remarks of Minucius.

Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amœnissimus Italiæ ager villæque passim incendiis fumabant, per juga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa. Quieti fuerant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema juga Massici montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessæ tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnæ, "Spectatumne huc" inquit Minucius "ut rem fruendam oculis, sociorum cædes et incendia, venimus? Nec si nullius alterius, nos ne civium quidem horum

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pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta hæc ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Pœnus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia jam huc progressus? Tantum, pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut præter quam oram illi suam Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum jam factam videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum sed fœdera et deos ciebamus, scandentem mœnia Romanæ coloniæ Hannibalem læti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nos quam deorum invocantium opem. Nos hic pecorum modo per æstivos saltus deviasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quæsitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset; quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Pœnis toties servaverint majores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum jussuque populi dictum Veios adlatum est, cum esset satis altum Janiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in æquum, atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? post multos annos, cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub jugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor juga Samnii perlustrando, an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus jugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quæ alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse. Armari copias oportet deducendas in æquum, ut vir

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cum viro congrediaris. Audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quæ timidi cauta vocant." Hæc velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant, Minucium Fabio ducem præferendum.

XV.

Fabius remains unmoved at the dissatisfaction to which his cautious policy gives rise both in the camp and at Rome.—Prepares to intercept Hannibal when going into winter-quarters.—Mancinus is sent forth with a body of cavalry to reconnoitre.—Disobeying the orders of Fabius, he advances too far, comes into collision with the enemy, and is cut to pieces with the choicest of his horse.

Fabius, pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes, intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum præstat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed jam etiam Romæ infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum æstatis reliquum extraxit, ut Hannibal, destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis, jam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio præsentis erat copiæ, non perpetuæ, arbusta vineæque, et consita omnia magis amœnis quam necessariis fructibus. Hæc per exploratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, redituram, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsidiis, quæ urbs, Vulturno flumine dirempta, Falernum a Campano agro dividit: ipse jugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba juvenum audientium sæpe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit, per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque præcepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese jusserat quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidæ, alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque, ad castra

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prope ipsum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertrahere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, cum, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret, avertisset hostes, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos, in prœlium rediit omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam, in artas coactus fauces, imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Pœnus Appiæ limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Conjunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde milia hostes aberant.

XVI.

Collision between the Carthaginians and Romans, but with no important result.—Hannibal hemmed in.—Prepares the well-known stratagem of the oxen.

Postero die Pœni, quod viæ inter bina castra erat, agmine complevere. Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo, haud dubie æquiore loco, successit tamen Pœnus cum expeditis peditibus equitibusque. Ad lacessendum hostem carptim Pœni et procursando recipiendoque pugnavere. Restitit suo loco Romana acies. Lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere. Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum obsessa; cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Pœnus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque perhorrida situ hibernaturus esset. Nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti: itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes et jugum Calliculæ superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum, specie terribile, ad frustrandur

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hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex agris collectæ fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti præligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem prædam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta; Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum, accensis cornibus, ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

XVII.

Stratagem of the oxen successfully carried out.—Hannibal marches his army by night through the mountain-pass, from which the Romans in their alarm had retired.—The latter encounter the light-armed troops of the enemy, but the darkness prevents any battle taking place.

Primis tenebris silentio mota castra, boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes. Et metus ipse relucentis flammæ a capite, calorque jam ad vivum ad imaque cornuum adveniens, velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circum virgulta ardere; capitumque irrita quassatio, excitans flammam, hominum passim discurrentium speciem præbebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumventos se esse rati præsidio excessere; qua minime densæ micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium juga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo cum procul cernerent, veluti flammas spirantium miraculo attoniti constiterunt; deinde, ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum majore metu concitant se in fugam, levi quoque armaturæ hostium incurrere. Ceterum nox æquato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

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XVIII.

Fabius keeps his troops within the works, while Hannibal is marching through the defile. — At break of day a collision takes place between the Romans and the light-armed troops of the enemy. — Fabius takes up a position above Allifæ. — Hannibal removes in different directions, followed by Fabius. — The latter forms a fortified camp at Larinum, whence he is recalled to Rome on account of certain sacred rites. — Minucius, the master of the horse, left in command.

Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: ceterum et insidias esse ratus, et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub jugo montis prœlium fuit; quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile (etenim numero aliquantum præstabant) Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors, ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale, pervenisset. Ea, adsuetior montibus, et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior atque levior, cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnæ genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani, aliquot suis amissis, in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum, per Samnium Romam se petere simulans, Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus rediit: Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam jugis ducebat, nec absistens nec congrediens. Ex Pelignis Pœnus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam repetens, Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars mœnium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunæ confidat, et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur. Ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope æstate per ludificationem hostis. Medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere. Haud parvam rem esse ab toties victore hoste vinci desisse, ab continuis cladibus

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respirasse. Hæc nequidquam prænonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

XIX.

Progress of the war in Spain. —Hasdrubal sets out from Carthago Nova with his land force, keeping at the same time his fleet near the land, and ready to co-operate. —Cnæus Scipio sets out to meet him with a fleet from Tarraco. —Comes near surprising the Carthaginian fleet. —Even as it is, they are not in complete order for engaging, and betake themselves to flight. —Two Carthaginian ships are taken and four sunk.

Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique cœptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque accepe-rat, decem adjecit; quadraginta navium clas-sem Hamilconi tradit; atque ita Carthagine profectus navibus prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus confligere, quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipi-oni, postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem au-divit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxili-orum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito, quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Iberi amnis pervenit. Inde duæ Massiliensium speculatoriæ præmissæ rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis, castra-que in ripa posita. Itaque ut improvidos in-cautosque universo simul effuso terrore oppri-meret, sublatis anchoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et pro-pugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspec-tis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali est; tumul-tusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito, aut aperientibus classem promonturiis, cum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut prœlium eo die exspectantes, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere jubet: classem Romanam jam haud procul portu

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esse. Hæc equites dimissi passim imperabant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat; varioque omnia tumultu strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in anchoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, anchoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia præpropere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibentur. Et jam Romanus non appropinquabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et prœlio magis Pœni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, et temptata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem: et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini ac tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati partim inermes, ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere. Duæ tamen primo concursu captæ erant Punicæ naves, quattuor suppressæ.

XX.

The Romans tow out a large number of the ships which had been run ashore. —This victory gives them the command of the sea in this quarter. — They sail to Carthago Nova, and devastate the surrounding country. — Make an attempt on the island of Ebusus. — Hasdrubal retires into Lusitania.

Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat, armatamque aciem toto prætentam in litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, naves omnes, quæ non aut perfregerant proras litori illisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere; ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum ejus victoriæ fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto ejus oræ mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe provecti, escensione ab navibus in terram facta, cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt; atque omnem agrum circa depopulati, postremo tecta quoque injuncta muro portisque incenderunt.

Inde jam præda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo prævecta est oras, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quæ caput insulæ est, biduum nequidquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, majore quam ex continenti præda parta, cum in naves se recepissent, ex Balearibus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, reditumque in citeriora provinciæ, quo omnium populorum, qui Iberum accolunt, multorum et ultimæ Hispaniæ legati concurrerunt. Sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint, obsidibus datis, populi amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

XXI.

Hasdrubal is brought back by the troubled state of affairs among his allies on this side of the Iberus.— The Celtiberi, being aroused by a message from Scipio, take up arms and invade the Carthaginian territory.— They encounter Hasdrubal in two battles with brilliant success.

Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum æstatis tempus, fuissetque per Pœnum hostem: sed, præterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indebilisque, qui antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus, in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere omnes; occisis quibusdam captisque magnaque parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Iberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Lergavonensium, castra Romana ad No-

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vam Classem erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suæ legatos miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti, arma capiunt provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt; tria oppida vi expugnant. Inde, cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus prœliis egregie pugnant, ac quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

XXII.

P. Scipio comes into Spain with naval and land reinforcements. — Junction of the two Scipios. — Cross the Iberus, and proceed to Saguntum.—Their object is to get possession of the hostages given to the Carthaginians from every part of Spain, and which were kept in the citadel of Saguntum.—This object effected by the adroit but dishonorable management of Abelux.

Hoc statu rerum in Hispania, P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu, missus cum triginta longis navibus et octo milibus militum, magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa, cum magna lætitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito, profectus Scipio fratri se conjungit; ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello, haud cunctanter Iberum transgrediuntur; nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniæ traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri præsidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniæ populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberûm suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Pœnis, tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum transfugam, sine magnæ rei proditione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspec-

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tis igitur omnibus, quæ fortuna potestatis ejus poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adjecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniæ amicitiam. Sed cum injussu Bostaris præfecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ex ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut ignorantem monet, quo statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent: nunc cis Iberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res. Itaque quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Miranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum tantæ rei donum posset esse, "Obsides" inquit "in civitates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Vult sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adjuvem meum, et rei suapte natura gratæ, quantum insuper gratiam possim, adjiciam." Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis, et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret, expromit; et fide accepta dataque, ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimissus, cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in præparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti: cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordine quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Major aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos

enim, graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos, fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat: Romanus primo adventu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat: et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quæ Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

XXIII.

The caution of Fabius regarded with uneasiness by Hannibal, but with contempt by the Romans in general. — The unpopularity of Fabius augmented by two causes, which are mentioned.

Hæc in Hispania quoque secunda æstate Punici belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quæ, ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiæ magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna, gereret, ita contempta erat inter cives armatos pariter togatosque: utique postquam, absente eo, temeritate magistri equitum læto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duæ res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris; una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo æquatis, ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri jussit, ut occulti alicujus pacti ea merces videri posset; altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Pœnumque, ut quæ pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem præstaret. Ducentos quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Pœnus recepisset, argentumque pro eis debitum, sæpe jactata in senatu re, quoniam non consuluisset patres, tardius rogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste agrum, misso Romam Quinto filio, vendidit, fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit.

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Hannibal pro Gereonii mœnibus, cujus urbis, captæ atque incensæ ab se, in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris præsidio et circumspectans necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

XXIV.

Minucius, who had been left in command by Fabius, forms bolder plans. — Movements of Hannibal. — False reports of successful operations brought to Rome.

Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. Præerat Minucius magister equitum, profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quæ in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, jam in planum defe- runtur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relicta cum levi præsidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem, et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem (quod minime quis crederet) cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit, duo ferme a Gereonio milia in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via præventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidæ ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate, Romani postero die cum dejecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum utique exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum tota prope compleverat Romana acies, simul et per aversa castra equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late cædem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat. Jamque artibus Fabii (pars exercitus aberat) jam ferme sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quæ pro Gereonii mœnibus

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erant. Justa quoque acie et collatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores sunt. Primo concursu Pœnum usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos, Numerii Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu prœlium restitutum. Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, jussu dictatoris octo milia peditum mille equites adducentem in castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique præbuisse novi præsidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepisse suos, Romanum insecutum adjuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex milia hostium cæsa, quinque admodum Romanorum. Tamen in tam pari prope clade famam egregiæ victoriæ cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

XXV.

Metellus, a tribune of the commons, inveighs against the movements of Fabius and his dilatory mode of prosecuting the war. —Odium excited against the dictator.—Proposition introduced by Metellus to make the authority of the master of the horse and the dictator equal. — While this matter is pending, Fabius withdraws from Rome to the army. — C. Terentius Varro favors the passage of the bill.

De his rebus persæpe et in senatu et in contione actum est. Cum, læta civitate, dictator unus nihil nec famæ nec litteris crederet; ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret; tum M. Metellus, tribunus plebis, id enim ferendum esse negat: Non præsentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendæ, sed absentem etiam gestæ obstare; et in ducendo bello ac sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit, solusque et Romæ et in exercitu imperium habeat: quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicæ persequendæ procul ab Italia ablegatum; duos prætores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quorum neutra hoc tempore provincia prætore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicæ gereret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo jam ?

tamquam trans Iberum agro Pœnis concessum sit, sed et Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos; tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebi Romanæ esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio: nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris jure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii suffecisset. Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis. Ne in senatu quidem satis æquis auribus audiebatur tunc, cum hostem verbis extolleret, bienniique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret; magistroque equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, prope diem effecturum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari: et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidisse majorem gloriam esse. Hujus generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne præsens de jure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendæ dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta, cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum, quod vulgo placebat prodire; et, favore superante, auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno prætor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia ejus artis ministeria usum.

XXVI.

History and character of Varro.—Maligns the dictator. — The people pass the bill. — This measure generally regarded as an insult to Fabius.—The latter, however, bears the wrong put upon him with great calmness.

Is juvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quæstus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunæ fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum, primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit: quæsturaque et duabus ædilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et prætura perfunctus, jam ad consulatus spem cum attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petit, scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam rogationem quique Romæ quique in exercitu erant, æqui atque iniqui, præter ipsum dictatorem, in contumeliam ejus latam acceperunt: ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se sævientem injuriam tulit, acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus consulti de æquato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, cumque invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

XXVII.

Exultation and boastful language of Minucius on being made equal in command with Fabius. — Proposes to Fabius that they should be invested with the supreme authority and command on alternate days.—Fabius declines, but agrees to

Minucius vero, cum jam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset secundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quæsitum Hannibali, majorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, jussu populi æquatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint. Tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum se fortu-

divide the army with Minucius. —They have also separate camps.

nam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque judicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quem ad modum imperio æquato utantur. Se optimum ducere, aut diebus alternis, aut si majora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum jus imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non consilio solum sed viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendæ habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia enim fortunam habituram, quæcumque temeritas collegæ habuisset. Sibi communicatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse. Itaque se numquam volentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum; nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quæ posset servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent: prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item equites pari numero sociûmque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt: castris se quoque separari magister equitum voluit.

XXVIII.

Hannibal is delighted at this state of things in the Roman army. — Prepares to take advantage of the rashness of Minucius. — Plants an ambuscade. — Manages to bring on a battle with the forces under Minucius. — The Romans are thrown into confusion.

Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit (neque enim quidquam eorum, quæ apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat, et perfugis multa indicantibus, et per suos explorantem): nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum, et sollertiæ Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Pœnorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operæ pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem semper occursurum ad obsi-

stendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quidquam sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat: re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat. Et erant in anfractibus cavæ rupes, ut quædam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicujus temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum, avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum. Dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat, et vanis animis et minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimittit; deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal, laborantibus suis alia atque alia, crescente certamine, mittens auxilia peditum equitumque jam justam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, præoccupatum inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem, et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter perculsos impavida sola erat, videbaturque, si justa ac si recta pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta. Sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut nec animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

XXIX.

Fabius comes to the aid of his countrymen with the portion

Tum Fabius, primo clamore paventium auditio, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "Ita est," inquit: "non celerius quam timui de-

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of the army under his command.—Hannibal sounds a retreat. — Minucius harangues his troops after the action, and proposes to them to join camps with Fabius, whom he intends to salute as a parent and deliverer.

prendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio æquatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit: nunc signa extra vallum proferte. Victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus." Jam magna ex parte cæsis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente velut cœlo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem, nunc sensim referre pedem nunc conglobati restare. Ac jam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Pœnus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei majore parte exacta, cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius, convocatis militibus "Sæpe ego" inquit "audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus, et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio jungamus: ad prætorium ejus signa cum contulerimus, ubi ego eum patrem appellavero, quod beneficio ejus erga nos ac majestate ejus dignum est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma, dexteræ, texerunt, patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit."

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XXX.

Minucius and his troops set out for the camp of Fabius, and the former on arriving there surrenders all his authority into the hands of the latter, requesting merely to be retained as master of the horse. — Fabius highly extolled at Rome. — His renown equal with Hannibal and the Carthaginians.

Signo dato, conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes ad dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum ejus totum agmen patronos consalutasset, "Parentibus" inquit "meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quo fando possum, æquavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem tum omnium horum. Itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus sum magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque; et, quod tibi mihique, quod exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo, et signa hæc legionesque restituo. Tu, quæso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere jubeas." Tum dextræ interjunctæ, militesque, contione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati; lætusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope exsecrabili factus. Romæ, ut est perlata fama rei gestæ, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad cœlum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Pœnos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse: nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cujus terribilem eam famam a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quæ sidere in jugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

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XXXI.

Cn. Servilius Geminus, the consul, having sailed round Sardinia and Corsica with a fleet of 120 ships, crosses over to the coast of Africa. — Lands some troops, who plunder the country. — The Romans fall into an ambuscade, and are driven back to their ships with great loss.—The fleet sails back to Sicily. — The consul crosses over into Italy to receive, together with his colleague, the command of the army from Fabius.

Dum hæc geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul, cum classe centum viginti navium, circumvectus Sardiniæ et Corsicæ oram, et obsidibus utrimque acceptis, in Africam transmisit; et priusquam in continentem escensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata, et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africæ accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites, navalesque socii juxta effusi, ac si insulis cultorum egentibus prædarentur. Itaque in insidias temere illati, cum a frequentibus palantes, et ignari ab locorum gnaris, circumvenirentur, cum multa cæde ac fœda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio Blæso quæstore amisso, classis, ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta, in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybæi T. Otacilio prætori, ut ab legato ejus P. Sura Romam reduceretur. Ipse, per Siciliam pedibus profectus, freto in Italiam trajecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega ejus M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto jam prope semestri imperio acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Cœlius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit: sed et Cœlium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, jus fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia exspectare territa jam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum est, ut a populo crearetur qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore, dictator crederetur facile obtinuisse.

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XXXII.

The consuls Atilius and Servilius having received, the former the army of Fabius, the latter that of Minucius, carry on the war according to the plans of Fabius. — Hannibal straitened for provisions. — Ambassadors from Naples bring forty golden pateræ to Rome, to replenish the public treasury. — The Senate thank them, but receive only one.

Consules, Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis (medium autumni erat) Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universæ dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant: adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugæ specie abeundum timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Cum ad Gereonium jam hieme impediente constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadraginta pateræ aureæ magni ponderis in curiam illatæ, atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent, scire sese populi Romani ærarium bello exhauriri; et, cum juxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiæ, urbe Romana atque imperio, geratur, æquum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunæ a majoribus relictum foret, eo juvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturos. Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque judicaverint ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re majus ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis gratiæ actæ pro munificentia curaque; patera, quæ ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

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XXXIII.

A Carthaginian spy arrested and punished.—Slaves capitally punished for forming a conspiracy. — Ambassadors sent to the king of Macedonia. —Others sent to other quarters. —Dictator nominated to hold the consular election.

Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romæ deprensus præcisisque manibus dimissus; et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio conjurassent: indici data libertas et æris gravis viginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui, bello victus, ad eum fugisset; et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Pœnum opibus auxiliisque suis juvissent; simul ad visendum ex propinquo, quæ in Boiis atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cujus dies exierat, poscendum, aut, si diem proferre vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinqua quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit ædem Concordiæ, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius prætor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Æmilio prætore urbis, C. Pupius et Kæso Quinctius Flaminius ædem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem prætore, ex senatus consulto, litteræ ad consules missæ, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem, quam jussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad hæc consulibus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicæ abscedi non posse ab hoste: itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa: dictus L. Veturius Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis jussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit.

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XXXIV.

Their authority continued to the Consuls for a year longer.—Interreges appointed.—Violent contest between the patricians and people at the election for Consuls.—C. Terentius Varro, the popular candidate, opposed by the patricians with all their might.—Inflammatory harangue of the tribune Herennius.

Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius, Appii filius, Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In ejus interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem, sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus et extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi æquari adsuescerent homines. Q. Bæbius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo, sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quærentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab eisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Cum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisse eo, quod M. Minucius, absente Fabio, prospere pugnasset; duas legiones hosti ad cædem objectas, deinde ex ipsa cæde ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci: consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id fœdus inter omnes nobiles ictum; nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent. Nam plebeios nobiles jam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni patribus desierint, cœpisse. Cui non id apparere, id actum et quæsitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quæsisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum

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esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanæ esse: populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei, qui magis vere vincere quam diu imperare malit.

XXXV.

Varro chosen consul. — Æmilius Paulus elected as his colleague. — Election for Prætors held.

Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Æmilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus jam familiarum plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter pontifex alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu ejus essent comitia rogando collegæ. Tum experta nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in competitoribus ejus, L. Æmilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat et damnatione collegæ et sua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitiali die, concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde prætoria comitia habita: Creati M'. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus. Philo Romæ juri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit. Additi duo prætores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt; nec cuiquam eorum, præter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos quem jam non antea gessisset, præteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

XXXVI.

Forces augmented. — Difference of opinion as to the extent of the augmentation. — Decemviri ordered

Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt: quantæ autem copiæ peditum equitumque additæ sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quidquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia novorum mili-

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to consult the Sibylline Books, on account of numerous alarming prodigies. — Ambassadors from Pæstum bring golden pateræ to Rome.—Receive the thanks of the Senate, but the gold is not accepted.

tum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adjectis, ut quina milia peditum quadringeni equites essent; socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, pedites æquarent. Septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis, cum pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, majore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem, posse vinci hostem, dictator præbuerat. — Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novæ legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere jussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis: nam et Romæ in Aventino et Ariciæ nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse; et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Cædiis aquas fonte calido gelidas manasse. Id quidem etiam, quod sæpius acciderat, magis terrebat: et in via Fornicata, quæ ad Campum erat, aliquot homines de cœlo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Pæsto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiæ actae, aurum non acceptum.

XXXVII.

Arrival at Ostia of a fleet from Hiero, bringing a force of archers and slingers, a large amount of supplies, and a golden statue of Victory. — Speech of the ambassadors. — Hiero advises the Romans to carry the war

Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt cædem C. Flaminii consulis exercitusque adlatam adeo ægre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella juvari soleant, misisse; quæ ne accipere

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into Africa. — The Senate return thanks. — The statue of Victory to be placed in the Capitol. — The slingers, archers, and corn are handed over to the Consuls. — The fleet of the proprætor is augmented, and permission is given him, if he thinks proper, to pass over into Africa.

abnuant, magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. Jam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentûm ac viginti adferre sese: acciperent eam, tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta milia modiûm tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent; et quantum præterea opus esset, quo jussissent subvecturos. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis: itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baleares ac Mauros pugnaces que alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut prætor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam trajiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur his ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regi est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse, ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adjuvisse. Id perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam adlatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum: Victoriam omenque accipere, sedemque ei se divæ dare dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis Optimi Maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanæ sacratam, volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad ** navium classem, quæ cum T. Otacilio proprætore in Sicilia erant, quinque et viginti additæ, permissumque est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam trajicerent.

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XXXVIII.

Addition made to the usual military oath.—The harangues of Varro frequent and violent. — His colleague Æmilius makes only a single speech of a very opposite tenor. Fabius makes an address to Æmilius on his departure.

Dilectu perfecto, consules paucos morati dies, dum socii ab nomine Latino venirent. Milites tum, quod numquam antea factum erat, jurejurando ab tribunis militum adacti, jussu consulum conventuros neque injussu abituros. Nam ad eam diem nihil præter sacramentum fuerat; et ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites centuriati pedites conjurabant, sese fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos fœdere ad tribunos, ad legitimam jurisjurandi adactionem translatum.

Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multæ ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis, bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus, mansurumque in visceribus rei publicæ, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet: se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegæ ejus Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum, nisi id modo; mirari se, quomodo quis dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, jam nunc togatus in urbe sciret, quæ sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque prædicere posset, qua cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus. Se, quæ consilia magis res dent hominibus, quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non præcepturum: optare ut, quæ caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent: temeritatem, præterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Id sua sponte apparebat, tuta celeribus consiliis præpositurum; et quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur.

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XXXIX.

Address of Fabius to the consul Æmilius.

"Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. Æmili, haberes, aut tu collegæ tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea: nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fide vestra faceretis; et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequidquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudet res publica; malis consiliis idem ac bonis juris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes: nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat, et cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus; et adversus Hannibalem legionesque ejus tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flaminii memoria: tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum cœpit furere: hic priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas jam nunc procellas, prœlia atque acies jactando, inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam juventutem censes facturum, et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atque si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro; aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est; et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi; nec eventus modo hoc docet (stultorum iste magister est), sed eadem ratio, quæ fuit futuraque, donec res eædem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis vi-

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ris equis commeatibus juvant juvabuntque (id jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt). Meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facit: Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria. Neque illi terra neque mari est pax, nullæ eum urbes accipiunt, nulla mœnia, nihil usquam sui videt; in diem rapto vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus ejus habet, quem Iberum amnem trajecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpsit, nec his paucis jam victum suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quam diu pro Gereonii, castelli Apuliæ inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis mœnibus—! Sed ne adversus te quidem ego gloriabor. Cn. Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide quem ad modum eum ludificati sint. Hæc una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui quod hostium milites volent; idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Pœnus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, adversus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris; si te neque collegæ vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis sæpe aiunt, exstingui numquam. Gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, moneo, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuæ potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis, neque occasioni tuæ desis, neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt, festinatio improvida est et cæca."

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XL.

Reply of the Consul. — Two distinct camps formed.—Joy of Hannibal on the arrival of the new Consuls.—Greatly in want of provisions.

Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane læta fuit, magis fatentis ea, quæ diceret, vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse: quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse: optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; at, si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput objecturum. — Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt, prosequentibus primoribus patrum: plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent.

Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus major pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, ætatem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanæ et sociûm peditum equitumque duobus milibus præficiunt. Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quidquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

XLI.

Collision between the Romans and the plundering parties of the Car-

Ceterum temeritati consulis ac præpropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod, in prohibendis prædatoribus, tumultuario prælio ac procursu magis militum quam ex præ-

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thaginians. — The latter lose more than their opponents. — Hannibal makes arrangements to draw the Romans into an ambuscade.

parato aut jussu imperatorum orto, haudquaquam par Pœnis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti cæsi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cujus eo die (nam alternis imperitabant) imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus, debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud ægerrime pati; quin potius credere velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil præter arma ferentes secum educit milites, castra plena omnis fortunæ publicæ privatæque relinquit; transque proximos montes læva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem, medium agmen, traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relicti in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga præciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse.

XLII.

The Romans narrowly escape being entrapped by Hannibal. — Æmilius saves them by his prudence.

Ubi illuxit, subductæ primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Jam satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad prætoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint; quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri juberent, ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbæ militaris erat;

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Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum præcavendumque esse. Postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium præfectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris jussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura, renuntiat insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum, qua vergant ad hostem, relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta; argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut objectum ad prædam vidisse. Quæ ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt; et, clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit: nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari jam efferenti porta signa collegæ jussit. Quod quamquam Varro ægre est passus, Flaminii tamen recens casus, Claudiique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades, religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis. Nam forte ita evenit, ut, cum referri signa in castra jubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos: deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia majestatem solvisset.

XLIII.

Hannibal, compelled by want of provisions and the consequent dissatisfaction of his soldiers,

Hannibal, postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequidquam, detecta fraude, in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit; novaque consilia in dies non

more particularly his Spanish mercenaries, marches into Apulia, and pitches his camp near Cannæ. — The Romans pursue.

apud milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum, querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercennarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relicto peditatu omni, cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum hæc consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliæ loca, simul quod, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte, ignibus similiter factis, tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium, omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, cum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari cœpta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem quæ ante semper fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo præter Servilium prioris anni consulem adsentiretur, majoris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas, urgente fato, profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare præcipue futurum erat cum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in occæcatum pulvere effuso hostem pugnaturi.

XLIV.

The Romans arrive at Cannæ, and fortify two camps.—Hannibal strives to provoke them

Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes Pœnum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, et in conspectu Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divisis. Aufidus am-

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to a battle. — Dissensions between the two Consuls.

nis, utrisque castris adfluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cujusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat: ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hannibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Semproniique et Flaminii temeritatem Varroni, Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium objiceret; testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal jam vel usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus: ille, si quid projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se, omnis culpæ exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret. Videret ut, quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, æque in pugna vigerent manus.

XLV.

Hannibal, after having kept his troops drawn up in order of battle until late in the day, sends a body of Numidians across the river Aufidus to attack a watering party of the Romans. — Having put the latter to rout, the Numidians advance to an outpost very near the gates of the lesser Roman

Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio jam etiam castra Romana terreri; ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die

camp. — Æmilius, who held the command for the day, keeps back his forces. —On the following day, Varro, now in command, makes arrangements to fight. — Manner in which the Roman forces are stationed for battle.

penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors ejus diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega, signum proposuit, instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adjuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adjungunt, atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites: lævum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites ad medium juncti legionibus Romanis tenuerunt: jaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta: consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius lævum, Æmilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

XLVI.

Arrangement of his forces by Hannibal.—The African, Gallic, and Spanish troops described. — Position of the Carthaginian commanders. — The wind Volturnus blows violently into the faces of the Romans, bringing with it clouds of dust.

Hannibal luce prima, Balearibus levique alia armatura præmissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat: Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam lævo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum; media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam magna ex parte crederes aciem; ita armati erant, armis et ad Trebiam ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formæ fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis prælongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam cæsim adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Sane et alius habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat: Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis prætextis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus constiterant. Nume-

rus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus præerant: sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem Pœnis in septemtrionem versis: ventus (Volturnum regionis incolæ vocant), adversus Romanis coortus, multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

XLVII.

Battle of Cannæ. — Roman cavalry routed by the Gallic and Spanish horse. — Gallic and Spanish foot driven back and pursued by the Roman foot. — Carthaginian centre broken, but the Romans, pursuing too far, are attacked on both flanks by the Africans, who, gradually extending their forces, enclose their opponents on the rear also.

Clamore sublato, procursum ab auxiliis, et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque lævum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnæ: frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio, hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant in directum utrimque nitentes. Stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna jam ex parte certamen factum erat: acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est; pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna. Primo et viribus et animis pari rumper constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque: tandem Romani, diu ac sæpe conisi, æqua fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem, eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie: impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem insistere; ac tenore uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati, postremo, nullo resistente, ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus æquavit frontem primum, dein cedendo

etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa jam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani defuncti nequidquam prœlio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, et adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum in eo iniquam quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

XLVIII.

Description of the battle continued.—Stratagem of the Numidian cavalry.—Movement of Hasdrubal.

Jam et sinistro cornu Romanis, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum prœlium erat, segne primo et a Punica cœptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidæ, præter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis, parmas post terga habentes, adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et jaculis ante pedes hostium projectis, in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo jubentur. Ac, dum prœlium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt: postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum, arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos cæsorum corporum humi strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites cædentes stragem ingentem ac majorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala jam spe prœlium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte præerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, qua segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris jam prope fessis cæde magis quam pugna adjungit.

XLIX.

Description of the battle continued.—Movements of the

Parte altera pugnæ Paulus, quamquam primo statim prœlio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et concurrit sæpe cum confertis Hanni-

consul Æmilius. —Orders the cavalry to dismount. — Great slaughter of the latter.—Death of Æmilius. — Total defeat of the Romans. — Few succeed in escaping. — Great numbers slain. —High rank of many of the fallen.

bali, et aliquot locis prœlium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum deinde nuntianti cuidam, jussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt "Quam mallem, vinctos mihi traderet." Equitum pedestre prœlium, quale jam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi, mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen jam paucos superantes et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum, cum, prætervehens equo, sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Æmili," inquit "quem unum insontem culpæ cladis hodiernæ dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest, comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris: etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est." Ad ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto: sed cave frustra morando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant, ac, priusquam hostis victor advenit, præsidiis firment: privatim Q. Fabio Æmilium præceptorum ejus memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Memet in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim, aut accusator collegæ exsistam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam." Hæc dicentes prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes, oppressere: consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obrucrunt telis; Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus, tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in majora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt.

Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites, et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars, cæsi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quæstores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et viginti unus tribuni militum, consulares quidam prætoriique et ædilicii (inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno aliquot annis ante consul fuerat), octoginta præterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo prœlio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

L.

Comparison of the battle of Cannæ with that at the river Allia.—Proposition made by the Roman fugitives in the larger camp to those in the smaller one to unite with them and make their way to Canusium.—Rejected.—Six hundred, however, with a tribune at their head, cut their way through to the greater camp, and thence make their escape with many more to Canusium.

Hæc est pugna Cannensis, Alliensi eladi nobilitate par, ceterum ut illis, quæ post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior fœdiorque. Fuga namque ad Alliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset, nuntium, qui in majoribus erant, mittunt, dum prœlio, deinde ex lætitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, cum æque conjungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent objicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum "Capi ergo mavultis" inquit "ab avarissimo

et crudelissimo hoste, æstimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quæratur? Non tu, si quidem L. Æmilii consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati jacent, cives estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux majoraque hostium agmina obsepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostes. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disjicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis." Hæc, ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostes. Et cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidæ jacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in majora castra ad sexcenti evaserunt; atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine adjuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Hæc apud victos magis impetu animorum, quod ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cujusquam agebantur.

LI.

Maharbal, the commander of the cavalry, urgently advises Hannibal to march directly to Rome.—The latter declines to do so.—Remark of Maharbal thereupon.—This delay, on Hannibal's part, in all probability saved Rome.—Appearance of the field of battle on the following day.

Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur, suaderentque ut tanto perfunctus bello diei quod reliquum esset noctisque insequentis, quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal, præfectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus "Immo ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto" inquit "victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere: cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, præcedam." Hannibali nimis læta res est visa, majorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia

nimirum eidem di dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis." Mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die, ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda fœdamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. Jacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna junxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quosdam et jacentes vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantes cervicem jugulumque, et reliquum sanguinem jubentes haurire. Inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superjecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Præcipue convertit omnes substratus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auribusque laceratis, cum manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

LII.

Hannibal leads his forces against the lesser camp, which soon surrenders. —Terms of surrender.—The greater camp also surrenders, but not before a large number of horse and foot had left it, and gone to Canusium.—Great booty obtained. —Kind reception of those who had escaped to Canusium.

Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum, brachio objecto, flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut, eo pretio persoluto, cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt; traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex majoribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra

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ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. Præda ingens parta est; et præter equos virosque et si quid argenti (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera præda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum jussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, mœnibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam juvit; pro qua ei munificentia, postea bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

LIII.

The chief command at Canusium given to the young Publius Scipio.—His energetic conduct when he learns that certain noble youths were about to abandon Italy in despair.

Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cujus pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio, et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime ædilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem juvenem admodum et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequidquam eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam comploratamque rem esse publicam: nobiles juvenes quosdam, quorum principem L. Cæcilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut, deserta Italia, ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, præterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio juvenis, fatalis dux hujusce belli. Audendum atque agendum non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse. Irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent. Nulla verius quam ubi ea cogitentur hostium castra

esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli, et cum concilium ibi juvenum de quibus adlatum erat invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio "Ex mei animi sententia" inquit "ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar. Si sciens fallo, tum me, Jupiter Optime Maxime, domum familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficias. In hæc verba, L. Cæcili, jures postulo, ceterique qui adestis: qui non juraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat." Haud secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, jurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

LIV.

A large body of foot and horse, who had been dispersed over the country in the flight from Cannæ, come to the consul Varro at Venusia.—Kindness shown them by the Venusini.—Varro leads his forces to Canusium, and forms a junction with the troops already there.—Panic at Rome when tidings of the defeat reached that city.—Reflections of Livy on the magnitude of the disaster.

Eo tempore, quo hæc Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos, et pediti denos, et arma, quibus derant, dederunt. Ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busæ multitudo faciebat, et jam ad decem milia hominum erant. Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantæ secum peditum equitumque copiæ essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere juberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit. Et jam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat, mœnibusque se certe etsi non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum consulem utrumque cum

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duobus exercitibus, deletasque omnes copias, adlatum fuerat. Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra mœnia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri, neque adgrediar narrare quæ edissertando minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur; nec ulla jam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse, Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac jam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares cladem ad Ægates insulas Carthaginiensium prœlio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere, inde vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt; aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit: nulla ex parte comparandæ sunt, nisi quod minore animo latæ sunt.

LV.

Senate summoned by the Prætors.—The Fathers unable to form any plan of action.—Opinion of Quintus Fabius.

P. Furius Philus et M'. Pomponius prætores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent: neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Cum in malis, sicuti ingentibus, ita ignotis, ne consilium quidem satis expediret, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et, nondum palam facto, vivi mortuique et per omnes pæne domos promiscue complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando (aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore) referant, quæ fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit, et, si quid dii immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eæ copiæ sint; quo se Hannibal post prœlium contulerit; quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Hæc exploranda noscendaque per impigros juvenes esse. Illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistra-

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tuum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant, continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant; comploratus familiarum coerceant; silentium per urbem faciant; nuntios rerum omnium ad prætores deducendos curent; suæ quisque fortunæ domi auctorem exspectent; custodesque præterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbem, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac mœnibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit recte tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

LVI.

Opinion of Fabius approved of unanimously.—Despatch received from the consul Varro.—Annual sacred rites of Ceres intermitted in consequence of the public mourning.—Letter received from Sicily, from the proprætor Otacilius, stating that the territories of Hiero were being devastated by a Carthaginian fleet, and that another was lying at the Ægates ready to attack Lilybæum.—The proprætor asks for a fleet to oppose the enemy.

Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro per magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litteræ a C. Terentio consule adlatæ sunt: L. Æmilium consulem exercitumque cæsum, sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantæ cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem. Ad decem milia militum ferme esse incompositorum inordinatorumque. Pœnum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis præ daque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatæ quoque per domos clades vulgatæ sunt; adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum, sedato urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliæ insuper ex Sicilia litteræ adlatæ sunt ab T. Otacilio proprætore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui cum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum

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sibi esse aliam classem ad Ægates insulas stare, paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Pœni sensissent, Lilybæum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur. Itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

LVII.

The prætor Marcus Claudius sent from the fleet at Ostia by the Senate to Canusium, to take command of the army there. — The consul Varro directed to repair to Rome. — Prodigies and portents. — Fabius Pictor sent to Delphi. — Extraordinary sacrifices. — Marcus Junius created dictator. — New levy proclaimed. — Allies summoned to lend aid. — Slaves to the number of 8000 enrolled.

Litteris consulis proprætorisque perlectis M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti præesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum censuerunt, scribendumque consuli, ut, cum prætori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicæ fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duæ Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertæ; et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat. L. Cantilius scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio cæsus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire jussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare, et quænam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca in foro bovario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum. Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis, M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi præsidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classica (ea legio tertia erat) cum tribunis mi-

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litum Teanum Sidicinum præmissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegæ, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Junius, et Tib. Sempronius magister equitum, dilectu edicto, juniores ab annis septemdecim et quosdam prætextatos scribunt. Quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt: arma, tela, alia parari jubent, et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo milia juvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare, empta publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

LVIII.

Hannibal dismisses the captives from among the allies without any ransom.—Terms of ransom fixed for the rest.—The Roman captives select ten of their number to repair to Rome, and request the Senate to ransom them.—Carthalo is sent with these to propose terms of peace.—He is ordered by the dictator to depart from the Roman territories forthwith.

Namque Hannibal, secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam, victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos, quod numquam alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur: Non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanæ cessisse, et se id adniti, ut suæ in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere. Pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adjiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant dedentes se, læti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent; nec pignus aliud fidei quam

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ut jurarent se redituros acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animos, condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, jurisjurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

LIX.

Address of the delegates of the captives to the Roman Senate.

Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps M. Junius "Patres conscripti," inquit "nemo nostrum ignorat nulli umquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostræ. Ceterum, nisi nobis plus justo nostra placet causa, non alii umquam minus negligendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus; sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis cæsorum corporum prœlium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla jam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil jam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Majores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse; et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. Atqui et ad Alliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho, utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt; nec supersumus pugnæ nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem refu-

gerunt, sed, præsidio castris relicti, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunæ aut condicioni invideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim—: ne illi quidem (nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod præmium est), qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiæ aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito prætulerint, gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobismet præsidii rei publicæ esse. Sed illis ut bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini, et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni ætate et fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari: non minor numerus noster est, nec majore pretio redimi possumus quam ii emuntur—: nam si conferam nos cum illis, injuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti (si jam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis), cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui vos hospitum numero captivos habuit, an barbaro ac Pœno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest. Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiæ stantium cognatorum nostrorum, exspectantiumque responsum vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis qui absunt ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Sed si, me dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, cum indigni ut redimeremur a vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non æstimatus civis? Suum quisque animum habet, patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum:

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magis me famæ periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus: neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

LX.

Subject of ransoming the captives discussed in the Senate.—Difference of opinion.—Speech of T. Manlius Torquatus.

Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quæ in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro turbæ virorum immiscuerat. Senatus, summotis arbitris, consuli cœptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam, nec prohibendos ex privato redimi; si quibus argentum in præsentia deesset, dandam ex ærario pecuniam mutuam, prædibusque ac prædiis cavendum populo censerent; tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscæ ac nimis duræ, ut plerisque videatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam, ita locutus fertur: "Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam peregissem: quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, præferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed ctiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli, æquum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quæ illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam hæc, quæ apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviæ cujusque et virtutis; aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Et cum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria lætis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem milia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque

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per se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Sicut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio; sicut, nobis adolescentibus, priore Punico bello, Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum, situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit 'Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones:' si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros quidem nec Romanos vos duceret, si nemo tantæ virtutis exstitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis, quam ad salutem, ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam, ad parentes, ad conjuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus? quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die cæsa jacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil umquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Et liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam: immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives ejus estis. Sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati jure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio rediturí estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium, civem vestrum, non audistis, arma capere ac sequi se jubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis, castra prodi et arma tradi jubentem. Quam ego ignaviam istorum accuso, cum scelus possim accusare! Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret, quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt civem haberet? Ex milibus septem armatorum sexcenti exstiterunt qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent: neque his sexcentis

milia hostium obstitere. Quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii, fortia, fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque (nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint) cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest fuisse, ut erumpentibus, quin erumperent, obsistere conati sunt; aut non invidere eos cum incolumitati tum gloriæ illorum per virtutem partæ, cum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosæ causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. Ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitæ abessent, adfectisque fame viribus, arma jam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt—: orto sole ab hostibus ad vallum accessum; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Hæc vobis ipsorum per biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tum in castra refugerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Vos redimam? Cum erumpere castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere, castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriæ restituerunt."

LXI.

The Senate refuse to ransom the prisoners.—One of the captives fraudulently seeks to evade his oath; but he is ordered to be

Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, præter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniæ quoque summa homines movit, qua nec ærarium exhaurire (magna jam summa erogata

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delivered up to Hannibal.—Another account respecting the prisoners is cited by Livy.—Extent of the disaster at Cannæ shown by the number of Italian communities that revolted to the Carthaginians.—Firmness of the Romans under their misfortunes.—Varro receives public thanks for not having despaired of the state.

in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque), nec Hannibalem maxime hujusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot jactura civium adjectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra jurejurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum, et, custodibus publice datis, deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primos venisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur. Morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium. Tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod, per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi, religione sese exsolvissent. De iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse; victosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos censuerint. Ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico, caruerint. Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam quid veri sit discernere queas.

Quanto autem major ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quæ ad eum diem firma steterat, tum labare cœpit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere

autem ad Pœnos hi populi, Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani: præter hos Uxentini et Græcorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eæ clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis umquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptæ cladis. Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, et gratiæ actæ, quod de re publica non desperasset; qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

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NOTES.

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NOTES.

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I. AND II.

The first two books, coming down to the year 480 B.C., give the early mythical history of Rome. Livy seems to take as his leading authority the poet Ennius, who as a poet might be expected to take liberties with the traditions. Niebuhr represented the songs anciently sung at feasts as the origin of all that is picturesque and poetical in this early history, but this view is supported by no evidence.

Seeley gives as the result of his examination the following summary, as a meagre outline, but one in every way probable, of the earliest condition of Rome:

"We see a number of 'gentes' or clans living apparently on local districts or 'pagi' side by side. They bear for the most part the names afterwards conspicuous in Roman history as the names of the great patrician houses.

"They are divided into three great tribes. They regard themselves as connected both with the Latins and with the Sabines.

"Where several sacred places are near together—the Ara Maxima of Hercules, the sacred place of Faunus Lupercus on the Palatine, the temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal—a town springs up. To this the clans resort for festivals, markets, and for common deliberation.

"The clans are an exclusive body, and are in possession of various priesthoods and religious privileges. Though we are told of a great Sabine clan—the Claudian—being admitted among them, they do not as a rule admit strangers into their body.

"They have a king, chosen from their own body, who rules for life.

"He summons round him a council of chiefs or elders, called 'senatus.' This body, whatever deference may be paid to it, has no function beyond that of advising.

"He commands the army, presides in the Senate, and performs certain sacrifices.

"He has the power of appointing two law-officers called 'quaestors.'

"There is a general assembly of the clans called 'comitia curiata.' At this, among other things, family questions, such as adoptions from one clan into another, are decided.

"The community has a religious ritual of an extremely complicated yet inexpensive kind, to which it is much devoted.

"It has religious rites proper to the family and also to the gens;

it has also several private religious guilds, which exist to perform certain rites at intervals; sometimes these guilds are connected with particular clans.

"It has priests connected with particular temples, and some highly venerated priests, but no organized priesthood; a priest is not necessary to a sacrifice.

"It has three guilds of persons skilled in theology—the pontiffs, the augurs, and the fetiales.

"The king seems to have the supreme religious as well as civil power.

"The army consists principally of cavalry, which is chosen in equal numbers from the three tribes.

"In this primitive constitution a great reform takes place.

"In consequence of a great population having grown up outside the clans, an army is formed from the whole community, each citizen being ranked according to his property, and required to provide himself with corresponding arms. This army consists mainly of infantry arrayed in phalanx.

"The army so constituted is regarded as a national assembly, and when the will of the nation is to be expressed, a single vote is given to each century of the army.

"In order to make the property-register, a new local classification is required. Four local city tribes are established.

"At some unknown time, but possibly at the same time, the outside population is admitted into the clans, into the three tribes, and into the comitia curiata. But the original clans continue to regard themselves as being the only true clans.

"A national temple of unprecedented magnificence is built on the Capitoline hill.

"A foreign sacred book is acquired, which introduces a Greek element into the religion of the country.

"Finally, a revolution takes place, and the king for life is superseded by two magistrates holding power only for a year."

The early annals of the Republic, given in bk. ii., are as little adapted as those of the kings to afford a firm historical footing. The most important point is the rise of the plebeians and the growth of the Tribunician power. The aristocratic revolution which expelled the Tarquin family left the royal power in the hands of two magistrates, originally called Prætors, who were annually elected by the *comitia centuriata*. These Prætors had the power of filling vacancies in the Senate, and of calling it together.

The Senate seems at first to have had the power of nominating to the *comitia centuriata* the persons to be elected *Prætors*. In the *comitia centuriata* the voting was by centuries, and wealth had most influence; in the *comitia curiata* the voting was by curiæ. To these two assemblies all the people, patricians and plebeians alike, belonged.

The plebeians obtained by the Valerian law the right of appeal *ad populum*, to the whole people, from the sentence of magistrates.

After the secession to the Mons Sacer, two plebeian magistrates

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were elected by the *comitia centuriata*, to be protectors of the plebeians, and their persons were declared sacred and inviolable.

At first this power was used to prevent oppression by creditors, but C. Mænius extended his protection to plebeians who refused to serve in the army.

A law is passed to divide a certain portion of the public domain. The execution of this law is demanded by the plebeians, and resisted by the patricians.

Genucius, a *Tribunus Plebis*, impeaches the Consuls, and is murdered.

Publilius, in his first Tribuneship, proposes that the *Tribuni Plebis* be chosen by the *comitia tributa*, where the voters were plebeian, and the voting by polls; in his second Tribuneship he demands further that Ædiles be chosen in the *comitia tributa*, and that this assembly be competent to consider questions concerning the whole nation.

On the passing of these laws the number of Tribunes is raised to five.

It is generally assumed that the two Prætors or Consuls were from the first both patricians. Dionysius, however, gives as the names of the two first Tribunes of the Plebs, L. Junius Brutus and C. Sicinius, both of whom were Consuls, and the proposer of the first agrarian law was Sp. Cassius the Consul. In all historic time, the Junian, Sicinian, and Cassian gentes were plebeian. It is, therefore, not improbable that the true state of affairs was as follows: On the expulsion of the Tarquins the Plebs had power enough to effect the election of one Consul; after the conquest of Rome by the Etruscans, by which Rome lost all her land on the right bank of the Tiber, and her tribes were reduced by a third, the plebeians, who are always regarded as a rural population, fell into great distress and fled to the city, where their needs drove them to become debtors to the patricians—hence encroachments on their rights by the latter; after the death of the plebeian champion, Sp. Cassius, the Consuls were elected by the patricians and their clients, and therefore none but patricians became Consuls: this usurpation was for some time acquiesced in by the plebeians after they had secured the election of their Tribunes in the *comitia tributa* under the Publilian laws.

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PREFACE.

1. *Facturusne operæ pretium sim.* "Whether I be likely to obtain the recompense of my labor," i. e., whether I be about to do a thing worth my while. The recompense which the writer has in view is the applause of his contemporaries and of posterity. Livy, as Quintilian (ix., 4, 74) remarks, begins his history with the commencement of a hexameter (*Făctū|rūsne ŏpē|ræ prĕtī|ūm sim|*—). This, of course, fixes the present reading, as Quintilian wrote only a century, or thereabouts, after Livy. The Roman critic, however, alludes at the same time to an emendation which had been made in the text, namely, *Facturusne sim operæ pretium*, as it appears, according to Drakenborch, in almost all the MSS. [Tacitus also commences his Annals with a hexameter: Urbem | Romam | principi|o re|ges habu|ere|; and Sallust begins the narrative of the Jugurthine war with Bellum | scriptu|rus sum | quod popul|us Ro|manus|; and in various other passages of Livy hexameters, or clauses of hexameters, are found. The historians, borrowing largely from the vocabulary of the poets, and imitating their freer syntax, seem not to have been averse to a poetical cadence.]

2–4. *Perscripserim.* Observe the force of the compound here, as referring to a full and continuous history of the Roman people.—*Si sciam.* "If I knew." The present subjunctive is often employed when a condition that is still possible is assumed, while it is at the same time intimated that it will not actually occur. In such a case we often use the imperfect in English (Madvig, *L. G.*, § 347, *b*).—*Ausim.* "Would I venture." The old form *ausim*, a remnant of the obsolete perfect *ausi*, was retained by the language in its more refined state only in doubtful assertions and in a potential sense (Madvig, § 115, *f*).—*Rem.* "A practice." The reference is to the practice of writing historical works. This, as Livy says, had become in his time an old and hackneyed one, and yet new writers were continually coming forward in the hope of surpassing their predecessors.—*In rebus.* "In the detail of facts."

6–10. *Utcunque erit.* "However this shall be," i. e., whether I shall gain applause or not by my historical labors.—*Memoriæ principis terrarum populi.* "For the remembrance of a people that ruled the world."—*Pro virili parte.* "To the best of my powers."—*Nomini officient meo.* "Shall prove a hinderance unto my name," i. e., unto my becoming known.

11, 12. *Res.* "The subject," i. e., a continuous history of the Roman people from the very foundation of the city.—*Ut quæ repetatur.*

"Since it is to be traced back." *Ut quæ* is more emphatic than the simple *quæ* would have been; and the subjunctive of course is employed, since the relative implies the reason of what precedes.—*Supra septingentesimum annum.* The common date for the foundation of Rome is 753 B.C. This is Varro's computation, and is followed by most authors. The first book of Livy's history must have been written between 29 and 25 B.C., and the composition of the whole work have been spread over seventeen years, or probably a still longer period.—*Ut jam magnitudine*, etc. "As by this time to totter under its own magnitude."

13–16. *Legentium.* The present participle, especially in the genitive plural, is sometimes used in place of a substantive where no ambiguity can result (Madvig, § 425).—*Proximaque originibus.* "And the events immediately succeeding such origin."—*Ad hæc nova.* "To these modern times." He means the events of the recent civil wars, which would possess, of course, a stronger interest for the Romans of the Augustan age.—*Prævalentis populi vires*, etc. "The strength of an over-mighty people has been working out its own ruin." *Jampridem* gives *conficiunt* the force of a perfect.

16–21. *Contra.* He means with feelings the very opposite of theirs.—*Tantisper certe.* "So long at least."—*Tota mente.* "With my whole attention."—*Omnis expers curæ.* "Free from every care," i. e., free not only from all fear of giving offence by expressing his opinions too freely, but also from the sorrow which, as a patriot, he could not but feel in recording the civil wars of his countrymen.—*Scribentis.* Participle again employed as a noun.—*Flectere.* "To warp."—*Sollicitum.* "Full of disquiet."

21, 22. *Ante conditam condendamve urbem.* "Before the city was founded or was about to be founded." The expression *ante conditam urbem*, when considered by itself, would embrace of course the whole series of events connected with the destinies of Rome which had preceded the founding of the city; but when taken in connection with the limiting clause, *condendamve urbem*, it refers merely to the more *remote* ones, such as the destruction of Troy, the wanderings of Æneas, the founding of Lavinium and Alba, the line of the Silvii, Evander, Cacus, Hercules, etc.; whereas *condendamve urbem* relates to the events more *immediately* preceding the founding of Rome, that is, to the legends of Mars, Rea, the birth of the twins, Faustulus, Numitor, Amulius, the Lupercalia, the six and twelve vultures, etc. There is no need therefore of making *condendam* here have the force of a present participle passive, and of translating "before the city was founded or was founding," although many commentators are in favor of this.—*Poeticis magis decora fabulis*, etc. "More suited for the fictions

of poetry than for the genuine records of history," i. e., more worthy to embellish poetic fictions than to appear amid accurate historical records.

23–29. *Ea nec adfirmare*, etc. In reporting the traditions of the early ages of Rome, Livy seems less desirous of ascertaining the truth than of arraying the popular story in the most attractive garb. He never conceived the project of drawing up a critical history of Rome. —*Venia.* "Indulgence."—*Consecrare origines suas.* "To impart a sacred character to their origin."—*Ea belli gloria*, etc. Observe that *ea* has here the force of *talis.*—*Ut cum suum conditorisque*, etc. "That when they represent Mars, above all others, as their own parent and that of their founder."—*Gentes humanæ.* "The nations of the world."

30–35. *Sed hæc et his similia*, etc. "But in whatever way these and matters like these shall be attended to or judged of, I shall not, for my part, deem of much importance," i. e., whether these early legends shall be attended to diligently or carelessly, or shall be judged of as true or false.—*Mihi.* "I beg of him." Literally, "for me." This is what grammarians term the ethic dative, and is here employed to indicate earnestness on the part of the writer.—*Quæ vita, qui mores fuerint.* "What was the mode of life, what were the manners (of the people)," i. e., in the earlier and better ages of Rome.—*Artibus.* "Practices," i. e., line of conduct.

35–39. *Labente.* "Declining."—*Velut desidentes primo.* "At first slightly giving way, as it were." A metaphor borrowed from a building which at first gives way or yields a little, then sinks more and more, until at last it falls headlong. Observe that *desidentes* is from *desidĕre*, not from *desidēre.*—*Quibus nec vitia*, etc. He means that, although men feel the painful consequences of their vices, they nevertheless shrink from applying any suitable remedies.

40–42. *In cognitione rerum.* "In the study of history." Observe that *illud* in the beginning of the sentence is in the predicate.—*Omnis te exempli documenta*, etc. "That you behold instances of every kind of conduct placed before the view on a conspicuous monument," i. e., put on open record.—*Inde.* We would naturally expect here either *unde* or *ut inde;* but *inde* is employed with intentional abruptness, in order to render what follows more prominent.

45–50. *Sanctior.* "More observant of good morals."—*Nec in quam civitatem.* "Nor a state into which." Attraction, in imitation of the Greek idiom, for *nec ulla civitas in quam.*—*Adeo.* "So much so that."—*Abundantes.* "Overflowing."—*Desiderium per luxum*, etc.

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"The eager desire of ruining themselves, and of destroying everything else by debauchery and licentiousness." Although well aware of the inevitable and immediate consequences of their conduct, they nevertheless pursued their pleasures with so much eagerness as to appear actually desirous of bringing about, as it were, their own ruin.

52–56. *Ab initio certe*, etc. "From the commencement, at least, of so arduous a task about to be undertaken (by me)." Observe that *ordiendæ* is here to be taken passively, and in a future, not in a present sense. Compare note on *condendam*, line 21.—*Precationibus deorum dearumque.* "Prayers to the gods and goddesses." Objective genitives.—*Orsis tanti operis.* "To the beginnings of so laborious a work." *Orsis* is the dative of *orsa, -orum*, a substantive derived from the participle *orsus*.—*Successus prosperos.* "A favorable issue."

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

1–5. *Satis constat.* "It is sufficiently established." Livy does not mean that we are to regard what he states as an historical fact, but merely as something well grounded in popular belief.—*Sævitum esse.* "That cruelty was practised."—*Duobus.* "For two." Dative of advantage. The more usual construction of *abstinere* is the ablative with *a* or *ab*.—*Jure.* "On account of the tie."—*Omne jus belli abstinuisse.* "Had refrained from exercising all privilege of war;" more literally, "Had kept off all right of war."

6–11. *Casibus.* "Vicissitudes of fortune."—*Enetûm.* For *Enetŏrum.* The Eneti (Ἐνετοί), less correctly Heneti (Ἑνετοί), are mentioned as existing in Paphlagonia in the time of Homer (*Il.*, ii., 852). They dwelt along the coast of the Euxine. It is not improbable that it was the resemblance of their name to that of the Italian Veneti that gave rise to the strange story of Antenor having migrated to Venetia after the fall of Troy, and having there founded the city of Patavium (Virg., *Æn.*, i., 242; Serv. *ad loc.*).—*Pylæmene.* Pylæmenes was slain by Menelaus (*Il.*, v., 578).—*Euganeisque*, etc. The Euganei play but an unimportant part in historical times, but appear at an earlier period to have been more powerful and widely spread. The notion of their Greek descent, referred to by Pliny (iii., 20, 24), was evidently a mere etymological fancy, based upon the supposed derivation of their name from εὐγενεῖς, "the well-born."

13–18. *Et in quem*, etc. For *et locus in quem.—Pagoque Trojano*

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inde nomen est. The dative, by attraction, for the [more usual] nominative, which latter occurs farther on, in line 18, "*Troja et huic loco nomen est.*"—*Ab simili clade.* "By reason of similar misfortune." Observe here the employment of *ab* to denote a circumstance as the cause of a thing. (Zumpt, § 305.)—*Ad majora rerum initia.* Antenor merely founded Patavium, but Æneas in reality the Roman state.—*Primo in Macedoniam venisse.* Ænēa (Αἶνεια), a town of Chalcidice in Macedonia, was said to have been founded by Æneas.—*Inde in Siciliam*, etc. The tradition current among the Greeks ascribed the foundation of Segesta, in this island, to a band of Trojan settlers, fugitives from the destruction of their city; and this tradition was readily welcomed by the Romans, who in consequence claimed a kindred origin with the Segestans.—*Ab Sicilia*, etc. The prepositions *ab* and *ad* are here intended to mark respectively the beginning and the end of the course.—*Tenuisse.* "Held on his way." Supply *cursum.*

19–23. *Ut quibus ab immenso*, etc. "As being those unto whom, after their almost boundless wanderings, nothing remained," etc. This is mentioned to show why they plundered the country.—*Aboriginesque.* The term *Aborigines* is employed by all the ancient writers to designate the earliest inhabitants of Latium, before they assumed the appellation of *Latini.* There can be no doubt that the obvious derivation of this name (*ab origine*) is the true one, and that it could never have been a national title really borne by any people, but was a mere abstract appellation invented in later times to designate the primitive and original inhabitants of the country.—*Ex urbe.* Laurentum, the ancient capital of Latium, and the residence of king Latinus.

23–27. *Duplex inde fama est.* "From this point there is a twofold tradition." The first of these approximates to that which Virgil gives, the second to that mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (i., 57, 64). Livy, however, softens down the more marvellous features of both. Compare Virg., *Æn.*, iii., 389; vii., 112.—*Adfinitatem.* "An alliance by marriage."—*Inter primores.* "Among the foremost ranks." Compare chap. xii.: "*Ipse ad primores Romulus provolat;*" and also Curt., iv., 6: "*Dimicare inter primores.*" Some incorrectly render, "attended by the chief men of his court."

28–35. *Unde aut quo casu*, etc. "Whence (having come), or by what casualty having departed from their home."—*Postquam audierit.* "After he heard (as is said)." Observe the employment of the subjunctive to indicate the statement or words of others.—*Condendæque urbis locum.* "And a site for a city to be founded (by them)."—*Et nobilitatem admiratum*, etc. "That he, struck with admiration both

at the noble character of the nation and of the hero, and also at their spirit," etc.—*Fidem sanxisse.* "Confirmed the assurance."

35–37. *Inde fœdus ictum.* "That thereupon a league was struck." The expression, *icere fœdus*, "to strike a league," is derived from striking or slaying the victim sacrificed on the occasion.—*In hospitio.* "On a footing of hospitality."—*Apud penates deos.* The penates were believed to be the creators and dispensers of all the well-being and gifts of fortune enjoyed not only by a family, but by an entire community.

39–42. *Utique adfirmat.* "Fully confirms."—*Stabili certaque sede.* "By a fixed and permanent settlement."—*Lavinium.* The founding of Lavinium by Æneas and the Trojans is of course a mere fable. It would seem more than probable, however, that this city was at one time the metropolis or centre of the Latin state. Its site is identified with the modern *Pratica*. Lavinium appears to be only another form for Latinium, just as Latinus and Lavinus are only two forms of the same name.—*Ascanium.* Apposition, instead of *Ascanio*, by attraction, as in line 11.

CHAPTER II.

2–7. *Turnus.* Son of Daunus and Venilia. Dionysius calls him Τυρρηνός, the Tyrrhenian, as the representative of this race. The Latin name also would seem to be shortened from Turrinus.—*Rutulorum.* The Rutuli were settled at a very early period in a part of Latium adjoining the sea-coast, their capital city being Ardea. They were a small and unimportant people. They are supposed by some to have been connected with the Etruscans, and to have been a relic of the period when that people had extended their dominion throughout Latium and Campania.—*Prælatum sibi advenam.* "That the newcomer had been preferred to himself."—*Ducem Latinum amisere.* According to Cato, Latinus fell in battle with Æneas; according to another account, in a war with Mezentius.

8–15. *Diffisi rebus.* "Having distrusted their own resources."—*Mezentium.* The true form of the name probably is *Medentius*, which will then be connected with the Oscan *Meddix*. Mezentius was a mythic king of the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans, at Cære or Agylla.—*Cære.* The ablative, or rather locative case. Compare *Prænestе*, *Nepete*, etc. [Seeley regards it as a dative after *imperitans*, since, if it were an ablative, we ought to have *in opulento*.] Cære was an ancient and powerful city of Southern Etruria, a few miles from the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, and about 27 miles distant from Rome. The Greeks called it Agylla, which was its Pelasgian name, the place being

of Pelasgian origin. It received the appellation of Cære (probably Cisra) from the Tyrrhenians when they conquered it. The modern village of *Cervetri* lies just without the line of the ancient walls.—*Imperitans.* This frequentative form is often employed to indicate long-continued sway.—*Jam inde ab initio.* "From the very first." *Jam inde* generally means "ever since," as *Jam inde ab Aristotele.* "Ever since the time of Aristotle."—*Nimio plus.* "More by far."—*Socia.* Taken proleptically, the alliance being the result of the union.

17–24. *Sub eodem jure.* "Under the same rule."—*Latinos utramque gentem appellavit.* This, of course, is erroneous. The Latini were not so called either in the way here mentioned, nor from a monarch of the name of Latinus. The connection which has been generally recognized between *Latini* and *Lavinium*, as also between *Latinus* and *Lavinus*, seems to point to the existence of an old form, *Latvinus.* (Donaldson, *Varronianus*, p. 6.) In like manner, *Latium* is not derived from *lateo*, but means the land of the *Latini.*—*His animis populorum.* "Upon this state of feeling on the part of the two communities."—*Ut jam non terras solum*, etc. The Etrurians had at an early period extended their dominion over the greater part of Italy, from the Alps and the plains of Lombardy, on the one hand, to Vesuvius and the Gulf of Surrentum on the other. Contemporary with this great extension of the Etruscan power by land was the period of their maritime and naval supremacy. The Tyrrhenians, as the Greeks called them, were also a bold and hardy race of navigators; they are repeatedly mentioned as fitting out great fleets for naval warfare; and they exercised an almost undisputed supremacy over the sea which derived from them the name of the Tyrrhenian.—*Fretum Siculum.* Now the Strait of Messina.

26–29. *Secundum inde prœlium Latinis.* "Thereupon (ensued) a successful battle for the Latins." Crevier maintains that *secundum* here means "the second," and that *ultimum* is opposed to it. But the truth is, this was really the first battle for the Trojans and Aborigines, now incorporated, according to Livy, under the common name of Latini.—*Situs est.* "He lies interred." The idea which *situs* carries with it, when thus employed, is that of repose or rest. Dionysius says that the body of Æneas was not found after the battle, and it was believed that it had been carried up to heaven, or that he had perished in the river Numicius. (Dion. Hal., i., 64.) A *Heroïum* therefore (*ἡρῶον*), according to the same authority, was erected to his memory.

Quemcunque eum dici, etc. "By whatever appellation it is right and pious for him to be called." Æneas, being now deified, could not be called by his human name; while in speaking of his being

buried, it would be improper to name him by his divine title. The parenthesis here refers to the doubt existing in the mind of the historian. The popular name is given immediately after.—*Super Numicium flumen.* "On the bank of the river Numicius." The Numicius, or Numicus, now *Rio Torto*, was a small river of Latium, between Lavinium and Ardea.

Jovem indigetem appellant. "They call him Jupiter Indiges." The term *indiges* (plur. *indigetes*) was properly applied to deified heroes, who thus became what may be termed "native deities," and protectors and guardians of the land. The *indigetes dei* were analogous therefore to the δαίμονες ἐπιχώριοι of the Greeks. Hartung connects them in some degree with the *penates* (*Rel. der Römer.*, i., 81–93). The expression *Jupiter Indiges*, therefore, would be somewhat analogous to "Father and native god." Dionysius (*l. c.*) calls Æneas a θεὸς χθόνιος.

CHAPTER III.

2–5. *Tamen.* "Nevertheless." *Tamen* often thus refers to an *etsi* omitted in a previous member of the sentence.—*Ad puberem ætatem.* "Until full age."—*Tantisper.* "For so long a time," i. e., during the period of his minority.—*Indoles.* "Ability."—*Stetit.* "Stood firm," i. e., was preserved to him.

6–10. *Haud ambigam.* "I will not enter into any dissension." Many editions give *haud nihil ambigam*, assigning to *ambigo* here the meaning of *dubito*, and translating, "I will not assert as a thing beyond doubt," or "I have some doubts." But the manuscripts all omit *nihil*, and with very good reason, since Livy employs *ambigo* here, not in the sense of "to doubt," but in that of "to discuss" or "to dispute."—*Hicine fuerit Ascanius*, etc. From this it would seem that some traditions distinguished between an earlier and a later Ascanius, the one a son of Creusa, and the other of Lavinia.—*Comesque inde paternæ fugæ.* Homer knows nothing of Ascanius. Later poets make him either to have fled with his father, or else to have founded a new kingdom in Asia Minor.—*Quem Iulum eundem.* "Whom, at the same time Iulus," i. e., whom, called also Iulus. On the force of *idem*, here consult Zumpt, § 127.

11–16. *Ubicumque.* He means, whether at Lavinium or in Asia. So *quacumque matre*, whether of Creusa or Lavinia.—*Certe constat.* "It is at least certain."—*Ut tum res erant.* "As things then were," i. e., considering those times. It was a flourishing and populous city, considering the barbarous condition of those places at that time. He does not mean that it was in a more flourishing condition then than afterwards.—*Albano monte.* The Alban Mount, now *Monte Cavo*,

was the highest and central summit of a remarkable group of mountains in Latium, which form one of the most important physical features of that country.—*In dorso.* "Along a ridge." This ridge ran out from the foot of Mons Albanus, and extended along the eastern shore of the Lacus Albanus to its north-eastern extremity, nearly opposite the modern village of *Marino.*—*Inter Lavinium*, etc. "Between the founding of Lavinium and the leading forth of the colony to Alba Longa nearly thirty years intervened." A substantive is sometimes used with the perfect participle in such a way that we have to think not so much of the thing itself in a certain state, as of the action performed on the subject considered in itself substantively. (Madvig, § 426.)

19–22. *Morte Æneæ.* "On the death of Æneas." Some words, which do not in themselves denote time, but an event, are used in the ablative without a preposition, in order to intimate the time when a thing takes place. (Madvig, § 276, 2.)—*Ausi sint.* The sequence of tenses here would strictly require *auderent;* but *ausi sint* is purposely employed, from the idea of continuance which it carries with it, to indicate that hostilities were not attempted against the Latins during any portion of the time alluded to. [Kühnast explains this use of the subjunctive perfect as marking that a past occurrence is looked at from the point of view of the present.]

23–27. *Albula.* It was a tradition generally received among the Romans that the Tiber had been originally called Albula, and that it changed its name in consequence of Tiberinus, one of the fabulous kings of Alba, having been drowned in its waters. Mannert, however, considers Albula the Latin, and Tiberis the Etruscan name of the stream.—*Silvius deinde regnat.* There can be no doubt, as Niebuhr remarks (vol. i., p. 205), that the series of Alban kings, as given here by Livy, and differently elsewhere by other writers, is a clumsy forgery of a late period; but it may probably be admitted as historical that a Silvian house or gens was the reigning family at Alba.—*Coloniæ aliquot.* According to some eighteen, according to others thirty in number.—*Prisci Latini appellati.* "Called ancient Latins." *Appellati* is by synizesis for *appellatæ.* Some regard *Prisci* not as an attributive adjective, but as the name of a people (compare *Os-ci*, *Vols-ci*, etc.), connected asyndetically with *Latini*, like *patres conscripti.*—*Cognomen.* Put for *nomen*, since all these kings belonged to the *gens Silvia.*

30–40. *Celebre ad posteros.* "Celebrated down to posterity," i. e., down to the latest ages.—*Per manus.* "By immediate succession." Compare the English expression, "from hand to hand."—*Cognomen colli fecit.* A second instance of *cognomen* for *nomen.*—*Qui stirpis*

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maximus erat. Observe the employment of *maximus*, although only two are meant.—*Reæ Silviæ.* The true form is *Rea*, not *Rhea.* Niebuhr remarks that *Rhea* is a corruption introduced by the editors, apparently from thinking of the goddess Rhea; whereas *Rea* seems to have signified nothing more than the *culprit.* He also calls attention to the remark of Perizonius, that when the mother of Romulus is represented as the daughter of Æneas, she is always called *Ilia*, and that Rea is never prefixed to the latter name (*Hist. Rome*, vol. i., p. 211).—*Cum Vestalem eam legisset.* The king, as priest, makes the selection.

CHAPTER IV.

1–6. *Debebatur fatis.* "Was a debt all along due to the fates." Observe the force of the imperfect, as referring to the long train of antecedent events connected with the founding of the city. This founding was due to them; it was a debt that should be paid to them, and therefore an event which no human power could divert.—*Secundum deorum opes.* "Next to the power of the gods."—*Seu ita rata*, etc. "Whether she really thought so, or because a god was (in her eyes) a more creditable cause (to allege) for her indiscretion."—*Incertæ stirpis.* "Of her illegitimate offspring." A euphemism. Compare Ulpian: "*Qui matre quidem* (*certa*) *patre autem incerto nati sunt, spurii appellantur.*"

10–12. *Forte quadam divinitus.* "By some chance, which heaven seemed actually to direct." Gronovius compares this form of expression with the Greek θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ.—*Effusus lenibus stagnis.* "Having overflowed in stagnant pools." Observe that *Tiberis effusus*, etc., forms in fact the subject and ground to *poterat* and *dabat.*—*Nec adiri usquam ad justi*, etc. "Could neither be approached anywhere as far as the regular current of the river," i. e., the regular bed of the stream.—*Posse quamvis languida*, etc. "Could be drowned in water however still."

14, 15. *Ficus Ruminalis.* "The Ruminal fig-tree." So called, according to Festus (p. 270), because beneath this tree the she-wolf afforded her dug to Romulus and Remus, the dug (*mamma*) being called in early Latin *rumis* or *ruma.* (Compare Donaldson, *Varron.*, p. 61.) This wild fig-tree stood on a part of the Palatine hill called *Germalus*, facing the Capitoline mount, and near the Lupercal. It was still to be seen in Livy's time, as appears from the words *nunc est.*—*Romularem vocatam ferunt.* The annalists related that its earlier name was *Romularis*, i. e., "the Romulean fig-tree," but this was merely an attempt on their part to explain the meaning of the word.

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16–19. *Tenet fama.* "A tradition prevails."—*Lupam.* Livy here follows Ennius in his annals (i., 71). Compare Ovid, *Fast.*, iii., 55.—*Eam submissas*, etc. "That she, with so much gentleness, presented to the infants her lowered dugs."

21–26. *Faustulo fuisse nomen*, etc. Consult note on *Pago Trojano*, chap. i.—*Larentiæ.* Her full name was Acca Larentia. The appellation Larentia would seem to connect this mythic female with the worship of the Lares.—*Vulgato corpore.* "From the prostitution of her person."—*Lupam.* From *lupa* in this sense comes *lupanar.*—*In stabulis.* "At the homestall." By *stabula* are here meant, not the stalls of the cattle, but the rude abodes of the rustics themselves. Compare Cic., *Sest.*, v., 12: "*Pastorum stabula.*"—*Ad pecora.* "With the cattle in the field." [*Venando.* Here *tamen* is omitted. The meaning is that, although they were not neglectful of their duties as shepherds and herdsmen, yet they were especially devoted to hunting.]

28–30. *Subsistere.* "Withstood." Historical infinitive.—*Rapta.* "The spoil."—*Seria ac jocos celebrare.* "They carried on their graver pursuits as well as those of a sportive character." *Celebrare*, when referred to actions, means to do a thing often, and generally in company with many others.

CHAPTER V.

1–3. *Lupercal hoc.* "The Lupercal of the present day." Observe the force of the pronoun.—*Fuisse ludicrum.* "Was celebrated." The Lupercal, or Lupercalia, was one of the most ancient Roman festivals, and celebrated every year in honor of Lupercus, the god of fertility. All the ceremonies with which it was held, and all we know of its history, show that it was originally a shepherd festival. It was held every year, on the 15th of February, in the Lupercal, where Romulus and Remus were said to have been nurtured by the she-wolf. The place contained an altar and a grove sacred to the god Lupercus.—*Pallanteo.* Pallanteum was one of the most ancient towns of Arcadia, in the district Mænalia, and west of Tegea.—*Palatium montem appellatum.* This etymology is of no value. The names *Palatium* and *Palatinus* appear to be connected in some way with Pales, the Roman divinity of flocks and shepherds.

4–7. *Ex eo genere Arcadum.* "Of that race of Arcadians," i. e., who had inhabited Pallanteum.—*Tenuerit loca.* "Held these places (as is said)." The subjunctive marks the tradition.—*Lycæum Pana.* Not far from Pallanteum lay Mount Lycæus, on which Pan was born, and where he had a temple. His attributes as the god of forests and of shepherds, as also the affinity between λύκος and *lupus*, caused him

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eventually to become identified with the old Italian deity Lupercus. Now Lupercus was not only the protector of the flocks against wolves, but also the promoter of fertility among sheep, whence he was called *Inuus*, or Ἐφιάλτης. The same appellation was given therefore to the Lycean Pan.

10–15. *Notum.* Known to their neighbors. Compare chap. ix., line 20.—*Ob iram prædæ amissæ.* "Through anger on account of the booty lost by them."—*Ultro accusantes.* "Voluntarily turning accusers." The robbers, who themselves deserved to be punished, came forward with bold effrontery to accuse their prisoner.—*Crimini maxime dabant.* Supply *iis*.—*Numitoris agros.* Numitor, though deprived of the crown, was allowed to retain possession of his private estates. —*Inde.* "That from these lands."—*Sic.* "Upon this charge."

17–20. *Jam inde ab initio.* "All along from the very first."—*Apud se.* "With him," i. e., in his family. The pronoun *se* is employed here, since the logical subject lies in the term *Faustulo*.—*Eos sustulisset.* "He had taken them up," i. e., for the purpose of rearing them. The verb *tollo* is used specially in the case of a father, who raises from the ground a child whom he wishes to rear.—*Immaturam.* "Not yet ripe."

22–26. *Numitori tetigerat animum.* "Had struck the mind of Numitor." Literally, "had struck his mind unto Numitor."—*Comparando et ætatem*, etc. "On comparing both their age (with what he knew it would have been) and their spirit itself any thing but servile (with what he would have expected from his grandchildren if alive)." —*Eodem pervenit.* "He came to the same conclusion (as before)," i. e., to the same conclusion which he had formed from a comparison of their age and spirit.—*Ut haud procul esset*, etc. [Like *minime abfuit quin*, the expression is impersonal.] "So that he was not far from (openly) acknowledging Remus."

29, 30. *Sed aliis alio itinere*, etc. "But the shepherds being ordered to come to the palace at a fixed time, some by one route, others by another."—*Ad regem impetum facit.* "He makes an attack upon the king." *Ad* here properly denotes that he makes his way *to* the king through the midst of those who happened to be around him or in his palace at the time, and then attacks him.

CHAPTER VI.

2–12. *Dictitans.* "Exclaiming again and again." Observe the force of the frequentative.—*Avocasset.* He called them away into

the citadel, lest they might proceed to the palace and lend aid to the king.—*Ut cogniti essent.* "How they had become known."—*Contionem.* More correct than *concionem.* Observe that *contio* is by contraction for *conventio.*—*Agmine ingressi.* "Having entered with a band of followers."—*Rutum effecit.* "Ratified."

14–17. *Albana re.* "The Alban state."—*Et supererat multitudo,* etc. "And in fact there was an overflowing number of Albans," etc. Livy follows the common account. But the truth is, Rome was not a colony of Alba in the strict sense of the term; nor do we find any evidence of those mutual relations which might be expected to subsist between a parent city and its offspring. In fact, no mention of Alba occurs in Roman history from the foundation of Rome until the reign of Tullus Hostilius.—*Qui facerent.* The subjunctive here assigns the reason.

19–25. *Intervenit.* "Intruded itself."—*Avitum malum.* "An evil from which their grandfather had been a sufferer."—*Ætatis verecundia.* "Respect for age," i. e., the respect due to seniority.—*Quorum tutelæ.* "Under whose protection." The genitive here is more elegant than the ordinary *in tutela.*—*Legerent.* For *eligerent.*—*Imperio regeret.* "Should rule it with sovereign sway."—*Ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.* "They choose as places of observation for taking the omens." *Templum,* in its primary notion, signifies a portion which is cut off; and then it refers to an imaginary space in the heavens, marked off by an augur with his wand, in order to circumscribe a certain boundary within which he took his observations on the flight of birds.—*Palatium.* A substantive; its corresponding adjective is *Palatinus.* So *Aventinum* is here also a substantive.

CHAPTER VII.

1–5. *Priori Remo.* The dative often occurs thus with *venio* to indicate one who receives any thing.—*Duplex numerus.* The number 12 was held peculiarly sacred among the Etrurians. It here points to the duration of Rome during 12 *sæcula.*—*Sua multitudo.* "His own numerous party."—*Tempore illi præcepto,* etc. "The partisans of the former claimed the sovereignty (for Remus) on the ground of priority of time; but those of the latter on the ground of the (greater) number of birds."

6–14. *Cum altercatione,* etc. "Having met in altercation, from the contest of angry feelings they are turned to bloodshed."—*Vulgatior.* "More commonly received." This is the popular legend.—*Sic deinde.* Supply *eveniat ei.*—*Conditoris nomine appellata.* Livy follows

the common but erroneous account. The name *Romulus* comes from *Roma*, not the latter from it. As for the appellation *Roma* itself, it would appear to be of Pelasgic, that is, Grecian origin (ῥώμη = "strength"), and to contain an allusion to the martial prowess of the founders. Rome was founded, according to Cato's calculation, on the 11th day before the Calends of May (i. e., the 21st of April), the festival of Pales, in the first year of the 7th Olympiad, B.C. 751; but according to Varro in the third year of the 6th Olympiad, or B.C. 753. Varro's date is the one generally adopted.

15, 16. *Palatium.* The Palatine mount was the central one of the group, and the first built upon. Its summit formed an irregular quadrangle, and hence the name of *Roma Quadrata* sometimes given to the early city.—*Muniit.* There seems to be no good authority for Niebuhr's assumption (vol. i., p. 287), that the original city of Romulus was defended merely by the sides of the hill being escarped.—*Diis aliis.* Observe that *aliis* has here the force of *ceteris.*—*Græco.* Supply *ritu.* With uncovered head (Heyne, *ad Virg. Æn.*, 8, 268).—*Herculi.* Hercules probably here takes the place of *Deus Fidius*, i. e., of Jupiter himself, or else of the Sabine *Semo Sancus.*

17–20. *Geryone.* Geryon, son of Chrysaor and Calirrhoë, a fabulous king of Hesperia, described as a being with three heads, and possessing magnificent oxen in the island of Erytheia. He performs a prominent part in the myth of Hercules.—*Nando.* The ablative of the gerund often indicates the manner or way.—*Pabulo læto.* "Luxuriant pasturage."

23–26. *Nomine Cacus.* The allegorical nature of the fable here related is sufficiently indicated by the names of the parties. Evander, who receives Hercules on his return from the overthrow of Geryon, is the *Good Man* (Εὔανδρος = εὖ and ἀνήρ), while Cacus, his opponent, is the *Bad Man* (Κακός). Some antagonism of early religious sects probably lies at the basis of the narrative.—*Avertere.* "To drive off." More freely, "to purloin."—*Si agendo armentum*, etc. "If he had in (the ordinary mode of) driving forced the herd into his cave."—*Deductura erant.* "Were likely to lead." The imperfect indicative employed in a hypothetical sentence for the pluperfect subjunctive, *deduxissent* (Zumpt, § 519).—*Aversos boves, eximium quemque*, etc. "He dragged by the tails into the cave the oxen with their fronts turned away (in a direction opposite to it), each one (namely, of the number) conspicuous for beauty," i. e., he dragged the most beautiful of them, one by one, into the cave. *Aversos* here is employed in a different sense from *avertere* in a former clause.

28–35. *Excitus.* "Aroused." *Excitus* would have been "called

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out" (Zumpt, § 180).—*Ex loco infesto*, etc. "He begins to drive onward his herd from the unfriendly spot." *Infestus* is from *infero*, like *gestus* from *gero*.—*Ad desiderium relictarum.* "From missing those left behind." More literally, "from a longing after," etc.—*Convertit Herculem.* "Caused Hercules to stop and turn round."

36–41. *Fidem.* "The friendly aid." Compare Ter., *Adelph.*, iii., 4, 43: "*Illæc fidem nunc vostram implorat.*"—*Morte occubuit.* The accusative is much more frequent with this verb (Zumpt, § 387).—*Auctoritate magis quam imperio.* "By weight of character more than by any actual exercise of power."—*Venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum.* "A man held in veneration for the wonderful introduction of written characters." Evander is said to have brought into Italy the art of writing; but according to another legend this was taught him by Hercules (Plut., *Quæst. Rom.* 56).—*Carmentæ.* Carmenta was originally called Nicostrate, and received the name Carmenta from her prophetic powers. She was the mother of Evander by Mercury. She had a temple at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and altars near the Porta Carmentalis.

43–46. *Trepidantium.* "Moving in confusion and alarm."—*Facinus facinorisque.* The repetition of a substantive under a different form is of rare occurrence in Cicero, who prefers using the pronoun; but it is freqently met with in the poets and in Livy.—*Habitum formamque*, etc. "The person and mien of the hero, much larger and more majestic than the human." *Aliquantum* in cases like the present is more commonly employed in the ablative.—*Rogitat.* "Eagerly asks." Force of the frequentative.

49–52. *Cecinit.* "Foretold." The responses of oracles were usually in verse.—*Opulentissima.* "The most powerful."—*Maximam vocet*, etc. "Shall call *Maxima*, and shall honor with thy own rites." The allusion is to the *ara Maxima* of Hercules, with which was connected an ancient and celebrated temple or chapel in the Forum Boarium.—*Dextra Hercules data.* Observe that the agent is here thrown in between the substantive and the passive participle, an arrangement very frequent in Livy. The object of it is to remove ambiguity, and to remedy the defect in the Latin language arising from the want of a past participle of active signification (Hunter, *ad loc.*).—*Impleturumque fata.* He means the fates which Carmenta said ordained that he should be worshipped.—*Ara condita ac dicata.* It does not appear very clearly from the context whether the altar was to be built and consecrated by Evander, or by Hercules himself. The latter is the more probable opinion (compare Liv., ix., 34; Virg., *Æn.*, viii., 270; Ov., *Fast.*, i., 581), though some authorities ascribe the building of the altar to Evander.

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52–58. *Ibi.* Equivalent here to *in ea*, scil. *ara.*—*Ad ministerium*, etc. "To the services and the banquet," i. e., the services at the altar, and the sacrificial banquet that followed.—*Hisque exta apponerentur*, etc. The *exta* were the more important inward parts of the victim, such as the heart, liver, lungs, etc. These, after having been taken out, were first examined by the haruspices for the purposes of divination. Then those portions of them that were intended for the gods were strewed with barley-meal and incense, and moistened with wine, and were burned upon the altar. The remainder of the *exta* was eaten by the priests and their attendants; and the whole affair concluded with a general feast on the rest of the victim.—*Pinarium genus.* "The Pinarian family." *Genus* in the sense of *gens.*

60, 61. *Edocti.* "Carefully instructed."—*Donec tradito*, etc. The Potitii and Pinarii continued to discharge the duties of their priesthood until the censorship of Appius Claudius (B.C. 312), who it is said induced the Potitii, by the offer of 50,000 pounds of copper, to instruct public slaves in the performance of the sacred rites; whereat the god was so angry that the whole gens, containing twelve families and thirty grown-up men, perished within a year, or, according to other accounts, within thirty days, and Appius himself became blind. (Liv., ix., 39; Festus, p. 237, ed. Müller; Val. Max., i., 1, 17.) Niebuhr remarks that if there be any truth in the tale respecting the destruction of the Potitia gens, they may have perished in the great plague which raged fifteen or twenty years later, since such legends are not scrupulous with respect to chronology. The same writer further observes that it is probable that the worship of Hercules, as attended to by the Potitii and Pinarii, was a form of religion peculiar to these gentes, and had nothing to do with the religion of the Roman state; and that, as Appius Claudius wished to make these *sacra privata* part of the *sacra publica*, he induced the Potitii to instruct public slaves in the rites, since no foreign god could have a flamen (*Hist. of Rome*, vol. iii., p. 309).

63, 64. *Peregrina.* So called because not derived from Alba.—*Sua fata.* "His own destinies." His own deification, like that of Hercules, was decreed by the fates.

CHAPTER VIII.

1–7. *Rite perpetratis.* "Having been duly performed." Romulus united in himself the functions of king and priest.—*Legibus.* "Fixed rules," i. e., for the regulation of both public and private life.—*Jura.* "A code of laws."—*Ita.* "In this way."—*Venerabilem.* "An object of reverence."—*Cetero habitu.* "In the rest of his general ex-

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terior."—*Lictoribus.* The lictor was a public officer attached to the service of certain Roman magistrates, whom he preceded whenever they went abroad. He carried the fasces with the axe in the centre on his left shoulder, and a rod (*virga*) in his right hand.

9–13. *Me haud pœnitet*, etc. "I am quite willing to be of the opinion of those." The verb *pœnitet* is not unfrequently employed to express merely a feeling of dissatisfaction or unwillingness.—*Apparitores hoc genus.* "Attendants of this class." *Hoc genus* is the accusative of nearer definition. The term *apparitores* was the general name for the public servants of the magistrates at Rome, including lictors, accensi, viatores, etc. The common text has *et apparitores et hoc genus*, "both the attendants in general, and this particular class of them." This reading, however, cannot be correct, since we have no proof that the *apparitores* all came from Etruria, and since the reference here is a special one to number. It is far better therefore to remove the *et* before *hoc*, and to place it before *numerum*. [As to the derivation of all these things from Etruria, modern critics see reason to reduce the Etruscan influence at Rome to a minimum: it can be shown that many institutions which the Romans regarded as derived from Etruria were common to all the Italians (Seeley).]

Sella curulis. The sella curulis, or "curule seat," was a species of stool with bent legs, made to open and shut like our camp-stools, for the convenience of being transported with its owner wherever he went. Originally it was used at Rome exclusively by the kings; but it was subsequently allowed as a privilege to the consuls, prætors, curule ædiles, etc.—*Toga prætexta.* A toga ornamented with a broad border of purple, worn by the chief magistrates.—*Et ita habuisse Etruscos.* "And that the Etrurians had this number." Literally, "So had them."—*Ex duodecim populis*, etc. Etruria was a confederacy of twelve cities, each of which was a sovereign and independent state.

15–21. *Alia atque alia appetendo loca.* "By taking in various places one after the other with its fortifications." More literally, "Now one, now another."—*Munirent.* They included a wider space within the line of walls than the population of the city seemed at the time to require, but they did this with a view to future accessions of inhabitants.—*Vana.* "Useless."—*Vetere consilio*, etc. "In accordance with the old policy of the founders of cities." Participle again for a noun.—*Locum qui nunc septus*, etc. "He opens as an asylum the place which is now enclosed to those who go down (from the Capitol) between the two groves." That is, the enclosed space compels those who come down from the Capitol to make a circuit around it. Becker (*Haud.*, p. 387) assumes that the Asylum occupied the whole depression between the two summits of the Capitoline hill, and that this space, which by modern topographers has been called

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Intermontium, was named "*inter duos lucos.*" But his authorities do not bear him out. Consult the remarks of Dyer in Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*, vol. ii., p. 770 seqq.

22–24. *Eo, ex finitimis*, etc. As the Asylum was only a small enclosure, the meaning of the legend must be that those who fled to this place underwent expiation in a temple or chapel within its precincts, and were then assigned habitations in other quarters of the city.—*Sine discrimine*, etc. Zumpt thinks that the whole story of the Asylum probably arose from the fact that Rome was looked upon as the home of all unfortunates, since there the peculiar regulation was in force that slaves, when set free by Roman masters, became Roman citizens by that very act.—*Primum roboris.* "The first accession of strength."

25. *Cum jam virium*, etc. "When now he was well satisfied with his strength, he thereupon prepares to add counsel to strength." This is certainly better than to translate, as some do, "he prepares a council for the regulation of that strength." As regards the force of *pæniteret* here, consult note on line 9 of the present chapter.

26–28. *Centum creat senatores*, etc. The explanations which Livy gives for this number of the early Senate are both incorrect. The number of senators in the ancient republics always bore a distinct relation to the number of tribes of which the nation was composed. Hence in the earliest times, when Rome consisted of only one tribe, its Senate consisted of one hundred members; and when the Sabine tribe or the Tities became united with the Latin tribe, or the Ramnes, the number of senators was increased to two hundred. This number was again augmented by one hundred when the third tribe, or the Luceres, became incorporated with the Roman state.

Patricii. The word *patricius* is a derivative from *pater*, and *patricii* therefore properly signifies those who belonged to the *patres.* It is a mistake in Livy and other ancient writers to suppose that the *patricii* were only the offspring of the *patres* in the sense of senators, and necessarily connected with them by blood. *Patres* and *Patricii* were originally convertible terms (Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i., p. 336). In considering who the Patricians were, we have to distinguish three periods in the history of Rome. The *first* extends from the foundation of the city down to the establishment of the Plebeians as a second order. During this period the patricians comprised the whole body of Romans who enjoyed the full franchise; they were the *populus Romanus*, and there were no other real citizens besides them. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. ii., p. 224, 225, note 507.) The other parts of the Roman population, namely, clients and slaves, did not belong to the *populus Romanus*, or sovereign people, and were not burghers or patricians.

The senators were a select body of the populus or patricians, which acted as their representative. The *second period* above alluded to extends from the close of the first down to the time of Constantine. During this period the patricians were a real aristocracy of birth, and as such formed a distinct class of Roman citizens, opposed to the plebeians, and afterwards to the new plebeian aristocracy of the nobles. The *third period* extends from Constantine down to the Middle Ages, during which the patricians were no longer an aristocracy of birth, but were persons who merely enjoyed a title, first granted by the emperors, and afterwards by the popes also.

CHAPTER IX.

1–6. *Jam.* "Already." The particle indicates the rapid growth of the city.—*Sed penuria mulierum*, etc. "But through the scarcity of women, its greatness was likely to last during one age of man merely," i. e., during the then existing generation merely.—*Spes prolis*, etc. This, of course, must be understood in a qualified sense, as there must have been some women in the city. Indeed, since among the communities to whom delegates were sent no mention is made of the Latins, the Romans must have had already the *connubium*, or right of intermarriage with these last.—*Circa*. "Around among."

9–15. *Satis scire.* Supply *se.*—*Proinde ne gravarentur*, etc. "Wherefore they should feel no reluctance, as men with their fellow-men, to mingle blood and race."—*Molem.* "Source of trouble." Hence *molestus* and *molestia.*—*Ac.* "And so."—*Id enim demum compar connubium fore.* "For that such an alliance only would be a suitable one," i. e., for vagabond slaves and outlaws.

20, 21. *Consualia.* So called, according to Festus, Ovid, and others, in honor of Consus, the god of secret deliberations, but according to Livy, in the present passage, celebrated in honor of Neptunus Equestris. Plutarch, however, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the Pseudo-Asconius say that Neptunus Equestris and Consus were only different names for the same deity. These games took place every year on the 21st of August, and consisted of horse and chariot races.—*Quantoque apparatu*, etc. "And they join in preparing their celebration with as much pomp as they were then acquainted with, or were able to employ."

23–25. *Mortales.* "Persons." This term includes persons of all ranks, age, and sex.—*Cœninenses.* Cœnina was a very ancient city of Latium, said to have been originally inhabited by the Siculi, and to have been wrested from them by the Aborigines. Nibby supposes it

to have occupied a hill ten miles from Rome, on the banks of the *Magugliano.*—*Crustumini.* The inhabitants of Crustumerium, an ancient city of Latium, on the borders of the Sabine country, between Fidenæ and Eretum. Its precise site has not been determined.—*Antemnates.* Antemnæ, a very ancient city of Latium, only three miles from Rome, just below the confluence of the Anio with the Tiber.—*Jam.* "Moreover."

29–37. *Deditæque eo*, etc. "And their minds together with their eyes were intent upon it." Literally, "were given up to it." Observe the force of *eo*, as referring back to *spectaculum.* The adverb takes the place of the pronoun *ei.*—*Discurrit.* "Run in different directions."—*A globo Thalassii cujusdam.* "By a body of men belonging to one Thalassius."—*Inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.* "That from this circumstance the term became a nuptial one," i. e., was ever after used in the ceremony of marriage. Many ancient writers mention a very popular song, called *Talassius* or *Talassio*, which was sung at weddings, but whether it was sung during the nuptial repast at the abode of the bridegroom, or during the procession, when the bride was being conducted to his house, is not quite clear, though we may infer from the story respecting the origin of the song as here given that it was sung while the procession was advancing towards the husband's residence. As regards the term *Talassius* itself, we may reject without any hesitation the legend in the text, and connect it with the Æolic τᾶλις, "a marriageable maiden."

41–44. *Per fas ac fidem decepti.* "Having been deceived by the pretence of religion and good faith." More literally, "through religion and good faith."—*Venissent.* The subjunctive as referring to the language of the parents themselves, "they had come as they said or complained." (Zumpt, § 545.)—*Spes de se melior.* "Any better expectations concerning themselves." *Melior* refers back to *decepti.* They expected a treatment corresponding to the act of violence and faithlessness which had just been committed.—*Patrum superbia.* "Through the pride of their (the maidens') fathers."—*Illas tamen in matrimonio*, etc. "That they, however, would be in the enjoyment of the (legal) married state, in the participation of all (their husbands') fortunes, as well as of citizenship." With *matrimonio* we must here mentally supply *justo*, in accordance with the technical language of the Roman law. The term *societatis* again contains a reference to the legal form of expression, *Romanæ cives*, as applied to Roman females of full rights.

46–52. *Mollirent modo iras*, etc. "They should only assuage their angry feelings, and surrender their affections to those," etc.—*Dedisset.* Consult note on *venissent*, line 42.—*Eoque usuras.* "And that they

will find them on this account."—*Suam vicem.* "In his own relation," i. e., as a husband. The ablative is also used in this same sense.—*Expleat desiderium.* "He will appease their regret for," i. e., will leave no room to regret.—*Cupiditate atque amore.* "On the plea of passion and love."

According to Niebuhr (*H. R.*, vol. i., p. 289 seqq.), on what was called in early times the Agonian hill, the Sabines seem to have established a town, of which the Capitoline may be considered to have been the citadel, separated from the town Roma on the Palatine by a swamp. The name of this town he thinks was Quirium, and of its inhabitants Quirites; and the later name of the Quirinal was derived from that of the town. Roma and Quirium were then two distinct towns. The poetic story of the rape of the Sabines, and the consequent war, may represent that at one time there was no right of intermarriage between the two cities, and that the one which had been before in subjection (Niebuhr conjectures Roma to have been the subject city) raised itself, by arms, to an equality of civil rights, and even to a preponderance.

CHAPTER X.

2–13. *Tum maxime.* "Then especially," i. e., then more than ever.—*Concitabant.* "Strove to arouse." Observe the force of the imperfect.—*Nec domi tantum*, etc. "Nor did they confine the expression of their indignant feelings to their own homes merely."—*Legationes eo conveniebant.* "Embassies kept flocking thither." Tatius was then reigning at Cures, according to the legend.—*Ad quos ejus injuriæ pars pertinebat.* "To whom an especial share of that wrong appertained." *Præcipua*, or some such word must be understood, or perhaps has been dropped from the text.—*Se movent.* "Bestir themselves."—*Nomen Cæninum.* "The people of Cænina." The term *nomen* here is less correctly employed to denote the inhabitants of a single city, than in the case of the Latins, where it serves (*nomen Latinum*) as an appellation for a whole confederacy.

17–23. *Regem.* Acron, whose Greek name is a proof, as Niebuhr remarks, how late Pelasgian recollections were retained in the legends.—*Spoliat.* First instance of the *spolia opima.*—*Cum factis vir magnificus*, etc. "A man both illustrious for his exploits, and also in no less degree fond of showing off those exploits."—*Fabricato ad id*, etc. "On a frame skilfully constructed for that purpose."—*Pastoribus sacram.* "Sacred unto the shepherds," i. e., held sacred by them.—*Designavit.* "He marked out."

24–29. *Feretri.* Various etymologies are given for this name.

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Livy would appear to derive it from *fero*. Others deduce it from *feretrum*, the frame on which the spoils were carried. And others again from *ferire*, "to strike." This last is the worst.—*Quas modo animo metatus sum.* "Which I have just marked out in thought," i. e., in intention.—*Sedem.* "A repository."—*Opimis spoliis.* Those which the commander-in-chief of a Roman army stripped in a field of battle from the leader of the foe.—*Quod primum omnium*, etc. The temple of Jupiter Feretrius stood on the north-east summit of the Capitoline mount. In the time of Dionysius the foundations alone remained, and he gives the dimensions at 10 feet by 5. It appears, however, to have been subsequently restored by Augustus.

30–33. *Vocem.* "The declaration."—*Nec multitudine compotum*, etc. "And that the glory of his offering should not be made common by the great number of those that shared it."—*Bina postea*, etc. Observe the employment of the distributive with *spolia opima* on account of the peculiarly plural force of the expression. (Zumpt, § 119.) The two instances of offering up the *spolia opima*, besides that of Romulus, were in the case of Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who slew and despoiled Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientes; and of M. Claudius Marcellus, who bore away the same spoils from Viridomarus, king of the Gæsatæ. These were the only three instances of the kind that occurred in Roman history. The honors of the *spolia opima* were voted, it is true, to Julius Cæsar, during his fifth consulship (B.C. 44, the year of his death), but it was not even pretended that he had any legitimate claim to this distinction.

CHAPTER XI.

2–7. *Per occasionem ac solitudinem.* "Through the opportunity thus afforded, as well as the unguarded state (of the frontiers)," i. e., the opportunity afforded by, etc.—*Romana legio.* The Roman army appears first as a legion, and according to Dionysius (ii., 16) of 3000 men.—*Raptim.* "By hurried marches."—*Ovantem.* "Exulting." The term here has no reference to what was subsequently called the *ovatio*, or minor triumph.—*Hersilia conjunx.* Hersilia was the only married woman carried off by the Romans in the rape of the Sabine females. Her name is probably a later and a Greek addition to the original story of Romulus. As Romulus after death became Quirinus, so those writers who made Hersilia his wife raised her to the dignity of a goddess, Hora or Horta, in either case, probably, with reference to boundaries of time (ὥρα) or space (ὅρος).

13–15. *Utroque coloniæ missæ.* The colony sent to Crustumerium appears to have been purely fabulous. Compare note on chap.

xxxviii., line 17. Colonies were established by the Romans as far back as the annals or traditions of the city extend, and the practice was continued during the republic and under the empire. Colonies were intended to keep in check a conquered people, and also to repress hostile incursions.—*Nomina darent.* Roman citizens who were willing to go out as members of a colony gave in their names at Rome.

18–26. *Ab Sabinis.* "On the part of the Sabines."—*Bellum.* Livy, following the old tradition, makes mention merely of the fighting which took place at Rome. Other writers, however, make it to have been a war of many years. (Dion. Hal., ii., 52.)—*Romanæ arci.* The whole of the Capitoline hill appears to be here meant in the sense of the Roman citadel. In a special sense, however, the term *arx* is applied to one of the summits of the Capitoline.—*Prodendi exempli.* "Of establishing a precedent."—*Ne quid usquam*, etc. "That nothing should ever be capable of being relied on by a traitor." *Fidum* is here to be taken in the sense of *certum* or *tutum.* Some, much less correctly, translate, "that no faith should ever be kept with a traitor."

26–31. *Additur fabulæ*, etc. "It is added to the legend." Some propose to read *fabula*, but this is quite unnecessary.—*Aureas armillas*, etc. Niebuhr remarks that the traces of popular poetry are here so evident that no one who has eyes can mistake them. The Roman poet conceived that the poor Sabines were covered with gold! [Another account, by a certain poet Simylus, makes Tarpeia surrender the citadel to the Gauls, who always delighted in gold ornaments.]—*Gemmatosque magna specie anulos.* "And gem-set rings of great beauty."—*Pepigisse quod.* "Had bargained for what."—*Eo.* "That hence."—*De recto.* "Expressly." A more correct form of expression than *directo*, which appears in most editions.

CHAPTER XII.

1–10. *Tamen.* "Be that as it may." *Tamen* here expresses whatever opinion may be formed as to the truth of the tradition respecting Tarpeia, and the motives by which she was actuated.—*Quod inter Palatinum*, etc. This was afterwards the Roman Forum as far as the Velabrum.—*In adversum subiere.* "Charged up the hill (to meet them)." With *adversum* supply *clivum* or *collem.* The Sabines did not commence their descent sooner than the Romans commenced their ascent.—*Hostius.* A better manuscript reading than *Hostus.* He was the grandfather of Tullus Hostilius, and had come to Rome from Medullia. Hence his prænomen formed from the Latin *hostis*,

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in the sense of *peregrinus*, "a foreigner." According to other authorities, however, Romulus was aided on this occasion by Cæles Vibenna, an Etrurian Lucumo, after whom the Cælian hill was subsequently called. (Dionys., ii., 36; Varro, *L. L.*, v., 46, ed. Müller; Festus, *s. v.* Cælius Mons.)—*Ad prima signa.* "In the front ranks."

12–19. *Veterem portam Palatii.* This corresponded to what was afterwards the *Porta Mugionis*, on the northern side of the Palatine hill.—*Actus.* "Borne along."—*Scelere emptam.* "Purchased by treachery," i. e., from Tarpeia.—*Superata media valle.* "The intervening valley having been crossed."—*Deme terrorem Romanis*, etc. The chiasmus and the alliteration here serve to impart solemnity to the address.—*Tibi Statori Jovi.* "To thee as Jupiter the Stayer." *Stator* is derived from *statum*, the supine of *sisto*, "to stay or check."—*Templum voveo.* The temple of Jupiter Stator was near the *Porta Mugionis*, in the vicinity of the *Summa Sacra Via*, and the palace of Tarquinius Priscus. It was not built by Romulus, but the intended site was consecrated by him.—*Tua præsenti ope.* "By thy visible aid."

21–32. *Hinc.* "From this spot."—*Ad primores.* "To the front ranks."—*Princeps.* In the sense of *primus*.—*Toto foro.* That is, from the foot of the Capitoline hill as far as the *Porta Mugionis*.—*Longe aliud . . . aliud*, "That it is a far different thing . . . a different thing." The second *aliud* takes the place of the adverb *quam*.—*Eo pelli facilius fuit.* Because the horse, if once put to flight, would hurry him off, even against his will.—*Alia Romana acies.* Observe that *alia* is here for *reliqua*.

34–38. *Equo trepidante.* "His horse taking fright." Compare note on chap. vii., line 43.—*Averterat Sabinos.* "Had turned away (from the fight) the attention of the Sabines," i. e., had attracted their attention.—*Adnuentibus ac vocantibus.* "Making signs and calling to him," i. e., encouraging him by signs and cheers.—*Favore multorum.* "From the interest shown for him by many."—*Res Romana.* "The Roman side."

CHAPTER XIII.

1–8. *Quarum ex injuria.* "From the wrong done to whom." Objective genitive.—*Muliebri pavore.* "Their feminine timidity."—*Ex transverso impetu facto.* "Having made a rush across," i. e., from the side and between the two armies. Compare the Greek ἐκ πλαγίου.—*Dirimere.* "Strove to separate." Historical infinitive for *dirimebant*. The second *dirimere* means, "strove to assuage."—*Hinc . . .*

hinc. For the more usual *hinc . . . inde*, in order to show the close proximity of the contending parties.—*Parricidio.* The term *parricidium* means properly the murder of a parent. It came in the course of time, however, to denote the murder of near relations, as in the present case. Thus, the *Lex Pompeia de Parricidiis* extended the crime to the killing (*dolo malo*) of a brother, sister, uncle, aunt, and many other relations enumerated by Marcianus (*Dig.* 49, tit. 9, s. 1). —*Partus suos, nepotum illi*, etc. The progeny of the combatants would consist of grandchildren in the case of the Sabines; of children in the case of the Romans. Observe that *progeniem nepotum* is used here naturally for *nepotes*, as *progeniem* is the general term to express the relationship both Sabines and Romans bore to *partus suos*, which were *nepotes* to the Sabines "*illi*," and *liberi* to the Romans, "*hi*."

9–20. *Si adfinitatis inter vos*, etc. When strong emotion is to be expressed, the *oratio obliqua* sometimes changes suddenly to the *recta* without the addition of *inquit.*—*Viduæ aut orbæ.* Widows, if our Roman husbands are slain; orphans, if our Sabine fathers fall.—*Ad fœdus faciendum*, etc. The kings, it will be observed, come forward on either side to make the treaty, without consulting either Senate or people.—*Geminata urbe.* That is, according to Niebuhr's view, the Sabine town on the Quirinal, being added to or incorporated with the city of Romulus on the Palatine.—*Quirites a Curibus appellati.* Niebuhr, as we have before seen (notes on chap. ix., *sub fin.*), derives the term *Quirites* from *Quirium*, the name of the Sabine city on what was afterwards the Quirinal hill. He regards the derivation of *Quirites* from *Cures*, which Livy here gives, as a very awkward one; and that from *quiris*, "a spear," as clearly erroneous. Henceforward the united name of the two communities was not, as we might be led to infer from the language of Livy, *Quirites* merely, but *Populus Romanus Quirites*, with *et* to be supplied; or *Populus Romanus Quiritium;* or *Populus Romanus Quiritesque.*—*In vado.* "In shoal water," i. e., in a fordable part of the morass.—*Curtium lacum.* This lake or morass was drained in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, when the cloacæ were constructed.

21–23. *Repente.* "Following suddenly."—*Curias.* Livy says nothing of the division into tribes. These were three in number, the *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*. The *Ramnes* were the Latins, or immediate subjects of Romulus, or, in other words, the Romans; the *Tities* were the Sabine followers of Tatius; and the *Luceres* were probably Etrurians. Each of these tribes was subdivided into ten curiæ, making the whole number thirty. The division into curiæ was of great political importance in the earliest times of Rome, for the curiæ alone contained those that were real citizens, and their assembly alone

was the legitimate representative of the whole people, from whom all other powers emanated.

27. *Centuriæ tres equitum.* These centuries were named after the three original tribes of whom Livy, as already remarked, says nothing. The appellations of *Ramnenses* and *Titienses* are adjectives derived respectively from *Ramnes* and *Tities*. The third century of equites ought in strictness to have been called *Lucerenses*, this being the adjective formed from *Luceres*. The derivation of this last-mentioned term is quite uncertain. We may be very sure, however, that it does not come, as some suppose, from *lucus*, "the grove or asylum." The root, probably, is to be found in the Etrurian word *Lucumo*, and they were, in all likelihood, the followers of the Lucumo Cæles Vibenna who, according to one account, joined Romulus with a powerful force against the Sabines.

CHAPTER XIV.

1–8. *Post aliquot annos.* The old legend said nothing of Tatius after his union with Romulus, except mentioning the manner of his death. Compare Cic., *De Repub.*, ii., 7; Dionys., ii., 36.—*Jure gentium agerent.* "Commenced proceedings according to the law of nations." *Agere* is a legal term, and means to set about obtaining redress for an injury by an appeal to the law.—*Plus poterant.* "Had more weight."—*Lavinii.* The Roman rites appear to have passed over to the Sabines also, since the king of the latter is here represented as offering a sacrifice at Lavinium, which was always, down to a late period of their history, regarded by the Romans as a kind of sacred metropolis.—*Ob infidam societatem regni.* "On account of the insincere nature of partnership in sovereign power." This is meant as a general remark, and does not contradict what was stated at the close of the last chapter. Every such partnership in authority contains the latent seeds of insincerity and faithlessness.

10–15. *Ut tamen expiarentur*, etc. The Penates of Lavinium were outraged by the crime, and therefore expiation was made by appropriate offerings and ceremonies, among the number of which last would be ranked a new alliance, the old one having been violated.—*Fidenates.* Fidenæ was an important city of Latium, on the left bank of the Tiber, and on the Via Salaria, five miles from Rome. Hence, on account of this close proximity, the language of the text, "*in ipsis prope portis.*" The site of Fidenæ is supposed to correspond to the modern *Castel Giubileo.*—*Occupant bellum facere.* "Anticipate (the Romans) by making war." *Occupare* means here "to be beforehand with," "to get the start of," and is equivalent to the Greek *φθάνειν*. As regards the war itself mentioned in the text, the account of Livy

and of Dionysius is obviously fabulous. Consult Smith's *Dict. Geog.*, vol. i., p. 899.

18–22. *Arcebat.* "Was a barrier." Served as a barrier to the Romans against them.—*Ex agris in urbem.* The country people fled for refuge to the city, their only stronghold.—*Excitus.* "Aroused." Consult note on chap. vii., line 28.—*Mille passuum.* "A mile." Literally, "a thousand paces." The *passus* consisted of five Roman feet. It was not the single step (*gradus*), but the double step; or, more exactly, it was not the distance from heel to heel, when the feet were at their utmost ordinary extension, but the distance from the point which the heel leaves to that in which it is set down. The Roman mile only differs from the English by less than one tenth.

23–25. *Locis circa, densa ob sita*, etc. "To lie in ambuscade in the places round about, which were dark on account of the thick brushwood that grew there." The reading of the manuscripts is *locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris*, a strange piece of Latinity, which we may be very sure never came from the pen of Livy, and which is said to mean, "in places hidden by thick bushes which were planted around." But the Latins say *loca obsita virgultis*, never *obsita virgulta locis.* We have adopted, therefore, the very ingenious and simple emendation of one of the early commentators, as quoted by Drakenborch.—*Id quod quærebat.* Referring to *hostem excivit.*

27–31. *Fugæ quoque, quæ simulanda erat*, etc. "The same mode of fighting on the part of the cavalry likewise made the cause of the flight which was to be counterfeited less surprising," i. e., than it would have been had they been infantry; since cavalry would naturally make a more desultory attack than infantry, as having horses with which to advance and retreat when they pleased.—*Trepidante.* "Moving about in an uncertain manner," i. e., "appearing at one moment to be advancing to attack, at another to be retreating."—*Plenis portis.* "From the crowded gates."—*Impulsa.* "Having been driven back."

33–41. *Transversam invadunt*, etc. "Attack the enemy's army in flank."—*In præsidio.* "On guard."—*Equites erant.* We have given here the reading of the later manuscripts; the earlier ones have *equis abierant.—Multoque effusius.* "And in much greater confusion."—*Simulantes.* The object of *secuti erant.—Agmine uno.* "In one body." Romulus is said to have occupied the city with a garrison or colony of 300 men; a number exaggerated by Plutarch to the absurd amount of 2500 colonists, of whom he represents 2000 as shortly after cut off by the Etrurians! As usually happens in the early history of Rome, all traces of this Romulean colony subsequently disappear. The

colony is as fabulous as the war itself, although mentioned by Livy in chap. xxvii. of the present book.

CHAPTER XV.

1–11. *Belli Fidenatis contagione*, etc. "The minds of the Veientes were excited by the contagious influence of the Fidenatian war, both by reason of the tie of consanguinity," etc.—*Nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt.* This is not true. Fidenæ was a Latin, not an Etrurian city. Livy, indeed, informs us elsewhere (i., 27) that the people of Fidenæ had only learned the Latin language from their intercourse with the Roman colonists, but this statement of the historian rests on no authority whatsoever.—*Infesta essent.* "Should be turned against." *Festus*, as before remarked, is from *fero*. Compare note on chap. vii., line 32.—*Justi belli.* "Of a regular war."—*Veios.* Veii was one of the oldest and most powerful cities of Etruria, situate on the river Cremera, about twelve miles from Rome.—*Dimicationi ultimæ.* "On a final conflict," i. e., final and decisive.

14–21. *De tectis mœnibusque.* "For their dwellings and walls." Observe that *tectis* here precedes *mœnibus*, as involving a deeper feeling of interest. Some give *de* here the meaning of "from," but then the natural order would be *mœnibus tectisque.*—*Nulla arte.* "By no stratagem." As in the case of the Fidenates.—*Situ ipso.* The city stood on a high hill, difficult of ascent.—*Ulciscendi.* The gerund, as being a verbal form standing next to the noun, is often joined in apposition with a substantive.—*Agri parte multatis.* They were compelled to surrender that part of their territory in the neighborhood of Rome called *Septem Pagi*, probably from its containing seven villages; to give up the salt-works which they possessed at the mouth of the Tiber; and to provide 50 hostages as a security for the due execution of the treaty. The district of *Septem Pagi* thus acquired probably comprehended the Vatican and Janiculan hills, and became the seat of the fifth Roman tribe, the *Romilia* or *Romulia.*—*In centum annos.* The Etrurians were accustomed to make, not a regular peace, but an armistice or truce for a series of years. In the present case the truce appears to have lasted about 60 or 70 years, when war again broke out between the Veientes and the Romans in the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

22–26. *Ferme.* "Principally."—*Absonum fuit.* "Was not in consonance with."—*Creditæ.* "Believed to have been his," i. e., attributed to him.—*Animus.* "His spirit."—*Non condendæ urbis consilium*, etc. "Not his project of a city to be founded by him, nor of one to be strengthened by war and peace." It is much simpler, and more natural, to give *condendæ* and *firmandæ* here their ordinary fut-

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ure meaning, than to regard them, as some do, in the light of present participles, "of founding a city," "of strengthening it." Compare note on Preface, line 21, "*conditam condendamve.*"—*Ab illo enim profecto.* "For, undoubtedly, through the strength imparted by him." All the manuscripts give *profecto*, which is undoubtedly the true reading. Some editors, however, prefer the conjectural emendation *profectu.* If this latter be adopted, the meaning will be, "through the strength derived from this outset."

27–31. *Multitudini.* Identical with the *plebs* of later days.—*Celeres.* Livy is wrong in making the *Celeres* to have been merely a body-guard of the king. There can be little doubt that they were not simply the king's body-guard, but were the same as the *equites*, or horsemen, a fact which is expressly stated by some writers. (Plin., *H. N.*, xxxiii., 2, 9, § 35.) The etymology of *Celeres* is variously given. Some derive the term from their leader Celer, who was said to have slain Remus; but most writers connected it with the Greek κέλης, "a courser," in reference to the quickness of their service.

CHAPTER XVI.

1–4. *His immortalibus editis operibus.* "These achievements worthy of immortality having been performed." Crevier's emendation of *mortalibus* is quite unnecessary.—*In campo ad Capræ paludem.* "In the plain near the she-goat's pool." This plain was afterwards the Campus Martius. Compare ii., 5. The precise location of the *Capræ palus* is not known. It probably lay somewhere under the Quirinal.—*Cum magno fragore tonitribusque.* "With a mighty roar and thunderings."

8–13. *Etsi satis credebat patribus.* "Although they gave sufficient credence to the fathers," i. e., to the assertion made by them.—*Icta.* "Struck." From the verb *ico, -ĕre.*—*Deum deo natum*, etc. "They all with one accord bid Romulus hail as a god, sprung from a god," etc. The exclamation would be, *Salve Deus, Deo nate!* etc.—*Volens propitius.* "Willingly and propitiously." A form of words usual in prayer. The conjunction is sometimes expressed, but more commonly *que* is omitted, and we have an asyndeton.

14–17. *Fuisse credo*, etc. A report arising probably at a later period, in the party strife between the patricians and plebeians, through hatred towards the former.—*Manavit enim*, etc. Dionysius, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, and others, give this account of the death of Romulus; and to this tradition Tarquinius Superbus also alludes (chap. xlix.) when he says that Romulus was never buried. But the

forgers of this tale forget that Romulus is nowhere represented in the ancient legend as a tyrant, but as a mild and merciful monarch, whose rule became still more gentle after the death of Tatius, whom it branded as a tyrant.—*Pavor præsens.* "The awe felt at the time." This, of course, would lead to the superstitious belief that he had been carried up to heaven. *Pavor* here has nothing whatever to do with any fear of the fathers, as some erroneously suppose.

18–20. *Consilio.* "By the contrivance."—*Proculus Julius.* Livy speaks of this individual here as having been a man of authority and influence. Plutarch also (*Vit. Rom.* 28) describes him as a man of the highest rank, and of exemplary character. Cicero, on the other hand, calls him *homo agrestis* (*De Repub.*, ii., 10), and speaks sneeringly of him, comparing the legend of his interview with the deified Romulus with the Attic fable of Orithyia carried off by Boreas (*De Leg.*, i.; 1).—*Gravis, ut traditur*, etc. "A weighty authority, as is said, for any fact, however important."

24–31. *Ut contra intueri*, etc. "That it might be allowed me (without harm) to look upon him face to face." The ancients had a belief that it was not safe for a mortal to look a deity full in the face, and therefore it was usual to cast the eyes to the ground in supplications.—*Mirum quantum*, etc. "It is wonderful how much credit was given to that man on his announcing these things." The earliest manuscripts have *fides*, which many editors adopt, making it an archaistic form for the genitive of the fifth declension. (Compare Schneider, *L. G.*, vol. iii., p. 355.) We have preferred, however, to follow Drakenborch, who gives *fidei* from some manuscripts, the ordinary form of the case. Duker remarks that *quantum fides* may be justified by taking *quantum* for *in quantum*, and regarding *fides* as a nominative, but this would be harsh and unusual.—*Facta fide immortalitatis.* "On his immortality being vouched for."

CHAPTER XVII.

1–6. *Regni.* For *de regno.*—*Necdum ad singulos pervenerat*, etc. The manuscripts have *a singulis*, and *pervenerant factiones.* But we have adopted, in place of the former, the excellent emendation of Grævius, *ad singulos*, and have changed the latter in accordance with some of the best editions. The subject of *pervenerat* will be the combined idea implied in *certamen regni* and *cupido;* and we may translate as follows: "Nor as yet had (this feeling of rivalry) come upon them individually." It was not a struggle between individual competitors for the throne, but one of factions or parties in the state, as explained immediately after.—*Inter ordines.* "Between the dif-

ferent classes," i. e., races.—*In societate æqua*, etc. "They might lose possession of the sovereign power, in a case where it was to be shared equally."

8–11. *Romani veteres.* The Ramnes.—*Peregrinum.* As not belonging to their stem or race.—*Regnari.* "That there should be a king."—*Experta.* Taken in a passive sense, though coming from a deponent verb. (Madvig, § 153.)

12–16. *Circa.* Taking the place of a relative clause, *quæ circa erant sitæ.*—*Vis aliqua externa.* "Some foreign power."—*Rem inter se consociant.* "Share the government among themselves."—*Centum patres.* Dionysius says that the Senate at this time consisted of two hundred, as one hundred had been added by Tatius to the old Senate of one hundred. He therefore makes the fathers, on the death of Romulus, to have been divided into twenty decuries. Niebuhr says, however, that in Livy's statement there is a reference to the superiority of the Ramnes, or, in other words, that the 100 Ramnes shared the power among themselves to the exclusion of the 100 Sabines.—*Singulisque in singulas*, etc. "And persons having been appointed who were to have the chief authority, one for each decuria."

17–21. *Decem imperitabant.* We would expect *deni* here, but *decem* is used on account of *unus*, for which *singuli* could not well be employed.—*Quinûm dierum spatio*, etc. "The power of each was terminated after a space of five days." Each member of every decuria enjoyed in succession the regal power and its badges for the space of five days. If no king was appointed at the expiration of fifty days, the rotation began anew.—*Annuumque intervallum*, etc. "And the interval between a kingly government lasted a year."—*Quod nunc quoque*, etc. "A term which holds good even now." Interreges were appointed under the republic for holding the comitia for the election of consuls, when the consuls through civil commotions, or other causes, had been unable to do so in their year of office. Each held the office for only five days, as under the kings. The last interreges of whom mention is made in Roman history were in B.C. 53 and 52, in the latter of which years an interrex held the comitia in which Pompey was appointed sole consul. In Livy's time, therefore, the office had ceased, though the name itself still remained familiar.

23–28. *Ultra passuri.* "Likely any longer to endure."—*Ita gratiam ineunt*, etc. "They gain popularity by yielding to the people the chief authority, in such a way (however) that they did not surrender more power than they kept back." The true reading here is *detinerent*, as given in most manuscripts. There is no need whatever

of changing it to *retinerent*, as some editors do.—*Regem jussisset.* Consult note on chap. xxii., line 4.—*Id sic ratum esset*, etc. "It should be valid on this express condition, if the fathers, namely, should give it their sanction." Observe here the force of *sic.* The term *auctor* (which contains the same element as *aug-eo*) signifies, properly, one who enlarges, confirms, or gives to a thing its completeness and efficient form. The numerous technical significations of the word are all derivable from this general notion. The expression "*patres auctores fiunt*" means that the determinations of the *populus* in the *comitia centuriata* were confirmed by the patricians in the *comitia curiata.* (Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, s. v. *Auctor.*) [*Patres auctores.* Seeley, quoting Cic., *De Domo*, 14, and Livy, vi., 41, concludes that the *lex curiata* was distinct from the *auctoritas patrum.* The proceedings of the *comitia curiata* were ratified in early times by the Senate, in later times by the patrician part of the Senate, to whom, for some religious reasons, certain privileges had been left.]

29, 30. *Usurpatur idem jus, vi adempta.* "The same (constitutional) form of authority is observed, its efficacy (however) having been taken away." In the fifth century of the city the change began. By one of the laws of the plebeian dictator, Q. Publilius Philo, it was enacted (Liv. viii., 12) that in the case of laws to be enacted at the *comitia centuriata*, the fathers should give their assent before the vote of the *comitia centuriata* was taken. By a *lex Mœnia*, of uncertain date (Cic., *Brut.*, c. 14), the same change was made as to elections which the *Publilia lex* had made as to the enacting of laws. This will serve to explain the language of Livy in the text.—*In incertum eventum*, etc. "The fathers give their sanction with respect to the uncertain issue of the *comitia*," i. e., to the decision of the comitia, before it has been made, and while it is still uncertain what that decision will be. [*Contione.* A *contio* was summoned by a magistrate preparatory to the *comitia:* in the latter voting took place; in the former there was nothing but speaking.]

32–36. *Quod bonum, faustum*, etc. "A thing which (I pray) may be good, auspicious, and fortunate." The usual formula before entering on any business, and marked by the tautology in which such forms are usually couched.—*Dignum qui numeretur.* "One worthy to be counted." The relative has here the force of *ut.*—*Victi beneficio.* "Outdone in generosity."—*Sciscerent, juberentque.* Another legal formula. *Sciscere* is the technical term to denote a decree of the *plebs*, and *jubere* one by the *populus.* [Regarding Niebuhr's theory of a distinction between the *populus* and *plebs* as traceable in Livy, Madvig writes, "The opinion that *populus* means patricians as distinguished from the plebs, is based on no arguments, and needs no refutation.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

1, 2. *Numæ Pompilii.* It would be idle to inquire into the historical reality of Numa. Whether such a person ever existed or not, we can not look upon the second king of Rome as a real historical personage. His name represents the rule of law and order, and to him are ascribed all those ecclesiastical institutions which formed the basis of the ceremonial religion of the Romans. Some modern writers fancifully connect his name with the word νόμος, "law."—*Curibus Sabinis.* "At the Sabine Cures." Cures, an ancient city of the Sabines, was situated about three miles from the left bank of the Tiber, and twenty-four miles from Rome. In ancient inscriptions of imperial date it is uniformly termed "*Cures Sabini*," an epithet probably indicating the claim set up by its people to be the metropolis of the Sabines.—*Consultissimus.* "Most skilled." Literally, "most consulted about." Hence the expression for a lawyer, *juris consultus.*

6–9. *Samium Pythagoram.* Pythagoras was a native of the island of Samos, lying off the coast of Ionia, and his birth year was probably B.C. 608, which is the date adopted by Bentley. According to the best authorities he flourished in the times of Polycrates and Tarquinius Superbus (B.C. 540–510).—*Centum amplius post annos.* "More than a hundred years after."—*Circa Metapontum*, etc. "In and around Metapontum," etc. The cities here mentioned were all in Magna Græcia. Metapontum was on the Tarentine gulf, and on the eastern coast of Lucania. Heraclea was in Lucania, on the river Siris. Crotona lay on the Æsarus, in the country of the Bruttii.—*Crotona.* Greek form of the accusative. Some editions give the more unusual form *Crotonam.*—*Juvenum æmulantium*, etc. "To have held schools of young men, emulously adopting his tenets." Compare Cic., *Pro Murœn.*, c. 29: "*Zeno cujus inventorum æmuli Stoici nominantur;*" and Tacit., *Hist.*, iii. 81: "*Studia philosophiæ et placita studiorum æmulatus.*"

10–14. *Qua fama in Sabinos*, etc. "By what fame reaching to the Sabines, or by what intercourse of language could he have aroused any one to a desire of becoming acquainted (with his doctrines)." We have given *qua fama*, as making a simpler and more natural construction than *quæ fama*, although the latter is adopted by Drakenborch.—*Unus per tot gentes pervenisset.* "Could a single individual have made his way through so many nations."—*Suopte igitur ingenio*, etc. "I rather think, therefore, that through his own innate qualities his mind had been brought under the control of virtues, and that he had been trained not so much by foreign branches of knowledge, as by the rigid and austere discipline of the ancient Sabines." We

have connected *magis* in construction with *opinor;* some, however, prefer joining it with *suopte . . . fuisse.*

18–26. *Opes.* "The balance of power."—*Ad unum.* "To a man."—*Accītus.* "When sent for." More literally, "When called unto them." From *accio*, not from *accieo*, which would give *accītus*, and in a different sense.—*Augurato urbe condenda*, etc. "When the city was about to be founded, had obtained the kingdom by augury."—*Honoris ergo.* "For the sake of honor." *Ergo* (originally ἔργῳ) is used in antiquated style, with the genitive, with the force of *causâ*, and is put after its case. (Madvig, § 172, *Obs.* 5.)—*Arcem.* The position of the *Arx* has given rise to great controversy among antiquarians. Becker places it on the north-eastern summit of the Capitoline hill, but it is more correct to make it to have stood on the south-western summit. Consult on this subject the remarks of Dyer, in Smith's *Dict. Geog.*, vol. ii., p. 767.—*In lapide.* This stone was in a part of the *Arx* called *Auguraculum*, so denominated because it had been consecrated once for all for the purpose of taking auguries.—*Ad meridiem.* That is, in the direction in which the gods were supposed to look forth from their abode in the north. [*Versus.* This seems to be a participle. Weissenborn compares xxxvi., 15, 7; *in septentrionem versa Epiros;* and xxxi., 51, 3.]

26–29. *Ad lævam ejus.* "On his left." As Numa sat facing the south, the augur being on his left hand would face the east, the lucky quarter.—*Capite velato.* The augur on all such occasions wore a veil, the reason of which custom may be seen in Virgil, *Æn.*, iii., 405. This covering of the visage, however, was of course not so thick as completely to obstruct the view. Some editors, mistaking the meaning of the passage, remove the comma after *ejus*, and place it before the pronoun, thus connecting *ejus* with *capite velato*, and making the words refer to Numa. Compare chapter xxxvi., "*Statua Atti, capite velato.*"—*Prospectu in urbem*, etc. "Having taken a view in the direction of the city and country." That is, he looked over the Forum towards the Cœlian hill, and over the Roman territory lying beyond this.

29–31. *Regiones ab oriente*, etc. The heavens, according to the Roman ritual, were divided into four regions, by two lines intersecting one another in a point over the augur's head, one called the *limes decimanus*, the more important one, from east to west; and the other, termed *cardo*, from north to south. The latter of these, as being of less importance, Livy has omitted to mention.—*Dextras ad meridiem partes*, etc. "He declared the parts towards the south to be to the right," i. e., because he stood looking towards the east.—*Lævas.* The left is the lucky side because nearer the north, the abode of the gods.

31–38. *Signum contra*, etc. "He (next) mentally fixed upon some conspicuous object, directly in front, whither his eyes carried his view farthest," i. e., at the utmost extent of view. In order to draw upon the earth a line corresponding to the *decimanus* already drawn in the heavens, the augur selects some object, a tree, for instance, on the edge of the horizon in the east, and thus full in front, from which to draw his imaginary earth-line to the point where he is standing.—*Uti tu signa*, etc. "I pray that thou wilt make manifest unto us sure signs within these bounds which I have marked." With *uti* supply *precor*, already implied in *precatus*. The augur prays for signs, such as lightning, or the cry or flight of birds (which were all *certa* in their nature), to be vouchsafed unto him in the direction of the eastern heavens, and between the two lines in the heavens and on the earth. —*Peregit*. "He stated in express words."—*De templo descendit*. "Descended from the place of augury." In the language of the Roman ritual, *templum* meant a place set apart and hallowed by the augurs for taking the auguries. Thus Varro (*L. L.*, vi., 81, *ed. Bip.*) remarks: "*Templum locus, augurii aut auspicii causa, quibusdam conceptis verbis finitus.*" The same term was also applied to the quarter in the heavens within which the observations were to be made, as it was marked out and separated from the rest by the staff of the augur.

CHAPTER XIX.

1–4. *Regno ita potitus.* Livy, in the previous chapter, merely speaks of the decree of the Senate in Numa's favor, but says nothing of his having been chosen by the people in the *comitia curiata*, nor of the *lex de imperio*, which Numa caused to be passed, in his own case, at a subsequent meeting of the same *comitia*. Compare the language of Cicero (*De Repub.*, ii., 13): "*Qui* (Numa), *ut huc venit, quamquam populus curiatis eum comitiis regem esse jusserat, tamen ipse de suo imperio curiatam legem tulit.*"—*Eam*. The pronoun is emphatic here, and equivalent to *eandem*.—*Quippe efferari*, etc. "Since (he was aware) that their minds were rendered ferocious by warfare." Observe the elliptical employment of *quippe*, to indicate what was passing in the mind of Numa.

6. *Janum ad infimum Argiletum fecit.* "He constructed the (passage called) Janus, at the lowest part of the Argiletum." This passage (commonly, but erroneously, called a temple) had two entrances, and was usually called *Janus Geminus*, *Janus Bifrons*, or *Portæ belli*; and stood *ad infimum Argiletum*, that is, close by the Forum, on its north-eastern side between the Quirinal and Capitoline. In a niche in this passage stood a statue of Janus. It is probable that the *Janus Geminus* originally was not an ordinary gate of the city, but,

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like later *porta triumphalis*, used only on certain occasions, namely, armies marching out against an enemy, and returning from their campaign, passed through it. Hence it was open in war, indicating symbolically that the god too had gone out to assist the Roman warriors, and shut in time of peace, that the god, the safeguard of the city, might not escape. The "Janus" here referred to, however, must not be confounded with the temple of Janus built by C. Duilius in the time of the first Punic war, which was restored by Augustus and dedicated by Tiberius.

10–12. *Clausus fuit.* "Has it been shut." This refers properly to the later temple, not to the original passage mentioned in the previous note.—*T. Manlio consule.* He triumphed over the Sardinians in B.C. 235, and is said to have reduced the whole island to subjection; but this statement must be understood with considerable limitation, since the consuls of the two succeeding years were still able to earn the distinction of a triumph "*de Sardis*" (*Fast. Capit.*).—*Iterum, quod nostræ ætati*, etc. But, according to Casaubon (*ad Sueton. Aug.* 22), Augustus closed the temple of Janus twice after the battle of Actium and the overthrow of Antony, namely, after the reduction of the Cantabri, in B.C. 19, by Agrippa, and a third time about the period of our Saviour's birth. This last, however, is rather doubtful. But still, Lipsius (*Elect.*, i., 22) would infer, from the present passage, that the first part of Livy's work was published before the conquest of the Cantabri.

17–21. *Luxuriarent.* "Might run riot."—*Continuerat.* "Had held in check."—*Rem ad multitudinem*, etc. "An instrument most effectual with an untutored mob, and one uncivilized as in those times," i. e., as was to be expected in those times.—*Sine aliquo commento miraculi.* "Without some fiction of a miracle."

24–29. *Atque omnium primum*, etc. "And, first of all, he marks out the year into twelve months, which (year), since the moon does not fill up the number of thirty days in each month, and some days are wanting to make up the complete year, which is brought round by the sun's revolution, he so arranged by inserting intercalary months that every nineteenth year, the space of all the intermediate years being then filled up, the days coincided with the same position of the sun from which they had set out." The year of Romulus is said to have consisted of ten months, and to have comprised only 304 days; a period differing so widely from the real length of the sun's course that the months would rapidly revolve through all the seasons of the year. Numa therefore increased the year to 12 months, by adding January and February, making it contain 354 days, and as twelve lunations amount to 354 days, 8h., 48m., and 36s., this so-called year

of Numa would be a tolerably correct lunar year. And this year again he so regulated by the insertion of intercalary months, that at the end of every nineteenth year it again coincided with the same point in the sun's course from which it had started. Some editors of Livy, in support of a theory, have taken the liberty of altering his text by the insertion of the words *quarto et* before *vicesimo*, forgetting too that the words *quarto et vicesimo anno* signify, not *every twenty-fourth year*, which their theory requires, but *every twenty-third year*, according to that peculiar view of the Romans which led them to count both the extremes in defining the interval from one point to another. Accordingly, it is not doing violence to words, but giving the strict and necessary meaning to them, when in translating the present passage of Livy we render *vicesimo anno* by *every nineteenth year*. And, moreover, 19 years constitute a most convenient cycle for the conjunction of a lunar and solar year. (Key, in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, p. 228.)

30, 31. *Idem nefastos dies*, etc. The *dies nefasti* were days on which neither courts of justice nor comitia were allowed to be held, and which were dedicated to other purposes. The *dies fasti* were the days on which the prætor was allowed to administer justice in the public courts. On some of these, moreover, comitia could be held, but not on all. And again, the *dies intercisi* were days on which the prætor might hold his courts, but not at all hours, so that sometimes one half of such a day was *fastus*, while the other half was *nefastus*.—*Quia aliquando nihil cum populo*, etc. "Because it was likely to prove advantageous that at times no business should be transacted with the people."

CHAPTER XX.

3-12. *Dialem flaminem.* "The flamen of Jupiter." *Flamen* was the name for any Roman priest who was devoted to the service of one particular god, and who received a distinguishing epithet from the deity to whom he ministered. The most dignified were those attached to Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, called respectively the *flamen Dialis*, *flamen Martialis*, and *flamen Quirinalis*. The number was eventually increased to fifteen. The name, according to Varro and Festus, was derived from the band of white wool (*filum*, *filamen*, *flamen*) which they wore without the official *apex*, or cap, when the heat was oppressive.—*Sacra regiæ vicis.* "The sacred rites belonging to the regal office."—*Flaminem Jovi*, etc. "He appointed a residentiary priest as flamen to Jupiter."—*Virgines Vestæ.* Numa chose four, two from the Titienses, and two from the Ramnes. Two more were subsequently added from the Luceres by either Tarquinius Priscus or Servius Tullius. This number of six, according to the best authori-

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ties, remained from that time unaltered.—*Et genti conditoris*, etc. "And not foreign to the family of the founder (of Rome)." Rea Silvia, the mother of Romulus, was a Vestal.—*Adsiduæ templi antistites.* Their chief office was to watch, by turns, day and night, the everlasting fire that blazed upon the altar of Vesta. [*Stipendium de publico.* The Vestals were endowed with part of the *ager publicus.*]

14–18. *Salios.* The name is commonly derived from *salio*, and hence means properly the Leapers or Jumpers. The Salii were chosen from the patricians even in the latest times, and formed an ecclesiastical corporation. Tullus Hostilius established another collegium of Salii in fulfilment of a vow which he made in a war with the Sabines. Compare chapter xxvii.—*Marti Gradivo.* "For Mars Gradivus," i. e., the striding or marching, and derived from *gradior.* Soldiers, when they marched out, sometimes halted near his temple, which stood outside the Porta Capena, on the Appian Way.—*Tunicæ pictæ.* "Of an embroidered tunic." This was bound with a brazen belt, or, as Livy terms it, *æneum pectori tegumen*, "a brazen covering for the breast."—*Ancilia.* These were the sacred shields, of an oval form, but with the two sides receding inwards with an even curvature, so as to make them broader at the ends than in the middle. According to the legend, one *ancile* fell from heaven in the reign of Numa, when the Roman people labored under a pestilence. And as upon the preservation of this shield depended the fate of Rome, Numa caused eleven others of the same size and form to be made, that if ever any attempt was made to carry away the true one, the plunderer might find it difficult to distinguish this from the rest.—*Ac per urbem ire.* This took place on the first of March, the festival of Mars, and also for several successive days. At the conclusion of the celebration the Salii were accustomed to partake of a splendid entertainment in the temple of Mars.—*Carmina.* These songs or hymns were called *Asamenta*, *Assamenta*, or *Axamenta*, and in later times were scarcely understood by the priests themselves.—*Cum tripudiis*, etc. In the dance they struck the shields with rods, so as to keep time with their voices and with the movements of the feet.

18–22. *Pontificem.* "As chief pontiff." The Pontifex Maximus is meant here; for there were four pontifices at first created, whose number was afterwards increased.—*Numam Marcium.* He had accompanied Numa from the Sabine country to Rome. It is said that he aspired to the kingly office on the death of Numa, and that he starved himself to death on the election of Tullus Hostilius. His son, also called Numa Marcius, married the daughter of Numa Pompilius, and became the father of Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome. He was made *Præfectus urbis* by Tullus Hostilius. Most editors of Livy confound the son with the father, making the latter to have been

Numa's son-in-law.—*Eique sacra omnia*, etc. "And consigned to him a full system of sacred rites, written out and distinctly specified." These were said to have been extracted from the 24 books on the *Jus sacrorum* composed by Numa himself. We have given *exsignata* here the meaning assigned to it by Weissenborn. Most editors make it refer to sealing, which is far inferior. We have elsewhere only *exsignavero* in Plautus (*Trin.*, iii., 2, 29), and hence the doubt as to the true force of the term.—*Erogaretur*. "Was to be obtained."

23-30. *Scitis*. "To the decisions."—*Ut esset, quo*, etc. "That there might be some quarter to which the people could come to ask for advice."—*Peregrinos*. The admission of foreign deities and rights depended entirely on the college of pontiffs.—*Justa funebria*. "Funeral rites." The funeral solemnities justly due to the dead.—*Ut idem pontifex edoceret*. Supply *jussit*, as implied in what precedes.—*Visu*. "Appearance."—*Susciperentur atque curarentur*. "Should be regarded as such, and be expiated." *Suscipere* is properly "to take up," and hence, "to acknowledge," "to regard as," etc.—*Ad ea elicienda*. "For eliciting these (prodigies)."—*Jovi Elicio*. The origin of the name as well as the notion of Jupiter Elicius is referred to the Etruscans, who by certain prayers and sacrifices called forth (*eliciebant* or *evocabant*) lightning, or invited Jupiter to send lightning. The object of calling down lightning was, according to Livy's explanation, to elicit prodigies *ex mentibus divinis;* and when the god appeared, or sent his lightning in anger, it was an unfortunate sign to the person who had invited it. Consult on this subject, and on the knowledge which the ancients, and especially the Etrurians, possessed of electrical phenomena, the remarks of Salverte [*Philosophy of Magic*, vol. ii., chap. viii. (ed. of Harper & Bros., New York, 1847)].—*Quæ suscipienda essent*. "As to what prodigies were to be attended to," i. e., what things were to be regarded in the light of prodigies.

CHAPTER XXI.

1-6. *Ad hæc consultanda*, etc. "To deliberating upon and taking proper care of these things." These new religious ordinances would cause the people not only to deliberate among themselves respecting their scope and spirit, as well as their due performance, but to apply also for advice to the sacerdotal authority.—*Et deorum adsidua insidens cura*. "And a continual reverence for the gods being seated therein," i. e., in their minds. Observe that *deorum* is the objective genitive.—*Ut fides ac jusjurandum*, etc. "That good faith and the obligation of an oath governed the state, the fear of the laws and of punishments being a secondary consideration." Livy means that their dread of laws and punishment was inferior, in its influence on

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their conduct, to their regard for good faith and the obligation of an oath. Muretus, however, disliking the manuscript reading, which is the one we have followed, conjectures *proxime legum ac pœnarum metum*, "like the fear of laws and punishments;" and several editors, Zumpt among the number, have inadvertently adopted it. [Seeley translates, "A fear scarcely less effective than that inspired by laws;" taking the phrase as equivalent to *metu proximo metum legum*. Madvig conjectures *pro obnoxio*.]

8–16. *Cum ipsi se homines*, etc. "Since the people were moulding themselves after the moral principles of the king as the only (true) model," etc. Observe the employment here of *cum* with the subjunctive *formarent*, as indicating the cause or reason of what is stated in the succeeding clause.—*Ad sollicitandam omnium pacem.* "For the purpose of disturbing the general peace."—*In eam verecundiam.* "To that feeling of respect (for them)."—*Ex opaco specu.* "Issuing from a dark recess." The spot referred to in the text, where Numa was believed to have had his interviews with Egeria, was near the city, at the Porta Capena, in the valley now called *Caparella*, and where the sacred shield had fallen from heaven. There was also another spot sacred to Egeria near Aricia.—*Camenis.* The Camenæ, of whom Egeria was one, were Roman divinities, whose name is connected with *carmen* (an oracle or prophecy), whence we also find the forms *Casmenæ*, *Carmenæ*, and *Carmentis*. The Camenæ were accordingly prophetic nymphs, and they belonged to the religion of ancient Italy, although later traditions represent them as having been introduced into Italy from Arcadia. The Roman poets, however, even as early as the time of Livius Andronicus, apply the name of Camenæ to the Muses.

18–22. *Soli Fidei.* "To Faith alone," i. e., separately, or in her sole honor. The epithet *soli*, however, is an extremely awkward one here, and has probably arisen from some corruption of the text. Dionysius (ii., 75) makes mention of a temple of Public Faith built by Numa on the Capitoline (ἱερὸν Πίστεως δημοσίας), and the same deity must here be meant.—*Sacrarium.* The idea of a temple is already implied in *sollemne*.—*Bigis, curru arcuato.* "In a two-horse chariot, with an arched roof." Compare Weissenborn; "bogenformig gewölbt." Over the chariot a covering was also thrown. The whole was symbolical of the secrecy connected with good faith.—*Tutandam.* "Ought to be protected."—*Quæ.* Not *quos*. (Zumpt, § 372.)—*Argeos.* "Argei." Varro calls them the chapels of the Argei, and says they were twenty-seven in number, distributed in the different districts of the city. We know but little of the particular uses to which they were applied, and that little is unimportant. They would appear to have had something to do with the old rites of the Pelasgi, with whom the name of Argos was connected.

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24–28. *Tutela.* "His maintenance."—*Septem et triginta regnavit annos.* The duration of the reigns of the Roman kings is of course purely fabulous, and was the work of the Roman pontiffs. Their table was adopted by Polybius for his Roman chronology, and Polybius is the authority followed by Cicero in fixing the years of the kings. This the latter says expressly in *De Repub.*, ii., 14.—*Tres et quadraginta.* In this number Dionysius agrees with Livy. Cicero, however, makes it thirty-nine years (*l. c.*).—*Temperata et belli*, etc. "Well organized by the regulations of both war and peace."

CHAPTER XXII.

1–8. *Res.* "The administration of affairs."—*Clara pugna.* Compare the account given in chap. xii.—*Jussit.* This does not mean that the people at the comitia ordered the interrex who presided to create Tullus king, but that he was actually made king by the *jussus populi.* Hence, in cases like the present, *jubere* can be regarded as equivalent to *creavit*, and there is no need of supplying *esse.*—*Patres auctores facti.* "The fathers gave it their sanction." Consult note on chap. xvii., 28.—*Senescere.* "Was beginning to lose its vigor."

11–16. *Imperitabat.* In the succeeding chapter he is called *Albanus rex.*—*Ad res repetendas.* "To demand restitution."—*Ne quid prius quam mandata agerent.* "Not to attend to anything before their instructions," i. e., to attend to their instructions first of all.—*Pie.* "On just grounds," i. e., without thereby incurring the anger of the gods for having violated any treaty.—*Socordius.* "More remissly."—*Excepti hospitio*, etc. "Being kindly and hospitably entertained by Tullus, they courteously partake day after day of the king's table." Observe here the force of *celebrant*, as indicating frequent repetition, and consult on this head, Klotz, *Handw. L. S., s. v.*, p. 819.—*Comiter.* They allowed courtesy to get the better of duty, and, while partaking of the king's hospitality day after day, waited for the monarch to allow them an audience.

17–26. *Et res repetiverant priores.* "Had both been the first to demand restitution."—*In tricesimum diem.* "Against the thirtieth day."—*Purgando terunt tempus.* "Waste some time in apologizing."—*Imperio.* "By their orders."—*In eum omnes expetant*, etc. "On it may fall all the calamities of this same war."

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CHAPTER XXIII.

1-10. *Hæc nuntiant domum.* "Carry these tidings home."—*Trojanam utramque prolem.* "Both being Trojan offspring," i. e., of Trojan descent. Observe that prolem is in apposition with *natos.*—*Minus miserabilem.* "Less deplorable."—*Confusi sunt.* "Were merged."

13-16. *Fossa Cluilii.* Niebuhr makes this to have been near *Settebassi*, between the fourth and fifth mile-stones from the *Porta Capena*, on the road to *Frascati.* He thinks the name of the ditch was unquestionably derived from an Alban prince. Weissenborn, on the other hand, makes the ditch to have been an outlet of the Alban lake, and he connects the name with cluere, and κλύζειν, i. e., *purgare.*—*Abolevit.* "Has become forgotten." Taken intransitively.—*Albani.* Not the army, but the Senate of Alba.—*Mettium.* Mettius was an old Italian name in use among both the Sabines and the Latins. It is doubtful, however, whether *Mettius* or *Metius* is the better orthography, as we sometimes find one, and sometimes the other in the best manuscripts.

17-24. *Ab ipso capite orsum.* "Having begun with the very head," i. e., by cutting off the king.—*Expetiturum pœnas.* "Will exact atonement." Here taken transitively. We had the same verb in an intransitive sense at the close of the previous chapter.—*Bellum impium.* He calls it an impious war, as they had violated religion by refusing to make just restitution.—*Ab stativis.* "From his standing camp." Supply *castris.*—*Ducit quam proxime potest.* "He leads his forces as near as possible." Gronovius would prefer, on conjecture, *qua* for *quam*, and the meaning then will be, "by the nearest possible road." But the manuscript reading is to be preferred.—*Ea se adlaturum.* "That he will adduce such matters."—*Ad rem Romanam.* "To the interest of Rome."

26-29. *Tametsi vana adferebantur.* "Although useless propositions were (as he well knew) sought to be brought forward." The imperfect here is employed to express the firm conviction of Tullus that matters of no value whatever were sought to be communicated. There is no need therefore of the very plausible conjecture of Faber, namely, *vana adferri rebatur.*—*In aciem.* "Into line of battle."—*Structi.* The less usual form for *instructi.*—*Infit.* "Begins." Supply *loqui.* An antiquated and poetical form, used either alone, as in the present case, or with the infinitive supplied. Zumpt regards it as a grammatical irregularity, *fio* being properly used as the passive of *facio.* Madvig, on the other hand, connects it with *fari.*

29-34. *Injurias et non redditas res*, etc. The construction is *et ego*

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videor audisse regem nostrum Cluilium (præ se ferre) *injurias et non redditas res . . . nec dubito te ferre eadem præ te, Tulle.* "I both think that I (once) heard our king Cluilius assert," etc. Literally, "I both seem (to myself) to have (once) heard," etc.—*Neque recte an perperam interpretor*, etc. "Nor do I undertake to say whether it be right or wrong (that it should be so); let that consideration rest with him who has commenced the war," i. e., Tullus.

36–47. *Illud te monitum velim*, etc. "Of this, Tullus, I would wish you to be warned; how powerful the Etrurian state is about us, and especially about you, the nearer you are to the Tuscans, the better you know the fact." The manuscripts read *Vulscis*, but *Tuscis*, which is a conjectural reading, is far superior, since the Volsci only became formidable to the Romans at a later period. Besides, the interchange of *Etruscus* and *Tuscus* occurs also elsewhere. Compare book ii., chap. vii. and ix., etc. Some read *quo propiores vos*, "the nearer yourself and your people are."—*Spectaculo fore.* "Will be a spectacle (unto them)."—*Si nos di amant.* The same in effect as saying, "*nisi nos dii irati dementent.*"—*In dubiam imperii*, etc. "We are going to play the uncertain game of empire or slavery." Observe that *que* has here rather a disjunctive force in our idiom.—*Indole animi.* "From the natural bent of his mind."—*Ratio initur.* "A plan is adopted."—*Materiam.* "The means of its accomplishment."

CHAPTER XXIV.

1–6. *Trigemini fratres.* "Three brothers born at one birth." Dionysius (iii., 14) says that their mothers were sisters. Every one, remarks Niebuhr, will perceive that we have here types of the two nations regarded as sisters, and of the three tribes in each of them (*H. R.*, vol. i., p. 348).—*Nobilior.* "More celebrated."—*Nominum error.* "An uncertainty as to the names."—*Auctores utroque trahunt.* "Authors give both accounts," i. e., one one, and another another. Literally, "pull both ways." The doubt in this case probably arose from the circumstance that in Rome itself, near the "*sororium tigillum*," stood an altar of Janus Curiatius.

9–14. *Agunt.* "Make arrangements."—*Reges.* Mettius was merely dictator, but as Tullus was a king, Livy naturally entitles both *reges.*—*Ibi, unde victoria fuerit.* "On that side from which victory shall have come." The ordinary phraseology would have given *ubi* instead of *unde.*—*Convenit.* "Are each agreed upon." Observe the force of the singular.—*Cujusque populi.* "Of whichever people." *Quique* is here used for *quicumque.* So *quandoque* for *quandocunque.*—*Cum bona pace.* "With sincere peace," i. e., without any farther dispute.

15, 16. *Tum.* "On this occasion."—*Fetialis.* "A Fetial." The Fetiales were a college of Roman priests, who acted as the guardians of the public faith. It was their province, where any dispute arose with a foreign state, to demand satisfaction, to determine the circumstances under which hostilities might be commenced, to perform the various religious rites attendant on the solemn declaration of war, and to preside at the formal ratification of peace. Their services were considered absolutely essential in concluding a treaty. The etymology of the name is uncertain; the less correct orthography is *fecialis.*

17, 18. *Cum patre patrato.* "With the pater patratus." Usually, four of the college of fetiales were deputed to act when a treaty was to be ratified, and these again elected one of their number to be their representative. This individual was styled *pater patratus*, that is, the "father" charged with the duty of "completing" (*patrare*) the business. A fillet of white wool was bound around his head, together with a wreath of sacred herbs (*sagmina*) gathered from within the enclosure of the Capitoline hill. We have here mention made of a similar official on the part of the Albans.—*Sagmina.* "Vervain." We have here given the customary translation of the term. Strictly speaking, however, it ought to be rendered "sacred herbs," the vervain being merely one of the number. So again *verbenæ*, which were the same as *sagmina*, properly means sacred boughs, that is, of laurel, olive, myrtle, etc.

19–28. *Puram tollito.* "Take up a pure plant." Supply *herbam.*—*Graminis herbam puram.* "A pure grass-herb."—*Vasa, comitesque meos?* "Do you, my implements and attendants?" i. e., do you include these also in my sacred commission and privileges?—*Sine fraude mea.* "Without any detriment to myself." *Fraus* is here used in its strictly legal sense of injury produced by deception of any kind.—*Pater patratus ad jusjurandum*, etc. "The pater patratus is created for perfecting the oath." Compare note on line 17.—*Longo effata carmine.* "Uttered in a long set form." *Carmen* often occurs in the sense of a formula in religion or law, since these were anciently written in verse.—*Non operæ est.* "It is not worth while." We may supply *pretium*, though no ellipsis is in reality necessary.

30, 31. *Populus Albanus.* The nominative for the vocative, for the purpose of emphasis, in imitation of the Greek. This, however, is properly a poetic usage. (Zumpt, § 492, *note.*)—*Ut illa palam*, etc. "As those conditions have been recited publicly, first and last, from those tablets or from wax, without any deception, and as they have been here this day understood in their most obvious sense, from those conditions the Roman people will not be the first to swerve."—*Tabulis*

cerave. That is, "from those tablets, whether plain or covered with wax." Before copper or bronze was used for the purpose, laws and treaties were either carved on wood or written on waxed tablets. The treaty between Rome and Gabii was marked on a wooden shield, preserved in the temple of Jupiter Fidius, in the former city. (Dionys., iv., 58.)—*Dolo malo.* This is not a pleonasm. The term *dolus* originally meant "a device," and hence in the earlier and especially juridical language, when connected with *malus*, it became a common expression for "deception," "guile," or "fraud." On the other hand, the ancients also employed *dolus bonus* in an opposite sense. Compare Cic., *De Off.*, iii., 14, ed. Anthon.

33–37. *Defexit.* Old form for *defecerit.*—*Publico consilio*, etc. "Fraudulently, by public concert."—*Tum illo die, Jupiter.* The true lection here is uncertain. Sigonius and others give on conjecture, *tum tu, ille Diespiter.* We have preferred retaining the common reading with Drakenborch.—*Magis potes pollesque.* "Thou art more able and powerful." *Possum* refers here to ability to act; *polleo* to the possession of abundant means for acting. Compare Doederlein, *Synonym.*, s. v. *posse;* Habicht, p. 387.—*Saxo silice.* "With a flint-stone." *Silice* has here the force of an adjective.

CHAPTER XXV.

5–10. *Feroces et suopte ingenio*, etc. ["Courageous both from their own natural disposition, and because they were animated by the cries of their exhorting countrymen."]—*Quippe imperium agebatur.* "For supremacy was at stake." More literally, "was the point in litigation."—*Itaque ergo.* "And thus then." *Itaque* (*et ita*) preserves the connection; and *ergo* is brought in to strengthen *itaque.*—*Minime gratum spectaculum.* This was far from being a show calculated to amuse, such as a combat of gladiators, or the like.

12–18. *Velut acies.* "Like armies in battle array."—*Terni juvenes.* "The three youths on each side." Observe the force of the distributive numeral.—*Futuraque ea deinde*, etc. "And the fortune of their country, destined to be such as they themselves should have made it." *Ea* with the force of *talis.*—*Ut primo statim.* There was no *prolusio*, as in gladiatorial conflicts, but an earnest combat commenced immediately.—*Horror ingens.* "A deep shudder."—*Torpebat.* "Were each suspended."

19–28. *Agitatioque anceps*, etc. "And the rapid movement on both sides of weapons and arms," i. e., of arms offensive and defensive. On the force of *anceps* here, compare Klotz, vol. i., p. 390.—

Corruerunt. "Fell together."—*Spes tota.* "Hope entirely."—*Exanimes vice unius.* "Breathless (with solicitude) at the situation of the one (alone left)."—*Ut universis solus*, etc. "As (on the one hand) by no means a match alone for all at once, so (on the other) full of bold confidence against them singly."—*Ita ratus secuturos.* "Thinking that they will follow at such a speed."

29–37. *Aliquantum spatii.* "A considerable distance."—*Jam petebat.* "Was already seeking."—*Tum clamore, qualis*, etc. "Then with a loud cry, such as is wont to be that of those who applaud on account of unexpected success." More literally, "from something unexpected." The idea of an exhibition of gladiatorial skill, in some amphitheatre, is still kept up.—*Alter.* "The other of the two still left." Observe the force of *alter.*—*Qui nec procul aberat.* "Who also was not far distant."—*Et alterum Curiatium conficit.* "He despatches the second Curiatius also." As a numeral *alter* is equivalent to *secundus.*

40–44. *Ferocem dabant.* "Were rendering confident."—*Victusque.* "And already conquered in spirit." His courage failed him when he saw his brothers slain.—*Nec illud prœlium fuit.* "And in fact what followed was not a conflict."—*Manibus.* "To the shades of my brothers." *Manes* was a general name by which the Romans designated the souls of the departed. The appeasing of the Manes superseded the earlier custom of avenging bloodshed by blood.—*Causæ belli.* "To the cause of this conflict." *Belli* in the sense of *pugnæ.* He means the object which both the Romans and Albans had in view in instituting this combat, namely, to ascertain which people should rule the other.

45–52. *Male sustinenti arma.* "Unto him with difficulty sustaining the weight of his armor."—*Ovantes ac gratulantes.* "In triumph and with congratulations."—*Prope metum.* "Close upon fear," i. e., almost despaired of.—*Dicionis alienæ facti.* "Were become the subjects of a foreign sway." The genitive of property, possession, etc. (Zumpt, § 448.)—*Duo Romana uno loco.* The two Roman champions fell in one place, *super alium alius*, and consequently were buried together.—*Distantia locis*, etc. "Differing in their positions (from each other) according as they had also severally fought." The Curiatii fell in different places, as Horatius contrived to separate them, to avoid their joint attack.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1–10. *Priusquam inde digrederentur.* "Before they parted thence." The verb implies their going off in different directions.—*Juventutem.* The term *juventus* here means, not the younger men merely, but the

whole Alban army engaged in the campaign.—*Princeps.* "Foremost." As in triumph.—*Trigemina.* "Of the three brothers."—*Portam Capenam.* So called because the Appian Way passed through it, leading to Capua.—*Paludamento.* "The military cloak." The *paludamentum* was a military cloak, worn not only by a Roman general when commanding an army, but also by his principal officers and personal attendants, in contradistinction to the *sagum* of the common soldiers. Livy's employment of the term here is therefore correct enough.

11–14. *Movet.* "Moves with wrath." Supply *ira.*—*Cum immaturo amore.* "With thy ill-timed love." *Immaturo* has here the force of *intempestivo.*—*Quæcumque Romana,* etc. "Whatsoever Roman woman shall lament a foe." Some of the early editions have *Quæcumque Romanum lugebit hostem,* but *Romanum hostem* in this sense is hardly, if at all, good Latin.—*Facto obstabat.* "Was a counterbalance to the deed," i. e., outweighed its enormity.—*Tamen raptus in jus ad regem.* "Still he was hurried to justice before the king."—*Tam tristis ingratique,* etc. "Of a judicial proceeding so melancholy and unpleasing towards the lower orders, or of punishment in accordance with that proceeding," i. e., of the punishment consequent thereupon. The king himself wished to avoid the odium of so unpopular a trial, well knowing that condemnation must necessarily follow, and therefore turns the whole matter over into the hands of duumviri. The manuscripts have *ad secundum judicium,* but as this is unintelligible, some editors conjecture *ac* for *ad,* while others prefer *aut.* We have given the latter with Drakenborch.—*Duumviros qui Horatio,* etc. "I appoint duumviri to try Horatius for *perduellio.*" We have here a departure from the ordinary construction, the verb *judicare* commonly taking the genitive of the crime alleged. In the earlier periods of Rome every act of an individual which was injurious to the state or its peace was called *perduellio.* Most commonly it refers to high-treason, under which head the present offence would be classed, since the act of Horatius, in killing his sister, was regarded as a usurpation of the prerogative of punishment, and hence as a crime against the state.

22–25. *Lex horrendi carminis erat.* "The law couched in a fearful form of words." Compare note on chap. xxiv., line 27.—*Duumviri perduellionem judicent.* "Let the duumviri try the question of *perduellio.*" Some editors, both here and in the previous passage, give *judicare* the meaning of "to pass sentence," than which nothing can be more erroneous. The trial of course must come first.—*Provocarit.* The accused had a right of appeal from the decision of the duumviri directly to the people in the comitia.—*Si vincent.* The duumviri, on the appeal, come before the assembly of the people as a party to the

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case.—*Caput obnubito.* This meant that he was devoted as a victim to the gods below.—*Infelici arbori suspendito.* "Hang him on the accursed tree," i. e., on the gallows. Observe that *infelici arbori* is the locative case, like *humi*. Many commentators render *infelici* here by the epithet "barren," but that is not the idea intended to be conveyed by the term in its present connection. It is rather the fatal tree, the tree of punishment, the tree on which is suspended an offender deemed accursed. Compare our English expression, "the gallows-tree."—*Verberato.* Scourging of course preceded hanging, but as being a matter of minor importance, it is here placed after.—*Pomerium.* Consult chap. xliv.

26, 27. *Qui se absolvere*, etc. They gave the accused a trial as a matter of course, but the only matter they were called upon to determine was whether he had committed the act or not. The letter of the law allowed of no justification or extenuation of the fact. It left no alternative to the judge. Hence the force of *innoxius* here, "a guiltless person," i. e., one justified in the act, or without *malice prepense*. When, however, the question came before the assembled people on appeal, then the accused would be allowed full scope in his defence.

28–38. *Tibi perduellionem judico.* "I decide the question of *perduellio* against thee." More freely, "I adjudge thee guilty of *perduellio*."—*Injiciebatque laqueum.* "And was in the act of adjusting the rope."—*Auctore Tullo.* "Tullus being the adviser."—*Ita de provocatione*, etc. "Upon this it was contended respecting the appeal before the people," i. e., whether it should be received favorably or unfavorably.—*Patrio jure in filium*, etc. "He would have punished his son by a father's right." By the laws of Romulus a father had the power of life and death over his children.—*Orbum liberis.* "Childless."—*Pila Horatia.* That is, "the javelins of Horatius." *Pila* is here the plural of *pilum*, and not, as some suppose, the nominative singular of *pila, æ*, "a pillar." There was a pillar erected, indeed, to which the spoils of the Curiatii were fixed as a trophy; but it was from the arms and not from the pillar that the place derived its name. Compare the language of Livy, a little farther on, in this same chapter, "*inter illa pila et spolia hostium*," where *pila* of course is the neuter plural. The position of the *Pila Horatia* was in the Forum, but the particular locality cannot be ascertained.

39–46. *Huncine.* Not to be joined in construction with *eum* ("this same one"), but the latter is subsequently brought in for the sake of emphasis. In translating, begin the sentence with *huncine* by itself. "This one here whom . . . him can you bear to see," etc.—*Sub furca.* "Beneath the fork." The *furca* was a piece of wood, in the form of

the capital letter lambda (Λ), which was placed upon the shoulders of the offender, whose hands were tied to it. Besides being employed in the case of slaves, it was used in the ancient mode of capital punishment among the Romans; the criminal being tied to it and then scourged.—*Quod, tam deforme spectaculum.* "Which, so shocking a spectacle." Observe the opposition between the relative and what follows.—*I, lictor, colliga manus*, etc. A species of indignant parody of the language of the sentence. Hence the more solemn forms, *obnubito*, etc., are not employed.—*Modo.* "Provided only (it be done)."

50–57. *Ipsius.* The accused.—*Parem in omni periculo.* "The same in every danger," i. e., equally intrepid, whether in the battle-field or when on trial for his life.—*Quam jure causæ.* "Than from the justice of his cause."—*Lueretur.* "Might be atoned for."—*Pecunia publica.* "At the public charge." Money was given to him out of the public treasury for the expiatory sacrifices.—*Tradita sunt.* "Have been handed down."—*Transmisso per viam tigillo.* "A small beam having been laid across the path."—*Sororium tigillum.* "The sister's beam." It appears to have been in a narrow street leading down from the Carinæ to the Vicus Cyprius. As it is mentioned in the *Notitia*, this monument, connected with one of Rome's early legends, must have existed down to the 5th century. We learn from Dionysius (iii., 22) and Festus (p. 297, ed. Müll.) that on each side of it stood an altar, one to Juno Sororia, the other to Janus Curiatius.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1–12. *Invidia vulgi.* "The dissatisfaction of the populace."—*Vanum ingenium corrupit.* "Warped the naturally fickle mind," i. e., from the allegiance which he now owed to the Romans.—*Recta consilia.* "A straightforward policy."—*Pravis.* "By a crooked one." Supply *consiliis.*—*Ex edicto.* "By proclamation." The part which he reserves for himself and the Albans is to play the traitors to Tullus in the hour of need, wearing meanwhile the mask of friendship to Rome.—*Suis per speciem societatis*, etc. "He reserves for his own people treachery, under the mask of alliance."—*Colonia Romana.* As regards this pretended colony, consult note at the end of chap. xiv.—*Pacto transitionis Albanorum.* "Under a compact of desertion on the part of the Albans."

14–23. *Accito.* "Having been summoned." (Zumpt, § 180.)—*Anienem.* The Anio, now the *Teverone*, was a celebrated river of Latium, and one of the most considerable of the tributaries of the Tiber. The more ancient form of the nominative is *Anien*, whence

in the oblique cases *Anienis*, etc. Dionysius uses Ἀνίης, -ητος.—*Ad confluentes.* "At the confluence of the rivers." Supply *amnes.* The Anio and Tiber are meant.—*Et in acie.* "In the line of battle also." The *et* implies that the Veientes, as in crossing the Tiber they had Fidenæ on their left, so were they similarly marshalled in the battle-field also, since the Fidenates occupied the left wing.—*Albano non plus animi*, etc. "The Alban had not more courage than fidelity."—*Succedit.* "Moves upward." Compare the phrases, *succedere tumulum, succedere muros*, etc.—*Ubi satis subisse sese ratus est.* "When he thought that he had ascended far enough," i. e., not to be pursued.—*Erigit totam aciem.* "He halts his whole army." Crevier compares with this the French *faire alte*, or formerly *haut*, because soldiers then stand upright, and hold their spears erect. The common but erroneous translation of the present clause is, "He marches his whole army up." Hunter, who advocates it, has a most unfortunate note on the subject. He supposes that Mettius himself first withdrew to a rising ground (*sensim succedit*), and when he had himself gained a sufficient height he made his whole army also march up!

24–32. *Qua.* "In whatsoever direction," i. e., on whatsoever side.—*Rem.* "The decision of the affair."—*Inclinare vires.* "To bend his strength."—*Esse.* Historical infinitive, for *erat.*—*Salios.* These were called *Salii Collini, Agonales*, or *Agonenses*, because they performed their ceremonies and had their chapel on the Colline hill (the same as the Quirinal, or at least a part of it), previously called the Agonal hill. The Salii instituted by Numa, who were different from these, were called *Palatini*, because they performed their ceremonies and had their chapel on the Palatine hill.—*Eidem imperat.* The ordinary reading is *idem*, referring to the king. We have preferred, however, the conjecture of Gronovius, *eidem*, as referring to the horseman.

35–45. *Id rati.* "Having supposed that to be the case."—*Et audiverant*, etc. "The Fidenates had both heard what was thus spoken with a loud voice, and a large portion of them understood Latin, since they had been added as colonists unto the Romans," i. e., had become intermingled with Romans in the colony.—*Decursu.* "By a sudden descent."—*Intercluderentur.* The battle was fought to the south of Fidenæ, so that they could have been cut off by the Albans.—*Ab effusa fuga.* The river prevented them from flying in disorder; it was so close to them that they had not time to scatter; but still their flight led to it.—*Inter fugæ pugnæque consilium.* That is, while wavering between the resolution whether to fight or flee.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

4–12. *Quod bene vertat.* "What (he prays) may turn out favorably." A usual form of words, in praying for anything to succeed.—*Sacrificium lustrale.* The same probably with the *suovetaurilia*, mentioned in chap. xliv.—*Illuxit.* "Light dawned." Taken impersonally. Ciceronian usage is the other way.—*Ab extremo.* "At the outermost part of the camp."—*Proximi constitere.* They thus fell into the trap prepared for them by Tullus, namely, that they should stand nearest, and thus be surrounded by the Roman legions.—*Ex composito.* "According to previous arrangement."

15–20. *Fuit, quod.* "There was a reason that." Literally, "There was that, on account of which."—*Proditione.* "The treachery."—*Nam ne vos falsa*, etc. "For, that a false opinion may not influence you."—*Subiere.* "Marched up."—*Nec imperium illud meum*, etc. "Nor was that any command of mine, but a stratagem and the pretence of a command."

24–28. *Nec.* "But . . . not."—*Si quo ego inde*, etc. "If I had wished to draw off my army to any direction from that quarter." *Declinare* is here used transitively.—*Itineris hujus.* "Of this march."—*Audeat deinde talia alius.* "Let another hereafter dare similar things."

30–40. *Centuriones.* They had received previous instructions.—*Peragit.* "Goes through with."—*Quod bonum, faustum*, etc. Compare chap. xvii., line 32.—*Civitatem.* "The privileges of citizenship." The Greek πολιτεία.—*Rem publicam.* "State."—*Ut ex uno*, etc. Compare chap. vi.—*Albana res.* "The Alban power."—*In variis voluntatibus.* "Amid conflicting sentiments."—*Vivo tibi ea disciplina*, etc. "That lesson would have been taught by me to you while still alive."

42–51. *At tu*, etc. There is no need here of *at*. It is employed, however, sometimes pleonastically to express opposition, especially after *si* and its compounds, and thus subserves the purposes of emphasis. (Zumpt, § 756.)—*Animum inter Fidenatem*, etc. "A mind divided between the interests of the Fidenates and the Romans."—*Quadrigis.* This term means here "a team of four horses," not a chariot drawn by them.—*In currus earum*, etc. "He ties Mettius, extended at full length, to their respective chariots."—*Lacerum in utroque curru*, etc. "Bearing off the mangled body on each chariot, where the limbs had adhered to the cords," i. e., had been tied by them.—*Primum ultimumque*, etc. "That was the first and last punishment among the Romans, of a character little mindful of the laws of humanity."—*In aliis.* "In other cases."

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CHAPTER XXIX.

1–12. *Inter hæc*, etc. The peculiarly elegant and graphic description of the demolition of Alba, given in the present chapter, has always been deservedly admired.—*Prœmissi.* "Sent on before," i. e., to surprise the city in the absence of its defenders.—*Pavor.* "A panic."—*Effractis.* "Having been burst open."—*Cursus.* "The rush."—*Silentium triste*, etc. These words are not synonymous. Their silence did not proceed from quietness, but deep sorrow and affliction, and their grief was not expressed in shrieks or lamentations, but buried deep in their breasts.—*Deficiente consilio.* "All judgment failing them."—*Ultimum illud.* "For that last time." Observe the emphatic employment of the pronoun, and that *illud*, not *hoc*, is used, because we have here a narrative of past events.

13–20. *Ut vero jam equitum*, etc. "When, however, the shouts of the horsemen, commanding them to depart, grew now more urgent."—*Ultimis urbis partibus.* It is better to connect these words with *diruebantur* than with *audiebatur*, as would appear from the next words, *ex distantibus locis.* The work of demolition commenced on the outskirts of the city; and the crash, heard from that quarter, conveyed the news.—*Raptim, quibus quisque poterat, elatis.* "Having hastily brought out whatever articles each was able." A Græcism, for *raptim elatis iis, quæ quisque poterat efferre.* The infinitive is omitted, and the relative properly depending on this infinitive is put by attraction in the same case with the omitted antecedent *iis.* Compare a similar construction in iv., 39: *Quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum.*—*Continens agmen.* "A continued train."—*Mutua miseratione.* "With mutual sympathy."

22–26. *Obsessa.* "Beset." From *obsīdo, -ĕre.*—*Egressis urbem.* The preposition here in composition has merely an adverbial force, and the compounded verb takes at once the accusative.—*Romanus.* "The Roman." More graphic than *Romanus exercitus* would have been.—*Quadringentorum annorum opus.* Livy agrees with Virgil, who counts three hundred years from the foundation of Alba to the time of Romulus (*Æn.*, i., 272), and Rome, according to the received chronology, had now stood one hundred years. Dionysius, however, makes Alba to have flourished four hundred and eighty-seven years. On this whole subject consult Heyne, *Excurs.*, iii., *ad Virg. Æn.*, xii.; Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 205.—*Excidio ac ruinis dedit.* The details of the Alban war are obviously poetical, but the destruction of Alba itself may probably be received as an historical event, though there is much reason to suppose that it was the work of the combined forces of the Latins, and that Rome had comparatively little share in its accomplishment. The city was never rebuilt, its temples alone had

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been spared, and these appear to have been still existing in the time of Augustus. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 350, seq.)

CHAPTER XXX.

2–8. *Cælius additur urbi mons.* The Cælian hill is said to have derived its name from the Etrurian leader Cæles Vibenna, who came to Rome to lend aid, at the invitation of either Romulus or one of the early Roman kings, and settled here with his troops. Compare Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 381, seq.; Müller, *Etrusker*, vol. i., p. 116, seqq. —*Frequentius.* "More thickly."—*Eam sedem Tullus regiæ capit*, etc. Other accounts, however, represent him as dwelling on the Velia. (Cic., *Rep.*, ii., 31.)—*Tullios.* Dionysius (iii., 29) mentions the *Julii*, instead of the *Tullii*, but, as Zumpt remarks, Livy has already, in chap. xvi., spoken of a Julius Proculus as a man of influence in the state. The Julian gens, therefore, though itself of Alban origin, was earlier than the time of Tullus, and the true reading here is undoubtedly *Tullios.* —*Templumque ordini*, etc. "And, as a consecrated place of meeting for the order, (thus) augmented by himself, he built a senate-house, which was called the Hostilian even to the time of our fathers." *Templum* means generally any place set apart and hallowed by the augurs for either religious or state purposes. The *curia Hostilia* was burned down before the time of Livy, and in consequence of some prodigies that occurred in the year before Cæsar's assassination it was resolved to rebuild it. At the time when this decree was made Cæsar was pontifex maximus, but he did not live even to begin the new structure. Augustus subsequently erected it, and it was named after its new founder *Curia Julia.* (Smith, *Dict. Geogr.*, vol. ii., p. 789.)

11, 12. *Equitum decem turmas.* "Ten troops of equites." The *turma* consisted at first of thirty, afterwards of thirty-two men. The number here added, then, was three hundred, so that now the equites consisted of six hundred men.—*Explevit.* "He recruited."—*Eodem supplemento.* "From the same source of supply," i. e., the Albans.—*Scripsit.* "Enrolled."

13–17. *Hac fiducia virium.* For *harum fiducia virium.*—*Secundum Etruscos.* "Next to the Etrurians."—*Feroniæ fanum.* The temple of Feronia was in southern Etruria, at the foot of Mount Soracte, within the territory of Capena, and had a sacred grove attached to it. In process of time a town grew up around. Feronia appears to have been a Sabine goddess (Varro, *L. L.*, v., 74), and hence the festivals at her shrine seem to have been attended especially by the Sabines, though the sanctuary itself was in the Etrurian territory, and dependent upon the neighboring city of Capena. Great numbers of people

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attended the annual festival of the goddess, not only for religious objects, but as a kind of fair for the purposes of trade, a custom which seems to have prevailed at all similar meetings.—*Mercatu frequenti.* "In a crowded market."—*In lucum confugisse.* "Had fled for refuge into the grove (of the asylum)." Compare chap. viii. These were offenders against justice, whom the Romans had refused to deliver up. [Madvig suggests that *servos* has dropped out before *suos*, and introduces it into his text; but Dionysius describes those who took refuge as φυγάδας, "exiles," and says that slaves were not received into the asylum.]

19–27. *Haud parum memores.* "Remembering well."—*Circumspicere et ipsi*, etc. That is, as the Romans had been strengthened by the forces of Tatius and the accession of the Albans, they too looked about for foreign aid.—*Residuas bellorum iras.* "The angry feelings still remaining from former wars."—*Et apud vagos quosdam*, etc. "And with some stragglers also from the indigent populace pay had its weight." The *voluntarii* were from the upper classes of the Veientes, the *vagi* from the rabble of the city.—*Publico auxilio.* Assistance from the government of Veii.—*Nam de ceteris minus mirum est.* That is, it is less surprising that the rest of the Etrurians, who had no quarrel with the Romans, did not aid the Sabines.—*Pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides.* It is probable that on this occasion the truce was renewed by Tullus.

28–34. *Verti in eo.* "To turn on this."—*Occupat transire.* "Is the first to pass over." Consult note on chap. xiv., line 15.—*Ad silvam Malitiosam.* "At the forest called Malitiosa." Compare Dionysius (iii., 33): τὴν ὕλην καλουμένην κακοῦργον. This forest lay in the Sabine territory, and received its name probably from its being infested by robbers.—*Ubi et peditum*, etc. "Where by the strength also of the infantry, it must be allowed, but (especially) by their recently augmented cavalry, the Roman army proved far superior." *Ceterum* for *sed* is frequently used in prose, as Zumpt remarks (§ 349), after Cicero's time.—*Constare.* "Be maintained."—*Nec fuga explicari.* "Nor could flight be made." *Explicare* here properly means, "to bring into definite shape or condition," a signification arising from the literal one "to unfold." Compare Scheller's explanation of the present clause: "*die Flucht konnte nicht zu Stande gebracht werden.*"

CHAPTER XXXI.

4–16. *Lapidibus pluisse.* "That it had rained stones." Literally, "with stones." *Pluo* takes also the accusative. Thus, "*Sanguinem pluisse senatui nuntiatum est.*" (Cic., *Div.*, ii., 27.)—*In conspectu.* "In

their sight."—*Grandinem glomeratam.* "The rounded hail." [*Cælo.* "From heaven." See bk. xxii., chap. i., line 32. This use of the ablative without a preposition is poetical.]—*Visi etiam audire.* "They thought also that they heard." Literally, "They seemed (to themselves) to have heard." Compare chap. xxiii., line 31.—*Aut susceperant.* "Had either taken up."—*Novemdiale sacrum publice susceptum est.* "A festival of nine days was publicly instituted." The term *Novemdiale* is also applied to the sacrifice performed nine days after a funeral.—*Quandoque.* For *quandocunque.*

18–25. *Pestilentia laboratum est.* "They were afflicted by a pestilence."—*Pigritia.* "A disinclination."—*Ab armis.* "From arms." The succeeding preposition, *a*, changes to the meaning of "by."—*Longinquo morbo.* "With a lingering malady."—*Spiritus illi feroces.* "That fierce spirit of his."—*Obnoxius degeret.* "Passed his time a slave to." *Degere* is here equivalent to *vitam agere*, and is commonly used by the poets only.—*Religionibus.* "With religious scruples."

26–34. *Eum statum rerum requirentes.* "Seeking again for that state of things," i. e., wishing to recur to it.—*Unam opem.* "The only relief."—*Volventem.* "Turning over."—*Commentarios.* Compare chap. xx., line 18.—*Jovi Elicio.* Consult note on chap. xx., line 29.—*Operatum.* The supine, not the participle as Weissenborn makes it. *Operari* is a word particularly used to signify the performance of sacred rites.—*Initum aut curatum.* "Undertaken or conducted."—*Nullam cœlestium speciem.* "No appearance of objects sent from on high."—*Sollicitati prava religione.* "Offended at the mismanagement of the rite." Salverte has some curious remarks on this subject, in connection with the knowledge which the ancients would seem to have possessed of electrical phenomena, and the means of rendering them in some degree harmless. According to this view, Tullus was killed by an accumulation of electric fluid drawn down by conductors. Consult Anthon's *Class. Dict.*, s. v. *Elicius*, and compare chap. xx., line 29.—*Conflagrasse.* There was a tradition that Tullus was slain by Ancus Martius, and his palace burned. (Dionys., iii., 35.)

CHAPTER XXXII.

1–12. *Res ad patres redierat.* "The government came back to the fathers," i. e., devolved again upon the senators, as it had after the death of Romulus.—*Ancum Martium regem.* Here we see, as Niebuhr remarks, the practice plainly apparent of taking the kings by turn from the Ramnes or original Latin population, and the Quirites, or Sabines added under Tatius.—*Patres fuere auctores.* Compare chap. xvii., line 28; chap. xxii., line 4.—*Regis nepos.* Consult note on

chap. xx., line 19.—*Ab una parte.* "In one particular." More literally, "From on one side."—*Religionibus.* "The rites of religion." —*Prave cultis.* "Improperly performed."—*Longe antiquissimum.* "By far most important." The literal idea is, a thing that should take priority before all others. We have a similar usage in the Greek *πρεσβύτερον* and *πρεσβύτατον*.—*Omnia ea ex commentariis*, etc. "He orders the pontiff to exhibit all of them in public, transferred from the king's commentaries to a white tablet," i. e., to transcribe an account of the true mode of celebrating these rites, from the sacred books of Numa, on a white tablet or more, and fix them up in public. Among the Romans, the *album* was either a white material or a material whitened; and of course the writing would be of a different color. According to some authorities, however, it was so called because the writing was in white letters.—*Pontificem.* The pontifex maximus is meant. Some editions insert *maximum* here. The epithet *maximus*, however, is not properly found applied to him earlier than in book ii., chap. ii.

20–23. *Medium erat in Anco ingenium.* "There was in Ancus a genius of a middle kind."—*Memor.* "Partaking of that." More literally, "mindful of."—*Cum in novo*, etc. "(As) in the case of both a new, and particularly an uncivilized people."—*Etiam, quod illi contigisset otium*, etc. "He also (believed) that, as regarded the tranquillity which had fallen to the lot of the other, this he himself would not be likely easily to maintain, without suffering insult: that his patience was tried, and when tried was contemned; and that the times were fitter for a Tullus-king than a Numa." Observe that *illi* refers to Numa.

27–29. *Proderentur.* "Should be given forth," i. e., promulgated. —*Jus descripsit.* "He copied the form," i. e., borrowed it. *Jus* is the legal and established form or ceremony used in doing anything; *carmen*, a few sentences after, means the language or words used in going through it.—*Æquiculis.* The Æquiculi inhabited the mountainous district around the upper valley of the Anio. They would appear to have been the same people with the Æqui, though in the usage of later times the former name was restricted to the inhabitants of the more central and lofty valleys of the Apennines, while those who approached the borders of the Latin plain, and whose constant wars with the Romans have made them so familiarly known to us, uniformly appear under the name of Æqui.—*Fetiales.* Ancus merely assigned new functions to this order, which had been established before. Compare chap. xxiv., line 16.

31–40. *Capite velato filo.* "His head being encircled with a fillet (the fillet is of wool)."—*Audiat fas.* "Let the justice of heaven hear."

The divine law had been violated by the transgressors.—*Populi Romani.* The king is not mentioned, since no declaration of war could be made without a decree of the people.—*Dedier.* Old form for *dedi.*—*Mihi exposco.* Some editions have *populo Romano mihique;* others *nuncio populi Romani mihi;* but these are evidently mere interpolations.—*Siris.* For *siveris,* another old form.—*Paucis verbis carminis,* etc. "A few words in the formula, and in expressing the oath having been changed."

41–48. *Quos exposcit.* The men alone are mentioned here, the things demanded being implied, or, in other words, the worthier gender, to adopt the language of the grammarians, being employed in preference.—*Tot enim sollemnes sunt.* "For so many are customary."—*Cœlestes.* The gods are here classified, as they cannot well be all named individually.—*Inferni.* The more usual form is *inferi.*—*Majores natu.* "The fathers."—*Cum his nuntius redit.* "With these (announcements) the messenger returns." Observe that *cum* here merely marks accompanying circumstances. (Zumpt, § 307.)

49–53. *Quarum rerum,* etc. "With respect to the articles of property, the litigations, the causes of complaint, about which the pater patratus of the Roman people and the Quirites has conferred with the pater patratus of the Prisci Latini, which things they have neither given up nor settled, nor at all acted upon." The expression *Populi Romani Quiritium,* where *et* is to be supplied, has already been explained. (Consult note on chap. xiii., line 18.)—*Priscis Latinis.* Niebuhr makes *Prisci,* in the appellation *Prisci Latini,* to have been the designation of a separate people, some early Italian race, and *Prisci Latini* to have been the same as *Prisci et Latini;* but this opinion is now generally regarded as untenable, and the form in question to mean merely "Old Latins." (Consult Smith, *Dict. Geogr.,* vol. ii., p. 142.)—*Quas res nec dederunt,* etc. Observe the employment here of *res* to express what has been indicated by *rerum, litium,* and *causarum* separately.

55–57. *Puro pioque duello,* etc. "I think that they ought to be demanded by a fair and regularly declared war, and therefore I consent and vote with those who think so."—*Duello.* Old form for *bello.*—*Bellum erat consensum.* "War was decreed by common consent," i. e., the vote of the majority was as effectual as if all were unanimous. Zumpt, regarding this as an unusual form of expression, thinks it probable that Livy is quoting from some old document. The ordinary construction, as he remarks, would be *consensum erat de bello,* or *consensum decretum erat de bello.* Some editions read *bellum erat consensu,* but the best manuscripts are against this.

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60–70. *Puberibus.* "Grown-up persons."—*Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum*, etc. "Forasmuch as the states of the Prisci Latini and the men of the Prisci Latini have acted, have offended against, etc." From the more general designation of *populi* he passes to the more special one of *homines.*—*Censuit, consensit, conscivit.* "Have given their opinion, have consented, have voted in accordance."—*Ob eam rem.* "Therefore."—*Id ubi dixisset.* The subjunctive of repeated action, for Livy is here describing what was the regular course of proceeding whenever the Romans declared war.—*Posteri acceperunt.* When the war with Pyrrhus broke out, the custom of hurling a spear within the confines of the foe could not be observed in the usual manner; wherefore a captive soldier of Pyrrhus's was made to buy a piece of ground near the temple of Bellona, which symbolized the territory of the enemy, and was called *ager hostilis.* Into this the spear was flung on this as well as on all subsequent occasions, whenever war was to be declared against a people whose country lay beyond the sea. (Serv., *ad Æn.*, ix., 53.)

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1–9. *Sacrorum.* Those namely which appertained to the regal office.—*Flaminibus.* Consult note on chap. xx., line 3.—*Politorium.* The situation of this early city is quite uncertain. Gell places it at *La Giostra*, on the right of the Via Appia, about ten miles from Rome.—*Et cum circa Palatium*, etc. "And since the Sabines had filled the Capitoline and citadel, the Albans the Cælian mount, around the Palatine," i. e., places lying around the Palatine.—*Aventinum.* This neuter form for *Aventinus* (scil. *mons*) occurs again in the present chapter, and also in iii., 67: "*Adversus nos Aventinum capitur.*" Dionysius frequently calls it τὸ Ἀβεντινόν.

10–16. *Tellenis.* Tellenæ is said by Nibby to answer to the modern *La Giostra*, where Gell places the site of Politorium. The name of this city appears again in B.C. 493, among the confederate cities of the Latin league.—*Ficana.* This place was situated on the Via Ostiensis, eleven miles from Rome, and immediately adjoining the Tiber.—*Novi cives.* In this way the plebeian order gradually arose, at first under the control of a ruling class, or aristocracy (the patricians), but afterwards forming an integral portion of the state.—*Omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso.* "The whole war having been concentrated at Medullia." Literally, "having been driven together to Medullia." Dionysius makes this place a colony of Alba. Its site is unknown.—*Marte incerto, varia victoria.* "In doubtful conflict, with varied success." The two ideas are so intimately connected that there is no need of any connecting conjunction.

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20–23. *Omnibus copiis connisus.* "Having made a vigorous effort with all his forces."—*Acie.* "In a pitched battle." Dionysius says he took Medullia at this same time.—*Ad Murciæ.* "Near the temple of Murcia." Supply *ædem*, which is frequently omitted with the names of divinities. *Murcia* was a surname of Venus at Rome, and this appellation is said to have been the same as *Myrtea* (from *myrtus*, "a myrtle"), indicating the fondness of the goddess for that tree. There is said to have been a myrtle grove in front of her temple at the foot of the Aventine.

24, 25. *Janiculum.* This hill lay across the Tiber, and began at that point opposite the Campus Martius where the river reaches farthest to the west, whence it stretched in a southerly direction to a point opposite the Aventine.—*Quando.* "At any time." For *aliquando.*—*Arx hostium.* "A stronghold for the foe." The enemy here particularly meant are the Etrurians, against whom the Janiculum formed a natural outpost.—*Non muniri solum*, etc. The manuscripts have *non muro solum*, which all the editions follow. But, as Duker remarks, we must either suppose something to have been dropped from the text, or else must supply *cingi* after *muro* by a kind of zeugma from *conjungi* which follows farther on, since there is no proof that the Janiculum was joined at this time by a wall to the city. Neither of the suppositions, however, thus started by Duker, is at all satisfactory, and we have preferred therefore to introduce the very ingenious conjecture of Scheller, namely, *muniri* in place of *muro*. This, moreover, would seem to derive probability from the language of Dionysius, who merely employs the term ἐτείχισε.

26, 27. *Ponte sublicio.* "By the Sublician bridge," i. e., the pile-bridge. This structure, the oldest and one of the most frequently mentioned of the Roman bridges, took its name from the *sublicæ*, or wooden piles on which it rested. It was considered of such religious importance that it was under the special care of the pontifices, and was repaired from time to time even down to the reign of Antoninus Pius. (Capitol., *Ant.*, chap. viii.) Nay, it would seem to have existed in the time of Constantine, since it is mentioned in the *Notitia.* In consequence, it is said, of the delay and difficulty experienced in breaking it down in the well-known feat of Horatius Cocles, it was reconstructed without nails, in such a manner that every beam could be removed and replaced at pleasure. (Plin., *H. N.*, xxxvi., 15, 23, § 100.) It was considered so sacred that no repairs could be made in it without previous sacrifice conducted by the pontifex in person.—*Quiritium quoque fossa*, etc. "The Quirites' ditch, moreover, no trifling defence on those quarters which were more level (and consequently easier) to be approached (than the rest)." *Aditu*, as Döring remarks, is the

supine. Observe here the force of the preposition *a*, "on the side of," "in the quarter where."

29–37. *Rebus auctis.* "The state being augmented."—*Discrimine recte an perperam*, etc. "The distinction of right and wrong being confounded." Literally, "of a thing done rightly or wrongly."—*Carcer.* This was what was called the *Carcer Mamertinus*, and from the language of the text would seem to have been more a place of punishment than of mere imprisonment. It is still to be seen near the arch of Severus, under the church of *S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami.* —*Silva Mœsia.* Situated probably on the right bank of the Tiber, between Rome and the sea-coast. Pliny notices it as abounding in dormice (*H. N.*, viii., 58, 83, § 225).—*Ostia.* Deriving its name from its situation at the mouth of the river. It was sixteen miles distant from Rome.—*Salinæ.* These salt-works for a long time continued to supply both Rome itself and the neighboring country in the interior with that necessary article.—*Ædes Jovis Feretrii.* Compare chap. x.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1–4. *Lucumo.* In Etrurian *Lauchme*, to which the contracted Latin form *Lucmo* closely corresponds. Livy mistakes it for a proper name; but the term is said to have meant in Etrurian "a chief," or "noble," and to have been employed to designate a member of the ruling caste, or aristocracy, in whose hands lay all the power of the nation. So that it would be thus analogous to the Roman term "patrician" in its earliest sense. The individual, therefore, referred to in the text was not, as Livy makes him, named "Lucumo," but was one of the chiefs or nobles in the Etrurian city whence he came; in other words, he was *a Lucumo* or *Lauchme.* (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 123.)—*Tarquiniis.* Tarquinii was one of the oldest and most important cities of Etruria, situated about four miles from the coast of the lower sea, and fourteen miles from Centumcellæ, or the modern *Civita Vecchia.* It was the metropolis of the twelve cities which composed the Etruscan league, just as Alba was represented as the metropolis of the Latin league.

5–9. *Demarati Corinthii filius erat.* This Greek origin of the Tarquin family is purely fabulous. The story of the Tarquins has evidently been drawn from the works of several popular poets, and there can be little doubt that one at least of these writers must have become acquainted with Greek literature and history from the Greek colonies in Southern Italy. Hence the Corinthian or Grecian feature in the present legend. Demaratus was a merchant-noble of Corinth, and one of the Bacchiadæ. He fled from Corinth when the power of his

clan was overthrown by Cypselus, about B.C. 657, and is said to have settled at Tarquinii. On this whole subject of the Greek character of the story of the Tarquins, compare the remarks of Macaulay (*Lays of Ancient Rome*, p. 80. seq., Lond. ed.).—*Arruns.* More correct than *Aruns.* In Etrurian *Arruth*, and said to be an appellation for "a younger son," the elder being called *Lar* or *Lars.* In Greek, the form is Ἄρρων or Ἀρρούνς.

12–18. *Ignoraus nurum ventres ferre.* "Not being aware that his daughter-in-law was pregnant." *Venter* and *uterus* are often figuratively used with the signification of *partus.*—*In nullam sortem bonorum.* "To no share of his property."—*Egerio.* From *egere.*—*Animos facerent.* "Gave him elevated notions."—*Auxit.* "Increased this feeling." Supply *animos.*—*Tanaquil.* In Etrurian *Tanchvil.* Her genuine Roman name is said to have been *Caia Cæcilia.*—*Et quæ haud facile*, etc. "And who could not easily brook that the condition into which she had married should be lower than that in which she had been born," i. e., that her husband should be inferior to her family. Observe that *quo* is here equivalent to *in quæ.* The manuscripts erroneously read *quum* for *quo*, and *illi nupsisset* for *innupsisset.* The reading which we have given is founded on the conjectures of some of the ablest scholars, and is in every way preferable.

19–21. *Spernentibus Etruscis*, etc. This is based of course on the story of his foreign or Grecian origin; but as that is untrue, we must fall back upon the theory of Niebuhr, who supposes that the ruling houses of Etruria were frequently exposed to those violent revolutions by which an oligarchy is everywhere threatened, even from the midst of its own body, and that in one of these political commotions the whole house of the Tarquins were driven into exile. (Niebuhr, *R. H.*, vol. i., p. 123.)—*Indignitatem.* "This unmerited treatment."—*Ingenitæ.* "The innate."—*Honoratum.* "Advanced to honors."

22–29. *Roma est ad id*, etc. "Rome appeared suited for that purpose before all other places." With *est visa* supply *apta*, and observe that *potissimum* is here equivalent to *præ cæteris.*—*In novo populo*, etc. We must conceive *volvebat in animo*, or something similar, to be understood here.—*Ex virtute.* "The result of merit."—*Sabina matre.* As having been the daughter of Numa.—*Nobilemque una imagine*, etc. "And was noble by the single image of Numa." He could only produce the single image of Numa among his ancestry, or, in other words, the nobility of his line only commenced with his maternal grandfather. Livy applies to these remote times the language of his own days. The *jus imaginum* did not come in until the admission of the plebeians to the consulship, B.C. 366, though the practice of hav-

ing *imagines* existed probably as a custom among the patricians some time before.—*Amigrant.* The verb *amigrare* occurs nowhere else, but still it is formed after the analogy of *avolare*, etc., and is given by the manuscripts.

30–32. *Carpento.* "In a chariot." [*Carpento.* The more regular construction in prose is with a preposition, but the simple ablative is not uncommon in Livy in imitation of the poets, the designation of place being regarded somewhat in the light of manner.] The *carpentum* was one of the earliest Roman carriages of which we find mention. Properly speaking, it was the vehicle in which Roman matrons were allowed to be conveyed in the public festal processions. Of its form we know little. It is represented on a medal struck in honor of the elder Agrippina, after her death. It had two wheels, and was commonly drawn by a pair of mules, more rarely by oxen or horses. Livy uses the term here to indicate a mere travelling-chariot, and, what is more, without any top, whereas on the medal just mentioned it has a richly adorned covering.—*Suspensis demissa leniter alis.* "Descending gently on poised pinions." *Suspendere* is used strictly of weighing in a balance; hence to hold up in the air, in a state of equilibrium, and is thus applied here to a bird poised in mid-air.—*Velut ministerio divinitus missa.* "As if sent by divine command to perform that office."

35–37. *Perita, ut vulgo Etrusci*, etc. The Etrurians were remarkably addicted to divination, and had reduced it to a complete system, but then this knowledge was confined entirely to the ruling caste, or Lucumones, to which Tanaquil belonged. These Etrurian chiefs were the persons from whom the young Roman nobles received instruction in this sacred science. Livy's language therefore must not be regarded as applying to the whole nation indiscriminately.—*Excelsa et alta sperare.* "To entertain high and lofty hopes."—*Eam alitem*, etc. "That such a bird had come from such a quarter of the sky, and the messenger of such a deity," i. e., of Jupiter, to whom the eagle was sacred. All these were omens of future greatness.—*Circa summum culmen hominis*, etc. "That it had exhibited an omen around the highest part of man; had lifted the ornament placed on the head of man."

41–43. *L. Tarquinium Priscum.* Niebuhr takes this surname, *Priscus* (a regular Latin one), and founds upon it one of his arguments to prove that the Tarquins were not of Etrurian, but of Latin origin. His arguments, however, have not much weight, and certainly are insufficient to refute the universally received belief of antiquity in the Etrurian origin of the Tarquins, which is moreover confirmed by the great architectural works undertaken in the time of the last Roman kings,

works to which no Sabine or Latin town could lay claim, and which at that time could have been accomplished by the Etrurians alone.—*Novitas.* "The circumstance of his being a stranger."—*Benigno adloquio*, etc. "By a polite address, by courteousness in giving invitations, and by conciliating to himself through acts of kindness whomsoever he was able, he was continually aiding his own good fortune."

45–48. *Notitiamque eam*, etc. "And by discharging the duties of a courtier in the royal presence with good breeding and address, he had brought that acquaintance to the privileges of intimate friendship," i. e., he had improved it to such a degree as to be at length admitted to the privileges of the closest intimacy.—*Per omnia expertus.* "Having been tried in all things," i. e., in every trust.

CHAPTER XXXV.

5–8. *Comitia regi creando.* The dative of purpose or design. (Zumpt, § 665.)—*Fierent.* The employment of this term shows that the *comitia* were to be held by an interrex. These *comitia* were of course the *curiata*, and therefore *plebis*, in line 9, is to be taken in the sense of *populi*. Compare line 23.—*Sub tempus.* "Shortly before the time (for holding them)." Observe the force of *sub* in indicating time. (Zumpt, § 319.)—*Ablegavit.* "He sent out of the way." *Ablegare* means to send out of the way whatever may be an annoyance or impediment.—*Ambitiose.* "By actual canvassing." Livy in employing this term is thinking of later times.

10–15. *Cum.* "Saying." Supply *diceret*, the idea of which is contained in *orationem*, which precedes.—*Et Tatium non ex peregrino*, etc. This contains both a fuller explanation of *non rem novam*, etc., and also the reasons why it ought to appear surprising that Tatius and Numa were made kings, reasons which did not exist in his own case.—*Ignarum urbis.* In consequence of the retired life which he had previously led at Cures.—*Ultro.* "Voluntarily (on their part)."

15–20. *Ex quo sui potens fuerit.* "From the time when he became his own master." Supply *tempore*. Some less correctly render this, "as soon as he became," etc., but *ex quo* is purposely employed here to denote not only the time of migration to Rome, but also the whole subsequent period.—*Sub haud pœnitendo magistro.* "Under a master not to be objected to," i. e., under no contemptible instructor. Observe the Litotes. *Pœnitet*, though an impersonal, has the participles *pœnitens* and *pœnitendus*. (Zumpt, § 230.) As regards the peculiar meaning of the verb itself here, consult note on chap. viii., line 9.—*Obsequio et observantia.* "In duty and loyalty."

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25–27. *Ambitio.* "The ambitious feelings." The word has here its ordinary meaning, different from that of *ambitiose* in line 8.—*Centum in patres legit.* It needs some explanation to show how Tarquin, being an Etrurian stranger, came to be chosen king of Rome. In all likelihood he belonged to the tribe of the Luceres, which had hitherto been held subordinate. For the Senate had been chosen only from the Ramnes and the Tities or Sabines. There were no Luceres in the Senate, except perhaps some few whom king Tullus had added from the Alban families which he settled on the Cælian hill. But of late the Luceres had been waxing in power. The Albans had been added to their ranks, and no doubt this addition had made them more Latin, more like the other Romans, and less like the Etrurians. It might well be, therefore, that Tarquin was able by their means to raise himself to kingly power. This power he soon began to use for the purpose of raising those by whom he himself had risen. Hence we find him choosing 100 fresh members into the Senate, who were all of the Lucerian tribe (Dionys., iii., 67).—*Minorum gentium.* "(Fathers) of the younger houses." The *patres majorum gentium* were those whose fathers were patricians under Romulus and Tatius.—*Factio haud dubia regis.* "Undoubtedly a faction of the king's." Compare preceding note.

29, 30. *Appiolas.* Appiolæ must have been a place of some importance from what is said here of the spoils, since they furnished Tarquinius with the means of celebrating the Ludi Magni for the first time, while, according to Valerius of Antium, they supplied the funds with which he commenced the construction of the Capitol. (Val. Ant. ap. Plin., *H. N.*, iii., 5, 9, § 70.) The site is quite uncertain, but Gell and Nibby place it at a spot about eleven miles from Rome and a mile to the south of the Appian Way.—*Prædaque inde majore*, etc. "And booty having been brought back thence, greater than what had been the fame of the war," i. e., greater than could have been expected from a war of so little notoriety. Supply the ellipsis as follows: *majore præda quam tanta præda fuisset quanta belli fama fuerat.*

32, 33. *Tunc primum Circo*, etc. The Circus Maximus was situated in a valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills, and was called Maximus as a distinction from the Flaminian and other similar buildings, which it far surpassed in extent and splendor. To Tarquinius Priscus tradition assigned the first building of a circus, on the site of which the Circus Maximus was afterwards erected. If ever there was a circus of Tarquinius, it may have been rebuilt after the destruction of the city by the Gauls. This edifice, whatever may have been its origin, was enlarged by Cæsar, and embellished by Augustus and Tiberius. In the time of Nero it was burned down (Tac., *Ann.*, xv., 35). Trajan repaired it; and under Antoninus it became

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partially ruined, but was afterwards restored.—*Loca divisa patribus*, etc. No building of course existed at this time, but "spaces were merely parted off for the senators and equites," where they might each erect for themselves platforms from which to see the shows. These were called *fori*, from their resemblance to the deck of a ship. This course, with its surrounding scaffoldings, was termed *circus*, either because the spectators stood around (*circa*) to see the shows, or because the procession and races went round in a circuit. (Varr., *L. L.*, v., 153, 154, ed. Müller.)

34–39. *Spectavere furcis*, etc. "They beheld the games, fork-shaped props supporting the platforms, which were in height each twelve feet from the ground."—*Acciti.* "Called in," i. e., sent for.—*Sollemnes deinde annui*, etc. "These games thenceforth continued regularly, recurring every year." *Sollemnis* has here the force of "recurring at stated intervals," that interval being a year.—*Porticus tabernæque.* "Arcades and shops." In the public porticoes or arcades of Rome, which were exceedingly numerous and very extensive (as those around the Forum and the Campus Martius), a variety of business was occasionally transacted: we find that lawsuits were conducted there, meetings of the Senate held, goods exhibited for sale, etc.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

2–17. *Intervenit.* "Obstructed."—*Ac prohibere.* "And stop them."—*Trepidatum est.* "There was a panic."—*Spatio.* "An interval."—*Addere alias constituit.* He wished to double the number of the equestrian centuries, and to name the three new ones after himself and two of his friends, not, as Livy says, to leave them distinguished by his own name merely.—*Inaugurato.* "After consulting the auguries." More literally, "after bringing the auguries to bear upon the case." Observe the force of *in* in composition, and that *inaugurato* is much stronger than the simple *augurato.*—*Neque mutari, neque novum*, etc. "That neither could anything be changed (in the existing constitution) nor anything new be established (therein) unless the birds should have given their sanction." In the case of the earlier Roman kings, we find the priesthood upon the best terms with the ruling power, being closely connected with it by the common interests of caste. But here, in the case of Tarquinius, a change of sentiment would appear to have taken place. This is made still more apparent by the words *eludensque artem*, "and ridiculing his art," which immediately follow.—*Age dum, divine tu*, etc. "Come, prithee, thou diviner, bring the auguries to bear, (and say) whether," etc. The pronoun *tu* is meant to denote contempt. Compare the English form of expression, "Mr. Diviner."

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18-24. *In augurio rem expertus.* "Having tried the matter by augury."—*Atqui.* "Why."—*Te novacula cotem discissurum.* "That you (for instance) will be likely to cut through," etc., i. e., whether you could cut through.—*Hæc.* A razor and whetstone which the king handed to the augur.—*Aves tuæ.* "Those birds of yours." Ironical. —*Capite velato.* Compare note on chap. xviii., 27.—*In comitio.* "In the comitium." The comitium was the place where the comitia were held.—*Ad lævam curiæ fuit.* Both statue and curia had disappeared before Livy's time.—*Sitam fuisse.* "Was deposited."

26, 27. *Auguriis certe*, etc. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the old legend, it is certain, says Livy, that the college of augurs, and the science of augury, exercised great influence in the state.—*Concilia populi*, etc. "Meetings of the people, assemblies of the centuries, the most important concerns of the state were put off," etc. By *concilia populi* are meant the *comitia curiata.* Compare Aul. Gell., xv., 27. "*Is qui non universum populum, sed partem aliquam adesse jubet, non comitia sed concilium edicere jubet.*" And again the expression *exercitus vocati* (literally, "armies called forth") refers to the Roman custom of attending the *Comitia centuriata.* The whole people was conceived as an army (*exercitus*, or, according to the more ancient term, *classis*), and was therefore divided into two parts; the cavalry (*equites*), and infantry (*pedites*), though it is not by any means necessary to suppose that the people assembled in arms. (Compare Weissenborn, *ad loc.*)

30, 31. *Numero tantum alterum adjecit.* "He added as many more to the number," i. e., doubled the number. *Alterum tantum* is like the Greek τοσοῦτον ἕτερον. *Numerum* is understood.—*Ut mille et ducenti*, etc. The three centuries which Tarquinius added were called the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres *Posteriores.* It must be borne in mind that although to the three hundred equites of Romulus ten Alban turmæ were added by Tullus Hostilius, making the number of equites 600, still the number of centuries was not increased, and each century therefore contained 200 men. Hence when Tarquinius brought in his new arrangement he doubled the 600 of Tullus Hostilius, and the three centuries of *Ramnes, Titienses*, and *Luceres* contained each 200 *priores* and 200 *posteriores.* The true number of the whole therefore is 1200. Some of the best manuscripts, it is true, give 1800, which has been adopted by most modern editors; but this number is opposed to Livy's previous account, and cannot be supported by the statement of Plutarch (*Rom.* 20), that, after the union with the Sabines, the equites were increased to 600; because the original 300 are spoken of as the representatives of the *three* tribes; whereas, according to Plutarch's account, the original 300 ought only to represent the Ramnes.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

4–13. *Magnam vim lignorum.* Dionysius (iii., 56) says dry wood and fagots (*ξύλων αὄων καὶ φρυγάνων*).—*Et, pleraque, in ratibus*, etc. "And when most of it (being placed) on floats, having been driven against, kept sticking amid the piles, they set the bridge on fire." This agrees with the account given by Dionysius, who speaks of boats and floats (*σκάφας καὶ σχεδίας*) employed on the occasion. Some editors less correctly punctuate as follows, *in ratibus, impacta sublicis, cum hærerent*, making *ratibus* refer either to the timbers of the bridge, or to boats which formed the body of the structure, and connecting the term in construction with *hærerent*. The bridge meant is the one built by the Sabines at the confluence of the Anio and Tiber.—*Et fusis.* A better reading than *effusis.*—*Ad urbem cognita.* "Being recognized at the city."—*Insignem.* "Plainly known."

18–26. *Petebant.* The imperfect here denotes the striving to attain an object.—*Tenuere.* "Reached them."—*Vulcano.* Tarquinius had vowed that he would burn the spoils taken from the enemy in honor of this deity, because it had been through his agency that the bridge had been consumed and the victory thus won.—*Gesturos.* Along with the personal pronoun (*se*) the copula is commonly omitted with the infinitive future.—*Tumultuario milite.* "With a hastily levied soldiery." Soldiers were called *tumultuarii*, when there was no time to enlist them in the regular way, in consequence of the urgent state of affairs.—*Perditis jam prope rebus.* "Their affairs having now become almost ruined."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1–3. *Collatia.* An ancient city of Latium, about ten miles east of Rome, between Gabii and the Anio. Virgil notices it as one of the colonies of Alba (*Æn.*, vi., 774); a clear proof that he regarded it as a Latin town; and Dionysius also distinctly attributes it to that people. It is strange, therefore, that Livy speaks of it here as if it had been a Sabine city previous to its conquest by the Romans.—*Egerius.* He obtained in consequence of this the surname of Collatinus, which he transmitted to his descendants; and Lucius Tarquinius, the husband of Lucretia, is represented as residing at Collatia at the time of the siege of Ardea. (Dionys., iv., 64.)—*In præsidio.* "Over the garrison."

6–13. *Oratores.* "Deputies."—*Estne populus Collatinus in sua potestate?* "Are the people of Collatia under their own control?" i. e., are they independent, and able to act for themselves?—*Utensilia.*

This means generally anything for use. It may be here rendered "implements."—*At ego recipio.* "Well, then, I receive them."

14–18. *Priscis Latinis bellum fecit.* This was in fact a continuation of the war mentioned as having been begun in chap. xxxv.—*Ubi.* For *in quo.—Ad universæ rei dimicationem.* "To an action decisive of the main issue," i. e., an action involving in its issue the decision of the whole war.—*Nomen Latinum.* Consult note on chap. x., line 13.—*Corniculum, Ficulea vetus,* etc. All these places were situated beyond the Anio, between Rome and the Sabine territory. Of these *Crustumerium* and *Nomentum* alone deserve some mention. Mention has already been made (chap. xi.) of a colony sent to the former place by Romulus, and yet, notwithstanding this tale of a colony, we find it next appearing as an independent city in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, and as having been conquered by that monarch from the Prisci Latini. On this occasion, Dionysius tells us that it received a fresh accession of Roman colonists; but this did not secure its allegiance, and we will find it in the second book of Livy (chap. xix.) captured for the third time in the first years of the Roman republic, B.C. 499. *Nomentum* was the most important of all these towns, and was situated on the Sabine frontier, about four miles from the Tiber, and fourteen and a half from Rome, by the road which derived from it the name of *Via Nomentana.* The site is now occupied by a village which bears the name of *La Mentana,* a corruption of *Civitas Nomentana.—Ad Latinos defecerant.* Referring to Sabines who had revolted to the Latin league.

21–29. *Ut non quietior,* etc. "So that the people did not enjoy more rest at home than they had in warfare abroad."—*Parat.* He does not seem ever to have completed the work, and hence the employment of *parare.—Aliasque interjectas,* etc. "And the other valleys lying between the hills."—*Quia ex planis locis,* etc. "Since they did not easily carry off the waters from the flat grounds." The subject of *evehebant* is *loca* and *convalles.—Cloacis fastigio in Tiberim ductis.* "By sewers led down by a slope into the Tiber." Some read *e fastigio,* "from the high ground." The most famous of these was the *Cloaca Maxima,* or great drain, which ran from the valley of the Circus Maximus and joined the Tiber below the island. The purpose of this great work was to carry off the waters which collected in stagnant pools in the ground to the west of the Palatine hill, and which was known by the name of the Velabrum. So admirable is the workmanship that at the present day, though the stones are kept in their places simply by their own weight, without mortar or cement, not one block has been displaced in the part of it which has been explored, and a knife-blade can hardly be inserted between the joints. It is formed in a semicircular vault, measuring nearly fourteen feet in diameter,

and consists of three concentric arches, each composed of hewn blocks of hard volcanic stone.—*Occupat fundamentis.* "He takes previous possession of by foundations," i. e., before it could be appropriated to any other purpose. Observe the peculiar force of *occupo*.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1, 2. *Eo tempore*, etc. The account of the early life and death of Servius Tullius is full of marvels, and cannot be regarded as possessing any title to a real historical narrative. According to the general tradition, he was of servile origin, and owed his elevation to the favor of the gods, and especially to the protection of the goddess Fortune, with whom he was always a favorite. His mother, Ocrisia, according to this same tradition, a female slave of the queen, and one of the captives taken at Corniculum, was offering cakes to the Lar, or household genius, when she saw in the fire on the hearth an apparition of the deity. Tanaquil, who understood the portent, commanded her to dress herself as a bride, and to shut herself up in the chamber. There she became pregnant by the god, whom some Romans maintained to be the household genius, and others Vulcan; the former supporting their opinion by the festival which Servius established in honor of the Lares, the latter by the tradition that the statue of Servius was placed in the temple of Fortune, and remained unhurt when the temple itself was once destroyed by fire. (Ovid., *Fast.*, vi., 625 seqq.; Dionys., iv., 2.) There are two other legends respecting the birth of Servius which have more of an historical air, and may therefore be regarded as of later origin. One related that his mother was a slave from Tarquinii, that his father was a client of the king, and that he himself was brought up in the palace with the other household slaves, and waited at the royal table. (Cic., *De Rep.*, ii., 21.) The other legend, which gives Servius a nobler origin, and which is therefore preferred by both Dionysius and Livy, is related by the latter at the close of the present chapter.

Cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen. The Etrurian tradition respecting Servius was entirely different from those just mentioned, and made him a native of Etruria. This tradition was related by the emperor Claudius, in a speech made upon the admission of some Lugdunensian Gauls into the Senate, and fragments of which are still preserved. In this speech Claudius says that, according to the Etrurian account, Servius was the faithful companion of Cæles Vibenna, and shared all his fortunes; that at last, being overpowered by a variety of disasters, he quitted Etruria with the remains of the army which had served under Cæles, went to Rome, and occupied the Cælian hill, calling it so after his former commander; that he exchanged his Etrurian name,

Mastarna, for the Roman one of Servius Tullius, obtained the kingly power, and wielded it to the great good of the state.

3–8. *Arsisse.* "Blazed with fire."—*Inde.* "Thereupon."—*Reges.* "The royal pair."—*Familiarium.* "Of the members of the household," i. e., the slaves. Compare Senec., *Ep.*, 5, 6, 12. "*Majores nostri . . . appellaverunt servos, quod etiam nunc durat, familiares.*"—*Donec.* "(But to let him remain quiet) until."

10–16. *Viden'*. For *videsne.*—*Tam humili cultu educamus.* "We are bringing up in so humble a style."—*Scire licet.* "Be assured (from this omen)." Literally, "It is permitted you to know."—*Regiæ adflictæ.* "Of our palace when plunged in distress." Literally, "Dashed to the ground."—*Materiam ingentis*, etc. "This source of great glory publicly and privately," i. e., both to the state and to our own family.—*Liberûm loco.* "As a child of their own." Liberûm for *liberorum.*—*Quibus ingenia*, etc. "By which men's minds are aroused to the proper supporting of exalted rank," i. e., to maintain exalted rank with becoming dignity.

17–29. *Evenit facile, quod diis cordi esset.* "What was pleasing to the gods easily happened." Observe here the employment of the subjunctive to express the views or sentiments of others. It is the same therefore as saying, "What was pleasing to the gods, as far as a mortal may presume to conjecture."—*Evasit.* "Turned out to be."—*Ulla arte.* "In any accomplishment."—*Quacumque de causa.* "From whatever cause (it was so conferred)."—*Corniculo.* Compare chap. xxxviii.—*Ob unicam nobilitatem.* "On account of her distinguished rank."—*Prohibitam.* "Having been exempted." [*Domo.* Madvig reads *domi.* Either word is equivalent to our conversational "at Tarquin's," while *in domo*, two lines below, is "in the house."]—*Mulieres.* The queen and the widow of Servius Tullius.—*A parvo.* "From infancy."—*Fortunam matris.* "That his mother's lot."

CHAPTER XL.

5–8. *Pro indignissimo.* "As the greatest indignity." The neuter of the superlative taken as a noun.—*Tutoris fraude.* They conceived that they had a hereditary right to the throne. They were probably urged on by their brethren the Titienses, and others of the older gentes, who could not bear that another upstart should be king.—*Non modo vicinæ*, etc. Observe that *non modo* is here for *non modo non*, and consult Zumpt, § 724 *b.*—*Vicinæ.* As Numa had been. Some read *civicæ*, following inferior manuscripts. This reading, however, as Zumpt remarks, is quite inadmissible, because if Tarquin had been

born a citizen, the sons of Ancus would have had no reason to complain. It must also be remarked that Livy never uses the adjective *civicus* for *civilis*.—*Sed ne Italicæ quidem stirpis.* Alluding to his alleged Grecian origin.—*Tum impensius iis*, etc. Observe the change of construction, producing an anacoluthon, and converting *filii*, which precedes, into a nominative absolute.

11–20. *Post centesimum fere annum.* Though one hundred and thirty-eight years had elapsed since the death of Romulus, yet they limit the time to one hundred, to excite greater odium against Tarquin.—*Salva.* "Still living."—*Arcere.* "To prevent."—*Sed et injuriæ dolor*, etc. Three distinct reasons are given for assassinating Tarquinius rather than Servius Tullius, and these are severally marked and distinguished by *et—et—tum*, the second only having *quia*. Sauppe's suggestion, however, of *et cum gravior* is exceedingly ingenious and plausible.—*Tum.* "And then again."

23–32. *Quibus consueti erant*, etc. "Each with the iron implements of agriculture, to which they were accustomed." Observe that the ablative *agrestibus ferramentis* has the same force as if *cum* were expressed with it.—*Appellarent.* "Appealed unto."—*Vocati ad regem pergunt.* "Being summoned before the king, they proceed thither." *Ad regem* belongs to both *vocati* and *pergunt*.—*In vicem.* "By turns." One after the other.—*Ex composito.* "According to previous concert."—*Dum intentus*, etc. "While the king, attentive to him, turned himself entirely away (from the other), this other," etc. Some manuscripts read *adverteret*.—*Elatam securim in caput dejecit.* "Raised his axe and drove it into his head." Whenever one of the actions precedes the other, the perfect participle of both passive and deponent verbs must be used, although in English we prefer connecting them by "and," and describing them as simultaneous. (Zumpt, § 635, note 1.)

CHAPTER XLI.

1–13. *Moribundum.* "In the agonies of death." (Zumpt, § 248.)—*Excepissent.* "Had taken up."—*Illos fugientes.* "The men who were endeavoring to escape."—*Populi mirantium.* Observe that *populi*, here being taken collectively, is followed by *mirantium*, agreeing with it in the plural. This, however, is a bold and rare construction. Compare Zumpt, § 366.—*Arbitros ejecit.* "She thrust out all eye-witnesses."—*Si destituat spes*, etc. "In case hope abandon her, she provides other safeguards."—*Accito.* "Called unto her." From *accio*.—*Ne socrum inimicis*, etc. "Not to suffer his mother-in-law to be a laughing-stock to their enemies." *Socrum* from *socrus*, and

this contracted for *socerus.*—*Alienis manibus.* "By the hands of others."

15–18. *Hoc caput.* "That this head of thine."—*Illa cœlestis flamma.* Alluding to the lambent flame that played around his head when a boy.—*Et nos peregrini regnavimus.* That is, our example, who were foreigners like yourself, should also stimulate you.—*Qui sis.* "Who you are," i. e., what a noble prize you have long been striving for, and how fortune has thus far aided you.—*Si tua re subita consilia torpent.* "If your plans are paralyzed by the suddenness of the occurrence."

19–21. *Clamor impetusque.* "The shouting and the rush."—*Novam viam.* This must not be confounded with the *Nova via*, built by Caracalla close to the *Thermæ Antoninianæ*, or baths of Caracalla, and reckoned one of the handsomest in Rome. (Spart., *Carac.*, 2.)—*Ad Jovis Statoris.* "Near the temple of Jupiter Stator." Supply *ædem.* A very common ellipsis. Compare note on chap. xxxiii., line 23.

23–29. *Sopitum fuisse regem.* "That the king was (merely) stunned."—*Jam ad se redisse.* "That he was already come to himself again."—*Omnia salubria esse.* "That all the symptoms were favorable."—*Interim Servio Tullio*, etc. "That he ordered the people meanwhile to be obedient to the authority of Servius Tullius." The phrase *dicto audientem esse alicui* is of common occurrence, signifying to obey or hearken unto the mandate or authority of one. [*Dicto audire* is never used, nor *dicto audiens* without some part of the verb *sum.*]—*Cum trabea.* "With the trabea." The trabea was a toga ornamented with purple horizontal stripes. It was the robe of the kings, and descended from them to the consuls, by whom it was worn in public solemnities, such as opening the temple of Janus. It was worn also by the equites at their review before the Censor.—*Alia decernit.* "He decides some cases."

31–37. *Alienæ fungendæ vicis.* "Of discharging another's duty." In early Latin, *fungor*, *utor*, *potior*, *vescor*, etc., were frequently joined with the accusative. This is the reason why even classical writers, though they do not follow this usage, but give the ablative, nevertheless employ the construction with the future participle passive, where otherwise the gerund only could have been used. (Zumpt, § 406 and § 657.)—*Palam factum est.* "The matter was made public." Some read *palam facto et comploratione in regia orta, Servius*, etc.—*Primus regnavit.* "Was the first who reigned."—*Ut nuntiatum est.* "As soon as it was announced."—*Suessam Pometiam.* Suessa Pometia was a very ancient city of Latium, which had ceased to exist in historical times, and the position of which is entirely unknown, except that it bordered upon the Pomtinus Ager, or Pomtinæ Paludes, v

which it was supposed to have given name.—*Exsulatum.* "To live out of their native land." The supine.

Whether we are to follow the Etrurian or the Roman tradition about Servius is one of those points on which no certainty can be by any possibility obtained. So much, however, seems clear, that Servius usurped the throne. He seized the royalty upon the murder of the former king, without being elected by the Senate and the comitia, and he introduced great constitutional changes, apparently to strengthen his power against a powerful faction in the state. It is equally clear that his reign came to a violent end: he was dethroned and murdered by the descendants of the previous king, in league with his enemies in the state, who sought to recover the power of which they had been dispossessed. It may be conjectured, therefore, that Tarquinius Priscus and Tarquinius Superbus were both of Etrurian origin, and represent an Etrurian sovereignty at Rome, and that the reign of Servius Tullius represents a successful attempt of the Latins to recover their independence, or, in any case, the sovereignty of an Etrurian people different from the one to which the Tarquins belonged. (Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, vol. ii., p. 1186.)

CHAPTER XLII.

1–11. *Nec jam publicis*, etc. "Nor did Servius now begin to secure his power more by schemes of a public than of a private nature." His public schemes were the *census* and *comitia centuriata;* his private ones were the marriage of his daughters.—*Nec rupit tamen*, etc. "Nor yet did he break through the inevitable decree of fate, so as that envy of the sovereign power should not render all ties, even among the members of his own family, faithless and hostile."—*Peropportune.* Because a foreign war usually puts a stop to intestine commotions,—*Indutiæ.* The truce renewed in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. Compare chap. xxx., line 27.

12, 13. *Fortuna.* Compare note on the good fortune ascribed in popular tradition to Servius, chap. xxxix., line 1.—*Haud dubius rex*, etc. "Being now indubitably king, whether he put the sentiments of the *patres* or the *plebs* to the proof." The subjunctive *periclitaretur* means, remarks Zumpt, that if he had tried either the one party or the other he would have found their sentiments in his favor, but that, as no proof was necessary, he had tried neither.

15–23. *Adgrediturque inde*, etc. "And he then proceeds to a work of peace of the greatest importance," i. e., a work of civil polity.—*Conditorem omnis*, etc. "As the founder of all distinction in the

state, as well as of the several orders, by means of which any difference appears between the degrees of rank and fortune." The term *dignitas* refers to the distinction made between the equites and those appointed to serve on foot; and *fortuna* to the classes instituted by Servius, which were ranged according to fortune.—*Censum.* "The census." This was a quinquennial registering of a man's age, family, profession, property, and residence, by which the amount of his taxes was regulated. Every individual was obliged on oath to give a fair return.—*Pro habitu pecuniarum.* "In proportion to the amount of property."—*Hunc ordinem.* "The arrangement which still subsists."—*Decorum.* "Well suited."

For some remarks on the Census, and on the arrangement by classes, consult the concluding note of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

1–3. *Centum milium æris*, etc. "A fortune of 100,000 asses of copper or more." Supply *assium*, not *pondo*, for it must be recollected that the numbers given by Livy in his account of the fortunes of the different classes are not the ancient ones, when the *as* was a pound weight of copper, but those of the sixth century of the city. The original numbers were probably 20,000, 15,000, 10,000, 5000, and 2000 *asses* respectively, which were increased fivefold when the *as* was coined so much lighter (Böckh, *Metrol. Untersuch.*, c. xxix.).—*Æris.* Properly speaking, the Roman *æs* was a compound metal, commonly copper and tin, and therefore a kind of bronze.—*Centurias.* In this account of Livy we translate *centuria* by the term "century," but in reality a much larger division is meant. Neither had the *centuriæ* in the different classes the same number of men. Thus, for instance, the whole multitude who were possessed of less than the fifth class were formed into only one century.

3–7. *Quadragenas seniorum*, etc. "Forty each of the elder and the younger men." Observe the force of the distributive. The *juniores* were from seventeen to forty-five years of age; the *seniores* from forty-five to sixty. Those above sixty years were not ranked in the centuries at all, being regarded as superannuated. And as they could not serve, neither could they vote in the *Comitia Centuriata;* a strange provision, that was in force in Cicero's time (*pro Sext. Rosc.*, 35). Such old men (*sexagenarii*) were therefore called *depontani*, because they could not pass the gangway (*pons*) which led into the voting booth (*ovile*).—*Prima classis.* Sometimes they were simply called *classis*, or "the class." Hence we have in later Latin the epithet *classicus*, applied to writers of the first class. (Aul. Gell., vii., 13.)—

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Clipeum. This neuter form is also used by Livy elsewhere (bk. xxxiv., chap. lii.; bk. xxxv., chap. x., etc.), and occurs likewise in Virgil (*Æn.*, ix., 709).

9, 10. *Duæ fabrum centuriæ.* "Two centuries of artificers." These consisted of *fabri ferrarii*, or smiths, and *fabri tignarii*, or carpenters. Dionysius says that these belonged to the second class. Cicero, on the other hand, assigns the *fabri* to the first class, as Livy does, but only as one century (*de Rep.*, 11, 22). The difficulty arising from these different accounts may be removed by the supposition that of the two centuries of the fabri, one was assigned to each of the first two classes.—*Ut machinas in bello ferrent.* Lipsius thinks that we ought to read *facerent* here instead of *ferrent*, but we must, as Zumpt correctly remarks, understand the repairing of old and the making of new engines, as implied in their careful transportation.

13, 14. *Viginti conscriptæ centuriæ.* Ten of old and ten of young men.—*Scutum pro clipeo.* The clypeus was round, and shorter than the oblong *scutum*. It had been given to the first class because they had also the *lorica* as an additional protection. But, as the second class had no *lorica*, they needed the longer *scutum* as a protection.

15, 16. *Tertiæ classis*, etc. "He enacted that the fortune of the third class should be down to (one) of 50,000." That is, the minimum qualification was to be this sum, or, in other words, their fortune was to be from 75,000 to 50,000 *asses*. We must understand another *censum*, governed by *in*, and itself governing *milium*. Drakenborch, however, conjectures *milia*, and remarks that *milium* is an error arising from the manuscripts having merely the abbreviated form of expression, namely, *in L. M.*—*Hœc.* Old form for *hæ*. The ancient form of this pronoun was *hice*, *hœce*, *hoce*, in which we recognize the demonstrative *ce*. The cases ending in *c* arose from the omission of the *e*, which is still found in old Latin, as *hance legem*, *hace lege*. This will explain the obsolete form *hœc* for *hæ* or *hœce*. (Zumpt, § 132, note.)

20, 21. *Hastam et verutum.* "A spear and spit-like javelin." The *hasta* was intended for close fight, the *verutum* for hurling at the foe. The latter had a sharp, round, iron point, like a spit (*veru*), whence its name. Its shaft was three and a half feet long, and its point five inches. The *verutum* was borrowed by the Romans from the Volsci. It was used also by the Samnites.—*Quinta classis aucta.* "The fifth class was increased (in the number of centuries)," i. e., contained more centuries than any of those that went before, excepting the first.

22, 23. *In his accensi*, etc. "Along with these were the supernumeraries, the horn-blowers, and the trumpeters, distributed into

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three centuries." The *accensi* were a body of reserve troops, who followed the Roman army without having any military duties to perform, and who were taken one by one to supply any vacancies that might occur in the legions. There is considerable difficulty about the present passage. The natural meaning of the words *in his* would be "among these," that is, that the three centuries just mentioned formed part and parcel of the thirty. This, however, could never have been Livy's idea, since then the sum total of the centuries of horse and foot would have been only 191. We must regard *in his*, therefore, as equivalent to *cum his*, and must consider the three centuries in question as merely belonging to the fifth class, but counted separately, making the whole number of centuries in this class to have amounted to 33. Some editors, viewing *accensi* as a verb, change *tres* to *duas*, and render as follows: "Among these were reckoned the horn-blowers and trumpeters, distributed into two centuries," while others again strike out *in*, and translate, "to these were reckoned," etc. Both of these modes, however, are objectionable. According to the explanation which we have adopted, the sum total of the centuries of horse and foot, as given by Livy, will be 194. Dionysius, on the other hand, makes it to have been 193, reckoning only two centuries of horn-blowers and trumpeters; and this number of his is undoubtedly more correct than Livy's, since, according to Livy's number, cases might have arisen in which it would be impossible to obtain a majority, as 97 might have voted for a measure, and 97 against it. Moreover, Cicero (*De Rep.*, ii., 22) describes 96 as the minority.

23–25. *Censebatur.* "Was rated at." Construed with the ablative of estimate or value. (Zumpt, § 456).—*Hoc minor census*, etc. "Property lower than this comprehended the remaining multitude."—*Una centuria.* This century, however, was subdivided into the *proletarii, capite censi*, and, according to some, *accensi velati.* The last mentioned were those whose property was at least 1500 *asses*, or originally 300 *asses;* the *proletarii* were those who had at least 375 *asses*, or originally 75 *asses*, while the *capite censi* were all those whose property was less than the sum last mentioned, and they, in common with the *proletarii*, were never called upon to serve until the time of Marius.—*Immunis militia.* This remark, strictly speaking, applies to the *proletarii* and *capite censi*, not to the *accensi.* For the ablative with *immunis*, cf. Zumpt, § 437, note 2.

26–28. *Ex primoribus civitatis.* "From among the chief men of the state." They were chosen from the richest and most distinguished families in the state, plebeian as well as patrician.—*Tribus ab Romulo institutis.* "Three having been originally established by Romulus." Some render "out of the three established," etc., but then the preposition *e* ought to have been expressed. The construction is rather

the ablative absolute. Livy means that Servius subdivided the three old centuries of Romulus, which Tarquinius Priscus had merely doubled as regards the number of men contained in each, into six separate centuries.—*Sub iisdem, quibus*, etc. "Under the same names by which they had been originally instituted." That is, *Ramnes primi et secundi, Titienses primi et secundi; Luceres primi et secundi.* Compare chap. xxxvi., *sub fin.*

29–31. *Ad equos emendos*, etc. Not only for the purchase of a horse in the case of each eques, but also for the maintenance of a groom, the procuring of a second horse for the use of the latter, the buying of caparisons, etc. Still the sum here mentioned, as well as the tax laid on *viduæ*, would seem so large as to be almost incredible, especially when we take into account that one hundred and twenty-six years afterwards a sheep was only reckoned at ten *asses* and an ox at one hundred, in the tables of penalties. (Aul. Gell., xi., 1.) It is better, therefore, to follow Böckh's opinion, already referred to, namely, that the sums of money mentioned in the Servian census are not given in *asses* of a pound weight, but in the reduced *asses* of the first Punic War. Compare note on line 1 of the present chapter.—*Et, quibus equos alerent*, etc. "And single women were assigned, by means of whom they might maintain their horses." Observe that by *viduæ* here are meant single women, that is, maidens and widows, not widows alone. Orphans (*orbi*) were also brought under this same tax. This was done, as Niebuhr remarks, on the principle that in a military state the women and children, if their means allowed it, ought to contribute for those who fight in behalf of them and the commonwealth; it being borne in mind that they were not included in the census.—*Hæc omnia in dites*, etc. "All these burdens were made to lean off from the poor upon the rich."

33–38. *Non enim, ut a Romulo traditum*, etc. "For the franchise was not given indiscriminately to all individually, with the same power and the same right as the other kings had observed it, on having been handed down from Romulus, but gradations were established," etc.—*Vis omnis penes primores*, etc. Because in the *comitia centuriata* each century, whatever the number of men who composed it, had but one vote, so that a century of the rich, though very much smaller than one of the poor, had an equal vote.—*Ibi si variaret*, etc. "If there occurred a difference of opinion among these, which rarely happened, the practice was that the centuries of the second class should be summoned." Supply *mos fuit* before *ut secundæ classis vocarentur*, an ellipsis easily deducible from what immediately precedes. If, however, the eighteen centuries of equites and the eighty centuries of the first class were united in opinion, there was a majority at once, and it was unnecessary to poll any more.

40. *Nec mirari oportet*, etc. "Nor ought we to wonder that this arrangement, which at present exists, since the tribes were increased to thirty-five, their number being (virtually) doubled by means of the centuries of juniors and seniors, does not agree with the amount (of centuries) established by Servius Tullius." The meaning of these obscure but very important words appears to be as follows: It ought not to occasion any surprise that the Servian constitution, thus far described, does not agree with the arrangement which exists at the present day, since the latter first came in when the number of tribes was increased to thirty-five (literally, "after thirty-five tribes were filled up"), that is, after A.U.C. 513, and when these tribes were virtually doubled by the centuries of younger and elder men; whereas Servius made only four tribes, and these limited to the city, and did not connect them in any way with the centuries. Livy does not say that since A.U.C. 513 there have been seventy centuries, but in effect seventy tribes (i. e., half-tribes). About the number of the centuries he says nothing, partly because he considers it too well known to require any mention, and partly because he is here merely considering the discrepancies, not the points of resemblance, between the two constitutions. As to the question about the manner in which the combination of the *Comitia Centuriata* and *Tributa* was effected, consult Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, *s.v.* Comitia.

44–46. *Quadrifariam enim*, etc. The four city tribes were called by the same name as the regions which they occupied, namely, *Suburana*, *Esquilina*, *Collina*, and *Palatina*. Livy, it will be observed, says nothing about the number of the country tribes, and we are indebted to Fabius Pictor, the oldest of the Roman annalists, and to Varro (*ap. Non.*, p. 43) for the number, namely, twenty-six.—*Tribus a tributo.* It is more natural to suppose that *tributum* was so called because paid by the *tribes*. (Varro, *L. L.*, iv., 36.) The term originally referred to the *three* Romulian tribes, *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*.—*Nam ejus quoque æqualiter*, etc. "For the system of contributing this too, in even proportion, according to every one's property, was established by the same monarch."

We have already spoken of the growth of the Plebs or Commons, and shown how Tarquinius Priscus raised the richest and most powerful houses of this class to be members of the Patrician tribes. But still the mass of the plebs continued to live as before upon the Aventine, without having art or part in the affairs of the Roman people. The *Populus*, or Body Politic, still consisted only of Patricians; but the Plebeians were every day increasing in numbers and wealth, and it was to be feared that if they were much longer shut out from all part in public affairs, they might rise against the Patricians, and take by force what they could not get as a free gift, and so the Aventine

would become the chief place of Rome instead of the Palatine. Servius took measures to guard against this danger by admitting the Plebeians into full citizenship, and made them in great measure equal to their Patrician brethren. He did not, however, raise the plebeian families to patrician rank, and make them members of the Curiæ, but he created a new popular assembly, which was to include all the citizens, Patricians and Plebeians alike. Hence arose the *Comitia Centuriata*. But though safeguards so many and so great were provided in favor of property, the new assembly of Servius conferred a great and positive boon on the Plebeians. It must be remembered that before this time they were outside the *Populus*, or Body Politic, altogether. They were still excluded from the *Curiæ*, or Assembly of the Patricians; and so far as this involved political rights, the name of *Populus* was still confined to the old Burgesses. But in reality the Plebeians were now made members of the *Populus;* for the new Centuriate Assembly slowly but surely assumed to itself all the political rights which had formerly belonged to the Curiate Assembly alone; and though it is probable that all laws proposed in the former must receive the sanction of the latter, and also must be authorized by the Senate, which was at this time exclusively patrician, in time these checks were removed, and the Centuriate Assembly became the supreme legislative body of the state. (Liddell, *History of Rome*, vol. i., p. 55.)

CHAPTER XLIV.

1–7. *Quem maturaverat*, etc. "Which he had brought to a speedy close by the dread of a law that had been passed respecting those who were not registered," i. e., who had neglected to give in an estimate of their property, etc.—*In campo Martio.* The grammarians call this *prolepsis*, or anticipation, since the place did not get this name until afterwards. Still, however, the spot itself was proper enough for a public assembly, since an altar of Mars stood here even in the time of the kings.—*Suovetaurilibus.* "With the sacrifices called Suovetaurilia." These were so called because they consisted of a pig, a sheep, and a bull. Compare Festus: "*Solitaurilia hostiarum trium diversi generis immolationem significant, tauri, arietis, verris.*"—*Conditum lustrum.* "The closing of the lustrum." *Lustrum*, as here employed, included everything belonging to the census. The term, however, strictly means a lustration or purification of the whole Roman people. And then, as this purification took place only once in five years, after the censor had completed his census, the word lustrum was also employed to designate the time between two lustra.

8–14. *Milia octoginta.* Dionysius gives 84,700.—*Fabius Pictor.* The most ancient writer of Roman history in prose, and therefore

usually placed at the head of the Roman annalists. But there were composers of poetic legends or lays before his time. He served in the Gallic War, B.C. 225, and also in the second Punic War. He wrote in Greek. (Dionys., i., 6.) His work appears to have been one of great value, although Polybius charges him with great partiality towards the Romans, and both this writer and Dionysius speak of him as frequently inconsistent and inaccurate. A few fragments alone remain.—*Arma ferre possent.* That is, according to the regulation of Servius.—*Auget Esquilias.* The employment of *auget* here points to the fact that a part of this hill was already inhabited, and that it merely received a fuller population under Servius. There is no need, therefore, of Gronovius's emendation of *Esquiliis* in the ablative.

15–19. *Aggere et fossis et muro*, etc. For an account of the walls and circuit of the city under Servius Tullius, consult the article "*Roma*," in Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*—*Ita pomœrium profert.* "Thus he enlarges the pomœrium." Literally, "carries it forward."—*Postmœrium.* That is, *post murum*, or a space behind the wall.—*Circa murum.* "On both sides of the wall."—*Certis circa terminis.* "With distinct landmarks on both sides." These *termini* were stone pillars, called by Varro *Cippi pomœrii* (*L. L.*, v., 143, Müller), and were erected at certain intervals.

20–27. *Ut neque interiore parte*, etc. "So that the houses might neither be erected close to the walls, whereas now in general they even unite with them." That is, the city wall forms now the back of the house.—*Non magis quod post murum esset*, etc. "Not more because it was behind the wall than because the wall was behind it."—*Proferebantur.* "Were carried forward."

CHAPTER XLV.

1–6. *Magnitudine.* "By the enlargement."—*Formatis.* "Having been modelled."—*Consilio.* "By policy."—*Dianæ Ephesiæ.* The Ephesian Diana, or Artemis, was a divinity totally distinct from the Greek goddess of the same name. She seems to have been the personification of the fructifying and all-nourishing powers of nature. It is an opinion almost universally adopted that she was an ancient Asiatic divinity, whose worship the Greeks found established in Ionia when they settled there, and that, for some resemblance which they discovered, they applied to her the name of Artemis.—*A civitatibus Asiæ.* By *Asia* is here meant Asia Minor, and more particularly the Greek portion of it along the coast.

7–15. *Eum consensum*, etc. "Such unanimity and allied gods,"

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i. e., and the uniting together in the worship of one common divinity. —*Hospitia.* "Relations of hospitality."—*Fanum Dianæ.* It was built on the Aventine, and, as appears from Martial (vi., 64, 12), on that side of the mount which faced the Circus Maximus. Dionysius says that he saw in this temple the original *stele* or pillar containing the *Fœdus Latinum*, as well as that on which the *Lex Icilia* was engraved (iv., 26).—*Omissum ex omnium cura Latinorum.* "Dismissed from the thoughts of all the Latins." More literally, "from the solicitude," etc.—*Se fors dare visa est.* "A chance seemed to present itself." The Sabines, as well as the Latins, were struggling with the Romans for pre-eminence. This, which the Latins had resigned all hope of, the Sabine thought he could obtain for his own state.

17–22. *Fixa.* "Fixed up," i. e., after she had been immolated.—*Monumentum ei fuere miraculo.* "Were a memorial of that wonder."—*Dianæ immolassent.* To Diana, whose temple was built on the Aventine.—*Carmen.* "Prediction." Compare note on chap. xxiv., line 27.—*Ut prima.* More usual Latinity would be *ut primum.*

27–30. *Inceste.* "Without previous purification," i. e., with impure hands.—*Quin tu ante vivo*, etc. "Why do you not first wash yourself in running water?" Observe that *quin* is equivalent to *quî non, quî* being the ablative. Literally, "How do you not first," etc.—*Præfluit.* "Flows by."—*Religione tactus.* "Touched by a scruple of conscience."—*Qui cuperet.* "Since he desired." Observe the employment of the subjunctive to denote the reason or cause.—*Extemplo.* "Immediately." A better reading than *ex templo*, since thereby the eagerness of the Sabine is made more apparent, whereas *ex templo* merely intimates what, as Zumpt remarks, is self-evident.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1–6. *Quamquam jam usu*, etc. "Although he had now, through long-continued occupancy, become beyond a doubt the rightful possessor of the kingdom." The Romans considered that continuous possession for a certain period gave a right of ownership. The legal name for this was *usucapio*, answering to the English term prescription.—*Jactari voces.* "That remarks were thrown out."—*Ferre ad populum.* "To propose the question to the people." The *populus* are now the whole people assembled in the *Comitia Centuriata.* The kings were previously chosen in the *Comitia Curiata.*

9–14. *Adfectandi regni.* "Of seizing on the sovereign power." Compare Virg., *Æn.*, iii., 670: "*Nulla datur dextra affectare potestas.*"—*De agro plebis*, etc. This is noticed as the first trace of the

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Agrarian division by Niebuhr, vol. i., p. 161.—*In curia.* That is, in the Senate with the senators.—*Inquietum animum.* "His restless temper."

14–19. *Tulit enim et Romana*, etc. "For the Roman palace also (as well as that of other kings) presented an instance of tragic atrocity."—*Regnum.* "Reign."—*Filius neposne fuerit*, etc. Dionysius says that he was the grandson, following Piso, who argued on chronological grounds, as Dionysius does. But the old legend cared nothing for chronological niceties.—*Ediderim.* "I am inclined to pronounce him." Observe the force of the subjunctive in softening an assertion or statement. (Zumpt, § 527.)—*Arruntem.* Compare note on chap. xxxiv., line 9.

23–29. [*Ne duo.* *Ne* here stands contrary to rule for *ut non.* "Perhaps Livy here writes *ne* because he is mentally personifying the *Fortuna populi Romani*" (Seeley).]—*Fortuna, credo, populi Romani.* Because the marriage of two such violent spirits would have accelerated the king's death, which would have been an injurious event for the state, before his various measures were established, and a taste for freedom given.—*Constitui.* "Be firmly established."—*Civitatis mores.* "The principles of the constitution."—*Angebatur.* "Was tortured." [*Ferox Tullia.* This is contrary to the rule that proper names do not take epithets in prose. It is not merely "the high-spirited Tullia," but "that one of the Tullias who was high-spirited."]—*Eum virum dicere*, etc. "She called him a true man, and one truly sprung from royal blood."—*Muliebri cessaret audacia.* "She was deficient in the bold spirit which a woman ought to have."

29–41. *Contrahit eos.* "Draws them together."—*Ut fere fit malum*, etc. "As wickedness is in general most congenial to wickedness."—*Viri alieni.* "Of the other's husband."—*De viro ad fratrem*, etc. "About her own husband to his brother, about her own sister to her (sister's) husband."—*Viduam.* "An unmarried woman." Compare note on chap. xliii., line 30.—*Ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset.* "So that they must (each) languish away through life by reason of the dastardly conduct of others."—*Quo digna esset.* Observe the force of the subjunctive to indicate the sentiments of another, "of whom she was, as she affirmed, worthy." The indicative would have expressed the opinion of the historian himself.—*Regnum.* "The crown."—*Prope continuatis funeribus.* "By funerals happening almost in succession." That is, the funerals, preceded by murders, followed one another almost without any intermission.—*Magis.* "Rather."

As allusion has been made in a previous note to chronological discrepancies, it may not be amiss to state here that the story of the

Tarquins cannot be received as real history. The narrative is full of inconsistencies and improbabilities. It may suffice as a sample to remind the reader that the younger Tarquinius, who was expelled from the throne in mature age, was the son of the king who began to reign one hundred and seven years previously in the vigor of life; and that Servius Tullius, who married the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus shortly before he ascended the throne, immediately after his accession is the father of two daughters, whom he marries to the brothers of his own wife. Again, if, as the Annals gave out, Tarquinius Priscus came to Rome at the latest in the eighth year of the reign of Ancus, he must at least have reached his eightieth year when he was murdered, and Tanaquil cannot then have been under her seventy-fifth; so that his having left children of tender age behind him is in this view also out of the question. Moreover, if Ancus died in the fortieth year of Servius, his mother must then have been a hundred and fifteen years old. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 373.) Compare note at the close of chap. xli.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1–7. *Tum vero in dies*, etc. "Then indeed the old age of Servius began to be every day more harassed, his reign to be more disquieted." *Infestus* is here used in a passive sense, which in fact is its primary force, since it is nothing more, after all, than the old participle of *infero*.—*Gratuita.* "Useless," i. e., committed to no purpose.—*Parricidia.* The murders of near relatives, not acts of parricide. Consult note on chap. xiii., line 7.—*Nupta.* That is, married nominally, not in reality. She calls her present marriage a nominal one from the pusillanimity of her husband.—*Tacita.* "In silence." That is, without murmuring against the reigning monarch or taking any steps to remove him.

11, 12. *Pejus.* "For the worse." More usually *in pejus*.—*Quod istic cum ignavia est scelus.* "Because in thee crime is associated with cowardice." Observe that *istic*, the demonstrative adverb of the second person, is here equivalent to *in te*.—*Quin accingeris?* "Why dost thou not gird thyself (for the enterprise)?" *Quin*, as before, for *qui* (ablative) *non*. The passive of *accingo* has often, as here, a middle force. In entering on a journey, or other active business, the ancients were accustomed to form a part of the outer robe, which was usually loose and flowing, into a kind of girdle, by drawing its outer edge round the body and tying it in a knot in front, thus rendering the garment shorter and more convenient for action.

13–18. *Moliri.* "To toil after."—*Patris imago.* Equivalent to

nobilitas tua. An allusion to the Roman *Jus imaginum.*—*Domus regia.* Of Tarquinius, not of Servius.—*Creat vocatque regem.* The verb, contrary to the grammatical rule, sometimes agrees with the nearest of several nouns, as the one which is generally intended to be most emphatic. (Zumpt, § 370, note.)—*Quid frustraris?* "Why dost thou disappoint?"—*Regium.* "Of regal spirit."—*Facesse.* "Betake thyself."—*Devolvere retro ad stirpem.* "Sink back to thy (original) stock." Literally, "Be rolled down back," etc. A contemptuous allusion to one who, while seeking to scale the heights of greatness, loses his foothold through indecision and want of energy, and tumbles backward to his starting-point.

20–23. *Instigat.* "She stimulates."—*Si, cum Tanaquil,* etc. "(Thinking it disgraceful) if, when Tanaquil," etc. We must mentally supply *turpe existimans,* or something equivalent, before *si.*—*Nullum momentum faceret.* "Could exercise no influence." *Momentum* properly denotes a balancing or oscillating motion, and then a particle sufficient to turn the balanced scales, from which last arises the figurative meaning of weight, influence, etc.

24, 25. *His muliebribus instinctus furiis.* "Goaded on by these maddening suggestions of the woman."—*Prensare.* "Solicited." The term literally refers to the grasping of another's hand in soliciting a favor.—*Minorum gentium patres.* They were indebted to his father for their elevation, and ought therefore to be more anxious to support him. The *Patres minorum gentium* were, as already remarked, "the fathers of the younger houses," and the *patres majorum gentium,* on the other hand, were those whose fathers were patricians under Romulus and Tatius. Compare chap. XXXV., line 27.

26–34. *Gratiam repetere.* "Begged a favor in return."—*Cum de se ingentia,* etc. "He grew into popularity in all quarters, both by making magnificent promises on his own part, and especially by his accusations against the king."—*Pro curia.* "In the front part of the Senate-house." Not in front of the Senate-house, but in the building itself. Compare *pro rostris, pro tribunali,* etc. The building here meant was the *Curia Hostilia,* erected by Tullus Hostilius.—*Ne non venisse fraudi esset.* "Lest it might prove detrimental to them not to have come." *Fraus* is here employed, as often in Livy, in its old legal sense of harm or injury. Compare chap. xxiv., line 23.—*Et jam de Servio actum rati.* "And thinking now that all was over with Servius." This phraseology appears to have a legal origin. As a suit once decided could not be recommenced, there arose the phrase, *actum est de me,* etc., "It is all over with me," "I am undone."

35–43. *Ab stirpe ultima.* "From the first origin (of Servius)."—

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Non auctoribus patribus. "Without the sanction of the fathers."—*Occupasse.* "He had usurped." Observe the force of the verb here, implying that he had, in seizing upon the throne, anticipated all legal and constitutional usages.—*Ex quo ipse sit.* The subjunctive here marks the sentiments of the speaker, thus becoming what may be termed the mood of quotation.—*Odio alienæ honestatis.* "Through hatred of the nobility of others," i. e., their high rank by birth.—*Ereptum primoribus agrum.* The public lands obtained by conquest, to which the nobles in reality had no right whatever.—*Inclinasse.* "He had made to fall." Compare chap. xliii., line 32.—*Ut insignis ad invidiam*, etc. "That the fortune of the more wealthy might become conspicuous for exciting odium, and that resources might be ready at hand, from which he might lavish, whenever he wished, on the most indigent."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1–10. *Huic orationi intervenisset.* "Had come up during this harangue."—*Trepido nuntio.* "By a messenger sent in hot haste." Some, less correctly, render this, "by the alarming intelligence."—*Multo quam servum*, etc. "A much more rightful heir to the kingdom, as being a monarch's son, than a mere slave."—*Per licentiam, eludentem*, etc. "Had by arbitrary insolence made mockery of and trampled upon his masters," i. e., made mockery of them by his deceitful conduct. *Eludo* is a term borrowed from the gladiatorial schools, and means properly "to parry a blow," and hence generally to employ one's art and skill in baffling the efforts of another, to mock another's efforts. Observe moreover the contemptuous employment of the term *dominis*, as indicating strictly the masters of slaves.—*Fautoribus.* "The partisans."

12–18. *Necessitate ipsa.* "The very necessity itself," i. e., not merely his desire for the throne, but the very necessity of the dangerous position in which he now was.—*Medium.* "By the middle."—*In inferiorem partem.* "To the bottom."—*Ad cogendum senatum.* The senators had dispersed during the tumult.—*Prope exsanguis.* "Almost lifeless."—*Cum sine regio comitatu*, etc. The ordinary text has *cum semianimis regio comitatu.* But *semianimis* is a mere gloss, and a repetition of *exsanguis.* We have given therefore the very ingenious conjecture of Alschefski, which has been retained also in the Oxford edition of 1852.—*Consecuti erant.* "Had overtaken him."

19–26. *Quia non abhorret*, etc. "Because it is not inconsistent with the rest of her wicked conduct."—*Certe.* "At all events."—*Carpento.* Consult note on chap. xxxiv., line 30.—*Reverita.* "Abashed at."—*Ad summum Cyprium vicum.* "To the top of the Cyprian street."

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This street appears to have been on the north side of one of the tongues of the Esquiline, and to have corresponded with the modern *Via di S. Lucia in Selci*. According to Varro, *Cyprius* is derived from the Sabine *cyprum*, equivalent to the Latin *bonum*, and therefore *Cyprius vicus* will be the same as *Bonus vicus*, or the "Good Street," which explains the change of name to *Sceleratus vicus*, or the "Wicked Street." (Varro, *L. L.*, iv., 38.)—*Dianium.* "An enclosure sacred to Diana." Compare Festus: "*Locus Dianæ consecratus.*" It contained of course a temple or chapel. With the form *Dianium* we may compare the Greek Ἀρτεμίσιον, Ἡρακλεῖον, etc.—*Flectenti carpentum*, etc. "To her when turning her chariot to the right towards the Urbian ascent." *Flectenti*, which is here equivalent in fact to *flectere jubenti*, is, if the reading be correct, a poetic usage of the dative. Some read *flectente*, the ablative absolute, but the absence of the pronoun is an objection to this.—*Esquiliarium.* An unusual form, not occurring elsewhere.

28–34. *Fœdum inhumanumque*, etc. "A revolting and inhuman piece of wickedness is thereupon related to have taken place." Some less correctly translate, "is handed down to us ever since."—*Agitantibus furiis*, etc. "The avenging furies of her sister and husband urging her on."—*Sanguinis ac cædis paternæ.* "Of the blood and slaughtered body of her father."—*Ipsa.* That is, herself as well as her chariot.—*Quibus iratis*, etc. "Through whose anger at the wicked beginning of the reign, results similar (to that beginning) should at no distant day ensue." Observe that *quibus iratis* is equivalent in effect to *ut, iis iratis*, and hence we have *sequerentur* in the subjunctive.—*Prope diem.* Rather an awkward expression here, since the interval was one of twenty-five years.

36–41. *Difficilis æmulatio esset.* "A competition with him would have been difficult."—*Justa ac legitima.* Servius, according to the legend, certainly usurped the regal power in the first instance, but then this usurpation was legitimatized by the subsequent choice of the people.—*Quia unius esset.* "Because it was vested in one person only."—*Scelus intestinum.* "Domestic wickedness."—*Intervenisset.* "Interrupted him."

CHAPTER XLIX.

1–8. *Cui Superbo cognomen*, etc. "To whom his deeds gave the surname of the Proud." *Superbo* the dative by attraction for *Superbus.* (Zumpt, § 421, note.) Some give *Superbo* here the meaning of "inhuman," but the idea involved in the term is rather that of arrogance, and a proud contempt of all human and divine restraints.—*Dictitans.* "Frequently remarking."—*Male quærendi regni.* "Of

seeking the throne by evil means."—*Primores patrum.* Most probably *patres majorum gentium*, since those *minorum gentium* were partisans of Tarquinius.—*Neque enim ad jus regni*, etc. "For neither as regarded a title to the throne had he anything to allege save force." A species of oxymoron, mere force conferring a very precarious title.

11–16. *Eo accedebat*, etc. "To this was added the circumstance that," etc. The more usual form of expression is *quod* instead of *ut*. —*Cognitiones capitalium rerum*, etc. "He used to take cognizance of capital cases alone, by himself, without any advisers." *Consiliis* is here the abstract for the concrete, and the allusion is to counsellors or advisers taken from the ranks of the Senate.—*Perque eam causam.* "And under that pretext."—*Sed unde.* "But persons from whom."

22–29. *Domesticis consiliis.* Opposed to public ones.—*Conciliabat.* "He strove to attach to himself."—*Peregrinis opibus.* "By foreign influence."—*Octavio Mamilio Tusculano.* Sigonius thinks that we ought to read *Octavo*, since otherwise we would have a *nomen* used as a *prænomen*. Gronovius, however, correctly remarks that what was a *nomen* at Rome might be used as the *prænomen* of an individual among some of the other states of Italy.—*Ab Ulixe deaque Circa oriundus.* The form *Ulixes* is less usual than *Ulysses*. So again *Circa*, for *Circe*, is the genuine but less usual Latin form, through the Æolic Greek. The house of the Mamilii traced their name and origin to the mythical Mamilia, the daughter of Telegonus, who was regarded as the founder of Tusculum, and was the reputed son of Ulysses and Circe. Compare Dionys., iv., 45; Festus, p. 130, ed. Müller.

CHAPTER L.

1–6. *Auctoritas.* "The influence."—*In diem certam.* Good prose writers make the singular of *dies* much more frequently masculine than feminine. The latter gender, generally speaking, is used only when *dies* denotes duration or length of time, and in the sense of a fixed and appointed day, as in the present instance.—*Lucum Ferentinæ.* A sacred grove, with a fountain and shrine of the deity of the same name, celebrated as the place where the cities composing the Latin league used to hold their general assemblies. It was in the neighborhood of Alba Longa, and there can be little doubt that its site is correctly fixed by Gell and Nibby in the deep valley or ravine near *Marino*, where there is a copious fountain, giving rise to a small stream, which flows into the Tiber below Rome.—*Diem quidem servavit.* "Kept the day indeed."

7–17. *Multa ibi jactata sunt.* "Many topics were thrown out."

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[*Toto die.* The ablative to express duration of time is rare; here the addition of *tota* makes the time "within which" embrace both extremities. Cf. Virgil, "*Nocte pluit tota.*"]—*Aricia.* A celebrated city of Latium, on the Appian Way, at the foot of Mons Albanus, and at the distance of sixteen miles from Rome. Some remains of the ancient walls still exist near the modern *La Riccia.*—*Jam enim ita, clam quidem mussitantes*, etc. "For so by this time they used to call him, muttering in secret, it is true, yet generally so."—*Obnoxios premat.* "He may crush them when at his mercy."

18–21. *Quod si sui bene crediderint cives*, etc. "But if his own citizens have acted well in intrusting him with sovereignty, or if that sovereignty has been intrusted to him at all, and not seized upon by the murder of a near relative, that then the Latins too ought to trust him with it, although not even so to an alien," i. e., though, not even if the case were so, ought they to intrust their sovereignty to him, since he was a mere alien.—*Sin suos ejus pœniteat.* "But if even his own people rue his power."

26–36. *Seditiosus facinorosusque homo.* "The seditious and daring man." *Facinus*, whence the adjective in the text is derived, always means a bold and daring deed, but not always a wicked one. Hence to translate the epithet *facinorosus* here by the term "wicked," as some do, is too strong.—*Maxime dissereret.* "Was very warmly discussing," i. e., urging upon the attention of his hearers.—*Disceptatorem.* "As an umpire." The *disceptator* was merely an umpire in a private matter, without any public authority, and decided "*intra parietes.*" Compare Cic., *Tusc.*, v., 41.—*Ne id quidem ab Turno*, etc. "They say that he did not even bear off this (statement) without a comment from Turnus." Observe that *tacitum* is here used passively. *Tacitum ferre* and *impunitum ferre aliquid* are applied to a person who says or does anything without recrimination or punishment.—*Cognitionem.* "Investigation."—*Ni pareat patri, habiturum*, etc. "That unless one obey his father, he will have misfortune (for his lot)." A bitter allusion to Tarquin's unnatural conduct towards his father-in-law Servius.

CHAPTER LI.

2–9. *Aliquanto ægrius.* "A good deal more bitterly."—*Necem.* "Destruction." *Nex* is properly a violent death.—*Animos oppresserat.* "He had crushed the spirit."—*Pro imperio.* "By virtue of any official power of his own." He did not as yet possess this over the Latins. The peculiar meaning of *pro* here arises from the more general signification of "in accordance with." (Zumpt, § 312.)—*Oblato crimine falso.* "By means of a false charge brought against

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him."—*In deversorium ejus.* "Into his quarters." More literally, "Into his lodging-place." *Deversorium* is properly an inn or lodging-place on the way, to which people turn aside (*deverto*) from the road. The quarters of Turnus, in the present instance, must have been in the neighboring town or village of Ferentinum, of which Dionysius makes mention (iv., 45).—*Vim magnam.* "A great number."

10–19. *Una nocte.* "In a single night."—*Re nova.* "By some strange occurrence."—*Illatam.* "Occasioned." Literally, "Brought upon him."—*Ab Turno dici sibi*, etc. Hence Turnus, as plotting the overthrow of the existing state of things, would be guilty of *perduellio*, or high-treason. Compare note on chap. xxvi., line 23.—*Adgressurum fuisse.* "That he was to have made the attempt."—*Auctor concilii.* "The originator of the meeting," i. e., the person who convened the meeting, namely, Tarquin himself.—*Spem destituerit.* "He had defeated his hopes," i. e., Tarquin by delaying had defeated the hopes of Turnus.

19–26. *Si vera deferantur.* "If true information be brought him," i. e., if the information which had been brought to him (Tarquinius) be true.—*Vanum.* "A groundless charge."—*Suspectam fecit rem.* "Made the matter to be regarded as suspicious," i. e., made them suspect Turnus.—*Quod videbatur ob eam*, etc. "Because it seemed that the slaughter might possibly have been deferred by reason of that (delay)."

28–35. *Cetera vana existimaturi.* "About to regard all the other (grounds of suspicion) as futile."—*Caritate domini.* "From affection for their master." Objective genitive.—*Vim.* "A forcible resistance."—*Enimvero manifesta*, etc. "The matter in very truth appeared clear enough." *Enimvero*, like *vero*, forms the transition to that which is most important. (Zumpt, § 348, note.)—*Atrox*: "Violent."—*In medio.* "Before them." The Greek *ἐν μέσῳ*.—*Indicta causa.* "Without a defence." Literally, "His cause being unpleaded."—*Novo genere leti.* It is called a novel mode of punishment because unusual in historic times, being a remnant of early barbarism. Tacitus speaks of it as being used by the ancient Germans (*Germ.*, xii.).—*Ad caput aquæ Ferentinæ.* "At the head-waters of Ferentina." The reference is to a fountain, or rather lake, forming the head or source of the stream called Aqua Ferentina. Consult note on chap. l., line 3.

CHAPTER LII.

1–6. *Tarquinius.* Observe the position of this word in the sentence, in order to show that it was Tarquin who recalled them to the assembly and praised them collectively.—*Novantem res.* "Plotting innova-

tion."—*Parricidio.* The offence of Turnus is here called an attempted parricide, inasmuch as he had intended to subvert the settled order of things by slaying those who, as the representatives of their common country, ought to have been regarded by him as sacred and inviolable in their persons.—*Posse quidem se*, etc. "That he could indeed proceed by virtue of a right long since established."—*In eo fœdere teneantur.* "They are included in that treaty whereby the whole Alban state, from the time of Tullus, has yielded together with its colonies to the Roman sway," i. e., has acknowledged Rome as the head of the Latin confederacy. As regards the league here referred to, consult chap. xxiv.

8-14. *Utilitatis omnium causa.* "For the sake of the interest of all."—*Quas Anco prius.* The relative agrees here grammatically with *vastationes*, but refers, in reality, to *excidia* also.—*Quamquam in eo fœdere*, etc. "Although in that league the Roman power had the advantage," i. e., the advantage lay on the side of Rome.—*Ceterum et capita nominis Latini*, etc. "However, they both saw that the heads of the Latin nation sided and concurred with the king," etc. This serves to explain still farther why they so easily yielded.

17-21. *Ita renovatum fœdus.* According to Cicero, however (*de Rep.*, ii., 24), Latium was conquered by force of arms: "*Omne Latium bello devicit.*"—*Junioribus Latinorum.* It would seem from this mode of speaking, as well as from the allusion to centuries farther on, that the same military division into classes and centuries, and the same mode of arming, etc., prevailed in Latium as in Rome; and that Tarquin had not altered this arrangement, though in other respects he did not acknowledge the constitution of Servius.—*Die certa.* Consult note on chap. l., line 2.—*Lucum Ferentinæ.* Consult note on chap. l., line 3.—*Secretum imperium.* "A distinct military command."—*Miscuit manipulos*, etc. "He blended together maniples of Latins and Romans, so as to make single maniples out of a pair of maniples, and a pair of maniples out of single ones." That is, out of a pair of maniples, one Roman and one Latin (consisting each of two hundred men), he took half of each, and so made up one maniple; and of a single Roman or Latin maniple he made a pair by distributing the two parts of it between two separate new ones.

23. *Ita geminatis manipulis*, etc. After this junction of the two armies, all the maniples were considered Roman maniples; and, as every Roman maniple before now became two, by joining each half of it to half a Latin maniple, the number of Roman maniples was consequently doubled, and Roman centurions were placed over each.

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CHAPTER LIII.

1–6. *Dux pravus.* "A despicable leader."—*Ni degeneratum in aliis*, etc. "Had not his degeneracy in other respects marred even this distinguished trait." The neuter of the perfect participle passive (*degeneratum*) is here used with the force of a substantive, a practice in which Livy often indulges. (Zumpt, § 637, note 1.)—*Volscis.* The Volsci were an ancient people of Central Italy, distinct from the Latins, and who bear a prominent part in early Roman history. We find them in the mountains forming the western boundary of Samnium, in the valley of the Liris, in the mountain districts of Arpinum, Sora, and Atina, and at one time masters of the plains extending from the Volscian Apennines to the sea, including the Pomtine marshes, and the fertile tract that borders on them.—*In ducentos amplius*, etc. "(A war about to last) for more than two hundred years after his own age." There were interruptions of course during this long period. The struggle only came to a full end a short time before the close of the second Samnite War (B.C. 304), when the whole of the Volscian people had submitted to the authority of Rome, and been admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens.—*Suessam Pometiam.* Consult note on chap. xli., line 37.

7, 8. *Quadraginta.* Some editions give *quadringenta*, so as to reconcile Livy with Dionysius, who says the sum was four hundred talents of silver, and that this too was merely the tithe of the whole plunder! Consult note on chap. lv., line 29.—*Argenti.* Some editions have *aurique* after *argenti*, but this, as Zumpt remarks, is inadmissible. —*Refecisset.* "He had made up." In the sense of *collegisset.* Compare bk. xxxv., chap. i.: "*Quod inde refectum est militi divisum.*"

8–13. *Concepit animo*, etc. "He conceived in mind such an amplitude of a temple of Jupiter," etc., i. e., the idea of a temple so spacious, etc. Some much less correctly render *amplitudinem* by "magnificence."—*Ipsius etiam loci.* Namely, the Capitoline hill. This is not very correctly said on the part of Livy, since the temple gave all its *majestas* to the hill.—*Excepit eum.* "Engaged his attention."—*Lentius.* "More protracted."—*Gabios.* Gabii was a town in Latium, on the Lacus Gabinus, now *Lago di Gavi*, between Rome and Prænestе. It was a colony from Alba, and in early times one of the most powerful Latin cities. It was in ruins in the time of Augustus.—*Urbem . . . urbem.* Such repetitions as these, whether adopted for the sake of perspicuity or to avoid pronouns, or arising from haste, Livy has more frequently than other writers.—*Obsidendi quoque.* That is, of trying it by blockade too as well as by storm (*vi*).

15–22. *Velut posito bello.* "As if the war were completely laid

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aside." *Deposito* is also used in the same way.—*Fundamentis templi faciendis*, etc. "He pretended that he was engaged with completing the foundations of the temple." Zumpt is right in preferring *faciendis* to *jaciendis*, on the ground that the deeper foundations, to which *jaciendis* would properly apply, had been laid some time before by Tarquinius Priscus. Compare chap. xxxviii., *sub fin.*—*Minimus.* Dionysius, on the contrary, says he was the eldest (iv., 55).—*Transfugit ex composito.* This story is a mere imitation of that related by Herodotus (iii., 54, seqq.) concerning Zopyrus, with some particulars added from the account given by the same historian (v., 92) of Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, and Periander of Corinth.—*Et liberorum quoque eum*, etc. "And that he was becoming wearied even of the gathering about him of his own children," i. e., he began to loathe the society of his own children, and their moving about him in the discharge of little offices of duty and affection.—*Stirpem.* "Issue." Literally, "Stock," i. e., from which his family might be propagated.

23–28. *Se quidem . . . credidisse.* "That he for his part . . . has arrived at the belief."—*Nam, ne errarent*, etc. "For, that they might not be led astray, (he assured them) that the war still remains (impending)," etc.—*Supplicibus locus non sit.* "There be no refuge for suppliants," i. e., for him a suppliant.—*Æquos.* The Æqui were one of the most ancient and warlike nations of Italy. They inhabited the mountainous district around the upper valley of the Anio, and extending from thence to the lake Fucinus, between the Latins and the Marsi, and adjoining the Hernici on the east and the Sabines on the west. Their constant association with the Volsci would lead us to refer them to a common stock with that nation.—*Hernicos.* The Hernici inhabited the upper valley of the Trems, or *Sacco*, and bordered on the Æqui towards the north, and on the Volsci to the south and east. Their name is said to have been derived from an old Sabine or Marsic word "*herna*," signifying "a rock," an appellation well suited to the character of their country.

30–37. *Etiam ardoris aliquid*, etc. He means that perhaps he will find persons who will not merely protect him, but will even feel something of ardor in his behalf.—*Cum, si nihil morarentur*, etc. "As he seemed a person likely to go farther onward from thence, inflamed with anger, in case they should not seek to detain him," i. e., should pay no attention to his request. *Morari* with *nihil* is to let a person or thing go, i. e., to care nothing about it, to pay no attention to it, etc.—*Vetant mirari.* "They bid him not be surprised."—*In se ipsum postremo sæviturum*, etc. "That if other objects fail, he will finally vent his cruelty on himself." The neuter *alia* is more comprehensive and emphatic than *alii* would have been.—*Futurumque credere.* "And they were confident it would come to pass."

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CHAPTER LIV.

1-5. *Adhiberi.* "He was admitted."—*Cum diceret.* "While he kept saying." Observe the force of the imperfect.—*Auctor.* "The adviser."—*Et in eo sibi præcipuam prudentiam adsumere.* "And he claimed for himself superior knowledge in it."—*Utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque*, etc. This passage will serve to illustrate the different meanings of *nosco* and *scio*. The former means to know a thing as an object of perception, the latter as a matter of fact. So here Sextus knows the strength of both nations, because he has seen it fully developed in each; while, on the other hand, the hatred felt towards the king by his subjects, and the feelings of his own children towards him, are matters of fact with which he is perfectly familiar.

7-10. *Ad rebellandum.* "To a renewing of the war." The proper and most frequent sense of *rebellare*. Tarquin had suspended hostilities, which were now to be revived. It would seem, however, from the expression *Gabiis receptis*, at the commencement of the next chapter, that the war in the first instance had been an actual rebellion against the sway of Tarquin.—*Vana accresceret fides.* "Ill-grounded credit kept accruing to him." We have regarded *dictis factisque*, etc., as the ablative of the means, with Weissenborn; others make it the dative. It may also be the ablative absolute.

12-22. *Quid ageretur.* "What scheme was in contemplation."—*Pariter.* "Alike."—*Prædam munifice largiendo.* It might have been sold for the benefit of the state.—*Ad omnes conatus.* "For all his intended movements."—*Ex suis unum.* "One of his creatures."—*Quando quidem, ut omnia unus*, etc. The manuscripts read *p* or *præ Gabiis;* in the editions this doubtful word is omitted. Zumpt thinks that we should read *prætor*, in the sense of "commander," since Sextus had been chosen to that office, as we have just been told in the present chapter. We have adopted, however, the very ingenious emendation of Alschefski, which makes very good sense. "Since the gods had granted to him that he alone above all the Gabini could control all things (there)."—*Ei dii dedissent.* By employing *ei* here, and not *sibi*, as we would naturally expect, Livy makes the clause a part of his own narrative, and not a part of the order given to the messenger.

22, 23. *Dubiæ fidei.* "Of doubtful fidelity."—*Velut deliberabundus.* "As if lost in reflection." Literally, "Full of deliberation." (Zumpt, § 248.)

27-38. *Ut re imperfecta.* "As if without having accomplished his object."—*Seu superbia insita ingenio.* "Or, through the haughtiness

innate in his disposition."—*Tacitis ambagibus.* "By these silent intimations."—*Alios sua ipsos invidia*, etc. "Others of themselves fit for his purpose from the odium which they had incurred," i. e., who could be safely attacked from their own unpopularity.—*In quibus minus speciosa*, etc. "In the case of whom an impeachment would be likely to prove less plausible," i. e., might give rise to a suspicion of sinister motives.—*Divisui fuere.* "Were made objects of division." Literally, "Were for a division," i. e., to the people. Supply *populo.* The verbal noun *divisus* occurs only in the dative. Some editions read *divisa.*—*Largitiones inde prædæque.* "Then ensued largesses and plunderings." Some editions read *largitionis inde prædæque*, making both nouns genitives singular, and depending on *dulcedine.* This, however, is less graphic.—*Sine ulla dimicatione.* "Without any struggle."

CHAPTER LV.

1-6. *Gabiis receptis.* "Gabii having been recovered." Implying that it had in the first instance revolted. Consult note on chap. liv., line 8.—*Jovis templum.* This celebrated temple consisted in fact of three parts, a nave sacred to Jupiter, and two aisles, the right sacred to Minerva, and the left to Juno.—*Monte Tarpeio.* This is only another name for the Capitoline mount. Before the building of the Capitol the whole hill was called *Mons Tarpeius*, not merely one of its summits, as Becker erroneously supposes, and in which he is followed by Zumpt. Subsequently the whole hill changed its name to *Mons Capitolinus*, and the process would seem to have been as follows: The northern height, on which the temple was built, was at first alone called *Capitolium*, or *Mons Capitolinus.* Gradually, however, its superior importance gave name to the whole hill; yet a particular portion, the most remote from the temple, retained the primitive name of *Rupes Tarpeia.* The temple stood on the north-eastern summit of the Capitoline, not on the south-western, as Becker maintains. Consult Smith, *Dict. Geog.*, vol. ii., p. 761, seqq.—*Tarquinios reges ambos*, etc. Observe the peculiar construction here. In the first place, the whole clause forms a species of apposition with *monumentum;* in the next place, we have an example of what the Greek grammarians call σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος, that is, the whole, *Tarquinios*, in place of agreeing with the verb or verbs following, is resolved into its parts by a kind of anacoluthon, and each part is connected with its own verb.

7-9. *Et ut libera*, etc. "And in order that the whole area of Jupiter, and of his temple which was being built therein, might be free from consecration to all other gods." More literally, "from all other consecrations."—*Exaugurare.* "To unhallow." As no temple was ever built in a place, except *augurato*, that is, without ascertaining the

will of the gods by augury, so without their consent none could be destroyed or devoted to another purpose. In other words, they must first be exaugurated—that is, deprived of their sacred character.

12–16. *Movisse numen deos.* "That the gods signified their will." *Numen*, from *nuo*, is properly the nod, hence the will and pleasure of the divinity. Sometimes it means the divinity itself.—*In Termini fano non addixere.* "In the case of the temple of Terminus they did not give their sanction." *Addico*, in its literal signification, is only an augural and judicial term. *Terminus* was the god of boundaries, and was represented by a stone placed erect, large stones being in early times the chief boundaries and landmarks. Some expounders of mythology seek to identify the god Terminus with Jupiter.—*Non motam Termini sedem.* Dionysius and Livy himself in another place (bk. v., chap. liv.) mention that the altar of the goddess Juventas, too, could not be exaugurated; a sign that eternal youth was promised to the city and state. The chapels of Terminus and Juventas were enclosed within the walls of the new temple, and that of Terminus had an opening in the roof, because no terminus was allowed to be under cover. (Fest., p. 368, ed. Müller.)

19–23. *Caput humanum.* According to the legend, it was the head of a certain king named Olus or Tolus, and hence the name *Capitolium*, quasi *Caput Oli* sive *Toli!* (Varro, *L. L.*, v., 43; Arnob., *adv. Gent.*, 6.)—*Haud per ambages.* "By no dark intimations." Literally, "By no roundabout stories."—*Arcem eam imperii fore.* Observe that *eam* is connected logically with *templum*, but grammatically with *arcem*.—*Quique.* "Both those who." The construction *que . . . que*, instead of *et . . . et*, is used commonly only by the poets, but it is not unusual in some prose writers, when, as in the present instance, the conjunction is appended to the relative. (Zumpt, § 338.)

24–26. *Augebatur ad impensas*, etc. "The king's intention as to the amount of expenditure was enlarged," i. e., when he had received these omens.—*Pometinæ manubiæ.* "The money obtained from the sale of the plunder of Pometia." Observe that *præda* bears the most comprehensive meaning, being used for plunder of every description; while *manubiæ* is the money which the quæstor realized from the sale of those objects which constituted *præda*.—*Ad culmen.* "To completion." Literally, "To the roof."—*Suppeditavere.* "Sufficed." Taken intransitively.

27–31. *Fabio crediderim.* "Am I inclined to believe Fabius." He means Fabius Pictor, of whom a brief account has been given in a previous note, chap. xliv., line 10.—*Quadraginta.* Some read *quadringenta*, but from the language of Livy it would seem that this last, both

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here and in chap. liii., line 7, is a false reading.—*Pisoni.* L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, consul B.C. 133. He wrote annals which contained the history of Rome from the earliest period to the age in which he himself lived.—*Pondo.* "Pounds." In this sense an indeclinable substantive; but properly an ablative singular, "in weight." According to Weissenborn, 40,000 pounds of silver would make 400 Attic talents, reckoning the mina at 1¼ Roman pounds. What Fabius therefore gives as the amount of the entire booty, Piso would make only a tenth part of the same. Compare Dionys., iv., 50.—*Et nullius ne horum*, etc. "And one that would be more than sufficient for laying the foundations of any building, even these magnificent buildings of the present day."

CHAPTER LVI.

3–12. *Operis.* "Workmen." *Operæ* are common laborers, workmen.—*Qui cum haud parvus et ipse*, etc. "And yet though this labor, not small even in itself, was added to military service, etc.—*Quam postquam traducebantur.* The plural is here employed because *plebs* is taken collectively.—*Foros in circo faciendos.* "(Such as) the erecting of platforms for seats in the circus." Consult note on chap. xxxv., lines 32, 33.—*Cloacamque maximam*, etc. The construction of the cloacæ is elsewhere (chap. xxxviii., *sub fin.*) ascribed by Livy to Tarquinius Priscus. Compare also Plin., *H. N.*, xxxvi., 15, 24, § 106. Perhaps, however, they were commenced by Priscus and completed by Superbus.—*Quicquam adæquare potuit.* "Has been able to produce anything equal."

13–15. *Ubi usus non esset.* "When there was no employment for them."—*Occupari latius imperii fines.* "That the limits of the empire should be more widely taken possession of," i. e., that the frontiers should be more extensively secured. Observe again the peculiar force of *occupare*, implying the being beforehand with another in doing anything.—*Signiam.* Signia was a town of Latium, situate on a lofty hill at the north-western angle of the Volscian mountains.—*Circeios.* Circeii also was situated in Latium, on the promontory of Circeium. Circe was fabled to have resided on this promontory, whence its name.—*Præsidia urbi futura.* At present they were merely intended as strongholds against the Volsci.

17–24. *Ex columna lignea elapsus.* The Latins more usually, in the case of verbs compounded with prepositions, do not repeat the preposition before the case. The Greeks, on the other hand, generally repeat it. Livy imitates the Greek usage, to make the expression more forcible and poetic.—*In regiam.* Some conjecture *in regia*, but we may suppose the pillar to have been in the vestibule of the palace.

—*Delphos.* Delphi, the celebrated oracle of Apollo, was situated on the side of Mount Parnassus, in Phocis. The Romans very seldom consulted this oracle, preferring their own haruspices.—*Sortium.* By *sortes* are meant properly anything used to determine chances, such as small tablets, lots, etc., and hence the term is often employed, as in the present instance, to indicate the oracle itself.—*Per ignotas ea tempestate terras*, etc. Livy's language is too strong. The route to Greece could not have been so unknown to the communities of Central Italy as he makes it, since Cære had relations with Delphi, Tarquinii with Corinth, and Rome with Cumæ in Magna Græcia.

26–32. *Tarquinia sorore regis natus.* Dionysius says that Tarquinia was the aunt of Tarquinius, having been the sister of his mother, and the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus.—*Juvenis longe alius ingenio*, etc. "A youth far different in cast of mind from that which he had assumed the disguise of." We must employ the term "youth" here in what may be termed its Roman sense, since the term *juvenis* was applied from the age of 25 to 45, when military service ceased. Brutus at this time had two sons in early manhood.—*In quibus.* Equivalent to *et in iis.*—*Interfectum.* Agreeing with the last-mentioned subject, *fratrem.* It should properly have been *interfectos*, with a comma after *suum.*—*Neque in animo suo*, etc. "Resolved that nothing should either be feared by the king from his qualities of mind, or desired by him from his fortunes."—*Ubi in jure*, etc. "Where there was little protection in justice."

32–36. *Factus.* "Having moulded his deportment." Taken in a middle sense.—*Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen.* The surname of *Brutus*, according to the legend which Livy here follows, was given to L. Junius because he pretended idiocy in order to save himself from Tarquin, and the word is accordingly supposed to signify an "idiot." Dionysius, for instance, translates it by ἠλίθιος (iv., 67). Festus, however, in a passage (s. v. *Brutum*) which is pointed out by Arnold (*R. H.*, vol. i., p. 104), tells us that *Brutus*, in old Latin, was synonymous with *Gravis*, which, as Arnold remarks, would show a connection with βάρυς. The word may, therefore, as a surname, have been originally much the same as *Severus.* This conjecture seems more probable than that of Niebuhr's, who supposes it to mean a "runaway slave," and connects it with the Brettii, "revolted slaves," whence the Bruttii are supposed to have derived their name. He farther observes that this name might easily have been applied by the Tarquins to Brutus as a term of reproach. (Smith, *Dict. Biogr.*, s. v.)—*Opperiretur tempora sua.* "Might wait for its proper opportunity."

37–42. *Ludibrium.* "As an object of sport."—*Aureum baculum*, etc. "A golden rod, enclosed in a staff of cornel-wood hollowed out for

that purpose."—*Per ambages effigiem ingenii sui.* "An emblem, mystically, of his own mind."—*Incessit.* "Seized." Literally, "Came upon."—*Eorum.* Perspicuity requires here the demonstrative instead of the reflexive.—*Ex infimo specu.* "From the bottom of the cave." The adytum, in which the oracles were delivered at Delphi, was a subterranean chamber, which no one was allowed to enter except the priests, and those to whom special permission was given. In the inmost part of the adytum stood a tripod over a deep chasm in the earth, whence proceeded an intoxicating vapor, which was supposed to inspire the priestess with the gift of prophecy.

44–50. *Tarquinius Sextus.* Livy sometimes, as here, places the name of the gens before that of the individual.—*Sorti permittunt.* "Cast lots." Literally, "Leave to the lot," i. e., to determine.—*Pythicam vocem.* "That the Pythian response," i. e., the answer of the Pythia, or priestess who gave the oracles.—*Velut si prolapsus*, etc. He did this immediately on coming out of the temple.—*Esset.* The subjunctive as referring to what was passing in his own mind.

CHAPTER LVII.

1–7. *Ardeam.* Ardea was a very ancient city of Latium, about four miles from the sea-coast, and twenty-four miles south of Rome. In early times it was one of the most wealthy and powerful places in this part of Italy, and it is supposed by Niebuhr to have been the capital or chief city of the Pelasgian portion of the Latin nation. In legendary history it appears as the capital of the Rutuli.—*Ut in ea regione*, etc. "As in such a region, and in such an age," i. e., considering the state of that region and that age. Some regard this construction as elliptical, and supply *fieri poterat*, making the meaning to be "as far as was possible." It is more natural, however, to render the clause as we have done, and not to regard it as elliptical at all.—*Præter aliam superbiam.* "Independently of his other haughtiness," i. e., of the other instances of his tyranny.—*In fabrorum ministerio.* "In the employment of mechanics."

9–13. *Si primo impetu*, etc. "Whether Ardea could be taken on the first attack," i. e., by storm. *Si* for *num.*—*Ubi id parum processit.* Ardea was partly defended by ramparts, and partly by precipitous banks of tufa rock on either side. It was well protected, therefore, against storming.—*Satis liberi commeatus erant.* "Furloughs were freely granted."—*Comissationibus.* "Revellings." *Comissari* means properly to hold a festive procession with torches and music; and *comissatio*, a Bacchanalian revel, a festive procession of this kind. Here, however, in camp, it can hardly be taken in such a sense, and

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must rather denote a carousal after the regular cœna or convivium was over. The comissatio was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night.

15–27. *Egerii filius.* Dionysius says he was his grandson.—*Certamine accenso.* "A dispute having been kindled among them."—*Quin, si vigor juventæ inest*, etc. "Why do we not, seeing that the vigor of youth is in us, mount our horses, and inspect in person the dispositions of our wives?" "Let that be most certain evidence to each of us, which shall have met his eyes on the unexpected arrival of the husband." Observe the employment of *si* with the indicative to express the actual state of the case, "since," "seeing that."—[*Id cuique spectatissimum sit.* "Let that be the best test of each of our wives." (Prof. Chase.) According to Seeley, the expression is equivalent to *sit spectatissima quæque secundum id quod*, etc., *cuique* referring to the wives, and *spectare* meaning to test.]—*Age sane, omnes.* "Come on by all means, they all exclaimed."—*Primis se intendentibus tenebris.* "The first shades of night spreading themselves."—*Collatiam.* The younger line of the Tarquinii had their residence at Collatia. Consult note on chap. xxxviii., line 1.—*In convivio luxuque.* "In banqueting and excess." Observe that *luxus* denotes luxury as an act or condition, and sometimes objectively, as an object of luxury; whereas *luxuria* always subjectively, as a propensity and disposition.—*Cum æqualibus.* "With their companions of the same age."—*Deditam 'ancæ, etc.* "Employed at her wool, sitting in the middle of the house among her handmaidens working by lamp-light." The *Atrium* or *Cavum ædium* is here meant, a large apartment, roofed over with the exception of an opening in the centre, called *compluvium*, towards which the roof sloped, so as to throw the rain water into a cistern in the floor termed *impluvium.* The atrium was the most important room in the house, and was originally the only sitting-room. Here also various domestic operations were carried on. In later days it served for a reception-room, and was fitted up with great splendor and magnificence.

28–33. *Muliebris certaminis laus.* "The merit of the contest respecting the females."—*Mala libido.* "A wicked desire."—*Cum forma tum spectata castitas.* "Both her beauty, and in particular her purity of character, fully tested."—*Ab nocturno juvenali ludo.* "From their youthful frolic of the night."

CHAPTER LVIII.

3–7. *Ab ignaris consilii.* The allusion is to Lucretia and the other inmates of the abode. We would naturally expect, however, *ignara*, as referring to Lucretia alone.—*Hospitale cubiculum.* "The cham-

her appropriated to strangers." We must suppose this sleeping-apartment to have opened, according to custom, on the atrium.—*Circa.* "All things around."—*Sopiti.* "Fast asleep."—"*Tace Lucretia,*" *inquit*, etc. Niebuhr says that Livy has here actually transcribed from one of the old romantic ballads of Rome; since what Sextus says on entering the chamber of Lucretia is nearly in the Saturnian measure:

"*Tace Lucretia, inquit, Sextus Tarquinius sum;*
Ferrum in manu est, moriere si emiseris vocem."

9–20. *Pavida ex somno.* "Awakening terrified from sleep."—*Versare in omnes partes*, etc. "Tried to sway in every direction her woman's mind." The metaphor is taken from a tree, which is swayed to and fro, in order to effect its fall, that if it does not fall one way, it may another.—*Inclinari.* "To be moved." Literally, and still keeping up the metaphor, "To be bent."—*In sordido adulterio.* "In base-born adultery," i. e., with a base-born slave. *Sordidus* is particularly employed in speaking of slaves and the lowest class of persons, "vile," "base."—*Velut victrix libido.* "His lust, as it were victorious." It was only victorious in appearance, not in reality. The true conqueror was the dread of the threatened disgrace.—*Ferox expugnato decore muliebri.* "Elated at having overpowered a woman's honor."—*Cum singulis fidelibus amicis.* "With a faithful friend each."—*Ita facto maturatoque opus esse.* "That it was necessary to do so, and to use despatch." *Opus* and *usus* are almost always construed with the ablative of the past passive participle, instead of with an infinitive.

23–31. *Conventus est.* "He was met." *Convenire aliquem* is "to meet any one," and hence the verb being transitive in this sense, though commonly intransitive, may be used personally in the passive.—*Satin' salvæ.* Supply *sunt res.* "Is all well?"—*Quid enim salvi est.* "For what of well is there."—*Testis.* "My witness," i. e., the witness of the truth of what I say.—*Fidemque.* "And your honor."—*Mihi sibique, si vos viri estis*, etc. "Bore away from this house a gratification fraught with ruin to me, and to himself if you are true men."

32–38. *Ordine.* "In succession."—*Consolantur ægram animi.* "They strive to console her sick at heart."—*Mentem peccare, non corpus*, etc. "That it is the mind, not the body, that commits crime, and that whencesoever intention may have been absent, culpability is absent," i. e., where there is no intention there is no guilt.—*Vos videritis.* The *futurum exactum* for the simple *videbitis*, but implying at the same time that the thing will soon take place. (Madvig, § 340, obs. 4.)—*Cultrum, quem . . . eum defigit.* Observe that *eum* is not necessary here, either for syntax or meaning, but is introduced, in imitation of

the Greeks, for the purpose of emphasis. "The knife which . . . this she plunges."

CHAPTER LIX.

2–13. *Manante cruore.* A much better reading than *manantem cruore*, since it brings the circumstance more prominently forward.—*Me exsecuturum.* "That I will pursue." *Exequi* is more commonly found with the accusative of the thing (scil. *injuriam*) than of the person, and hence some have conjectured here *exacturum;* but perhaps Livy intended here to express a long-continued pursuit and complete overthrow of tyrannical power.—*Stupentibus miraculo rei*, etc. "Lost in amazement at the strangeness of the fact, from what cause this new intelligence (may have sprung) in the breast of Brutus."—*Jam inde vocantem*, etc. "From this time now summoning them," etc.

14–19. *In forum.* The forum of Collatia.—*Miraculo rei novæ atque indignitate.* "By the surprising and revolting character of the strange fact."—*Castigator lacrimarum*, etc. "The rebuker of their tears and unavailing complaints," i. e., who rebuked them for their tears, etc.—*Capiendi.* Depending on *auctor.*—*Adversus hostilia ausos.* "Against those who had dared to perpetrate the deeds of foes in open warfare," i. e., what usually only an enemy in open war attempts to do.

21–27. *Pari præsidio*, etc. "An adequate guard being left at the gates at Collatia, and sentinels being planted," etc. *Pari* means, such as the emergency required. Many, however, render it, "Equal to the number that went to Rome;" but there appears to be no good reason why an even division of the forces should be made; and, besides, Collatia, from its comparative insignificance, did not require as many men to keep down Tarquin's party as were necessary to be sent to Rome. Gronovius conjectures *pars præsidio relicti*, but the explanation we have given to *pari* renders any emendation unnecessary.—*Regibus.* "To the king and his sons."—*Pavorem ac tumultum.* "Panic and confusion."—*Rursus ubi anteire primores*, etc. "On the other hand, when they see the chief men of the state moving at the head (of the throng), they think that, whatever it may be, it is not without some good reason."—*Motum animorum.* "Excitement of feeling."

29, 30. *Præco.* As the *comitia curiata* were summoned by a lictor, and the *centuriata* by a *cornicen*, the gathering of the people here referred to could have been neither of these, although Dionysius (iv. 84) makes it to have been the former.—*Tribunum Celerum.* "The tribune of the Celeres," i. e., the commander of the cavalry. This officer stood in the same relation to the king as the *magister equitum* did, in a sub-

sequent period, to the dictator. He occupied the second place in the state, and, in the absence of the king, had the right of convoking assemblies of the people. He appears to have been appointed by the king.—*In quo magistratu*, etc. This is one of the points adduced by Niebuhr to show the absurd character of the whole story of Brutus, namely, that he, a reputed idiot, should be intrusted with an office of so much importance, by virtue of which he could convoke assemblies of the citizens. [Tarquin is represented as devoted to family government, and of such governments the appointment of notoriously unfit men to high office is the most characteristic fault. (Seeley).]

31–37. *Nequaquam ejus pectoris*, etc. "By no means indicative of that character and capacity, which had been counterfeited up to that day." *Pectus*, as here employed, is a poetical form seldom used in prose.—*Tricipitini*. The father of Lucretia, Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus.—*Cui morte filiæ*, etc. "To whom the cause of her death must be a source of greater indignation and misery than the death of his daughter itself."—*Demersæ*. "Sunk deep in the earth."

41–48. *His atrocioribus*, etc. "By detailing these and, I believe, other facts still more shocking, which the then heinous state of things suggested, though by no means easy to be related by writers, he so far worked upon the inflamed multitude, that," etc.—*Junioribus*. Only a part of the centuries of the *juniores* were in arms before Ardea.—*Præfecto urbis*. This was an extraordinary magistrate, appointed to govern the city in the absence of the king, and afterwards of the consuls.

The *Primores Civitatis* mentioned above were Lucretius, Collatinus, Valerius, and Brutus. The junction of these four in vowing the banishment of the tyrants has quite the look, says Niebuhr, of an historical fact, yet this is merely symbolical of the union between the three patrician tribes and the plebs. It is possible that these very four men may have represented each his own order, and governed the republic till the consulship was established. Valerius was a Titiensis, and represented the Sabines. That Lucretius belonged to the Ramnes may be inferred not only from the lictors going to him from Valerius, owing to his superior rank, but from his office of governor of the city (*præfectus urbis*), which was attached to the dignity of the first senator, or the first among the "*decem primi*" of the Ramnes; hence Lucretius was interrex. Collatinus, as a Tarquinius, was one of the Luceres, and Junius Brutus was a plebeian. The consulate of Collatinus looks like a compromise with the powerful house of the Tarquinii, to which he belonged, allowing one of them, to be chosen by the people, to share in the supreme power; but the whole house was banished shortly afterwards. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 515, seqq.)

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CHAPTER LX.

3–12. *Flexit viam.* "Turned aside," i. e., took a circuitous route. —*Exsilium indictum.* The Regifugium, or expulsion of the royal line, took place in 505 B.C., on the 24th of February—Olympiad lxviii., 3—and a festival was annually celebrated on that day in commemoration of it. In some ancient Calendaria the 24th of May is likewise called Regifugium. For another explanation of the term, in connection with the symbolical flight of the *Rex Sacrorum* from the comitium, consult *Dict. Ant.*, s. v.—*Cære.* Consult note on chap. ii., line 11. Others make them to have gone to Veii. But at Cære Roman exiles were entitled to settle as citizens. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 496.)—*Gabios.* Dionysius says that he was made king of this place by his father (iv., 58), which may serve to explain Livy's "*tanquam in suum regnum.*"—*Veterum simultatium.* "Of the old feuds."

15–20. *Regnatum Romæ*, etc. Livy gives here 244 years as the duration of the regal power at Rome. Later writers make it 243 years; Cicero (*de Rep.*, ii., 30) somewhat over 240.—*Ex commentariis Servii Tullii.* This may mean either that the plan of the consular government was found in the commentaries of the king, and had been drawn up by him when he intended to resign his power (compare chap. xlviii., *sub fin.*), or else that the form of election at the *Comitia Centuriata* was according to the plan which he had established. Dionysius says that the *Comitia* were held by Lucretius not as prefect of the city, but as *interrex.*—*Collatinus.* We may infer, from this individual having been chosen as one of the consuls, that the whole house of the Tarquinii did not adhere to the king, but that a part were on the side of the aristocracy, who had brought about the revolution.

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BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

1–7. *Liberi jam hinc populi Romani*, etc. "I shall now go through with the transactions in peace and in war of the Roman people from henceforth free, their annual magistrates, and the commands of the laws more powerful than those of men." *Imperium* properly means military power or command; here, however, it has a more general reference to the sovereignty or absolute sway of the laws in all cases, whether military or civil.—*Hominum.* The preceding kings are meant. —*Proximi.* A much more natural reading than *proxima*, as given in some manuscripts and editions.—*Conditores partium certe urbis.* "As founders of parts at least of the city." *Certe* implies that though they were not entitled to be counted as founders of the whole city, still they ought to be regarded as founders of parts of it at least. In the case of Numa, it is true, there was no outward enlargement of the city, but still, as Livy himself elsewhere remarks (i., 19), he may be said to have founded it anew by laws and institutions.—*Novas sedes.* "As new settlements."

10–19. *Pessimo publico id facturus fuerit.* "Would have done so with very great injury to the state." More literally, "With the worst public effect." Compare the ordinary forms of expression, *bonum publicum, malum publicum*, etc. Observe moreover that *facturus fuerit*, being in a hypothetical sentence, has instead of its own meaning as a perfect that of a pluperfect. (Zumpt, § 498.)—*Immaturæ.* Another reading is *immatura.*—*Quid enim futurum fuit.* "For what would have been the result?" Perfect again employed in a hypothetical sentence, with the force of a pluperfect.—*Illa plebs.* "That rabble." —*Sub tutela inviolati templi.* "Under the protection of an inviolable asylum." The reference here is literally to the temple which Romulus erected in connection with, and for the purpose of giving a sacred character to, his asylum.—*Libertatem.* Exemption from previous control or bondage.—*Cui longo tempore adsuescitur.* "To which men become familiarized only by length of time." Observe that *adsuescitur*, as an impersonal verb, is quite unusual.—*Animos eorum consociasset.* "Had united their minds (in one society)," i. e., had produced unity of social feeling in their bosoms.

20–27. *Res nondum adultæ.* "Their affairs not yet matured." Literally, "Not yet grown to maturity."—*Quas fovit tranquilla*, etc. "Which the tranquil moderation of the kingly rule had nurtured." The mild rule of the early kings, up to the period of the last Tarquin, served as a school for fostering the germ of future freedom.—*Inde nu-*

meres. "You may date from this period."—*Omnia jura.* "All their privileges." Except those connected with religious matters. These were vested in a *Rex Sacrorum*, as mentioned in the next chapter.—*Omnia insignia.* Except the crown and sceptre. These were only seen in triumphs, and on great festal occasions, as, for instance, in the celebration of the Ludi Circenses, etc.—*Ne si ambo fasces haberent*, etc. A concise form of expression, instead of *ne duplicaretur terror, qui duplicatus esset, si ambo fasces haberent.* Each consul had twelve lictors with the fasces, but it was ordained that, while they were at Rome, only one of the consuls should be preceded by the lictors, and that the other should be attended merely by a single accensus. This arrangement was to be for month and month about. When they were not at Rome, however, but at the head of armies, each consul was preceded by his own lictors; and they then also retained the axe in the fasces, whereas in the city the axe was removed. The kings, however, always had the axe both at home and abroad. Compare note on bk. i., chap. viii., line 7.—*Prior fasces habuit.* That is, for the first month.

29–36. *Avidum novæ libertatis.* "Eager to maintain their newly acquired freedom."—*Frequentia ordinis.* "The fulness of the order."—*Ad trecentorum summam explevit.* Niebuhr thinks that Livy exaggerates when he speaks of the Senate having been thinned by the executions of Tarquin, and considers it more likely that very many seats were vacated by the banishment or emigration of the adherents of the Tarquins. On the other hand, in mentioning that Brutus filled up the number of the Senate to 300, Livy omits to state that, among the equites who were so admitted, there were some plebeians also, belonging to the richest families of the commons. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 526.)—*Qui patres quique conscripti essent.* "Those who were *patres* and those who were *conscripti*," i. e., those who were old members, and had obtained this rank by inheritance, and those who were new members, having recently been enrolled among or added to the old ones. According to this explanation, the Senate was summoned, and was also addressed by speakers, as "*Patres, Conscripti*" (i. e., *Patres et Conscripti*), the connecting conjunction *et* being omitted, as it often is in ancient formulæ. But in later times it was forgotten that these names belonged to different sorts of persons, and the whole Senate was addressed, as by one name, "*Patres Conscripti.*"

CHAPTER II.

3, 4. *Necubi.* For *ne alicubi.* "Lest in anything." Gronovius conjectures *ne ubiubi*, which Drakenborch and others adopt. This will require us to supply *esset* after *ubiubi* ("lest, wherever it might be");

but, as Zumpt remarks, of this ellipsis with the generalizing relative adverb *ubiubi* no example can be brought forward.—*Regem sacrificulum.* "A sacrificing king." This priest was also termed *Rex Sacrificus* and *Rex Sacrorum.* He held his office for life, was not allowed to hold any civil or military dignity, and was at the same time exempted from all military and civil duties. His principal functions were to perform those *sacra publica* which had been performed by the kings; and his wife, who bore the title of *Regina Sacrorum,* had, like the queens of former days, also to perform certain priestly functions. For other particulars, consult *Dict. Ant.,* s. v.

5–13. *Pontifici subjecere.* The Pontifex Maximus is meant. Consult note on bk. i., chap. xx., line 18.—*Ac nescio an nimis,* etc. "And perhaps they exceeded the proper bounds by fencing it in too much on all sides, even in the most trivial matters." The expression *nescio an* is employed to denote uncertainty, but with an inclination in favor of the affirmative. It properly signifies "I know not, whether not," and hence has acquired the meaning of the adverb *fortasse,* "perhaps." (Zumpt, § 354, 721.)—*Consulis alterius.* "Of one of the two consuls."—*Ne intervallo quidem facto,* etc. "That even after an interval had thus taken place, Tarquinius Superbus, not having given up thoughts of the kingdom, as of a thing really belonging to another, had sought to regain it by wickedness and force, as the inheritance of his house."

17–33. *Hic primo sensim temptantium,* etc. "This language, employed on the part of persons first gradually sounding the dispositions (of the people), was circulated (eventually) throughout the whole state."—*Nec esse Romæ, unde.* "Nor any one to remain in Rome, from whom."—*Invitum se dicere,* etc. "That he said it with reluctance on account of the man," i. e., through regard for the individual. —*Recuperatam esse.* "Had been recovered." Liberty is here regarded as having been their original possession.—*Regium nomen.* His full name was L. Tarquinius Collatinus.—*In imperio.* "In the government."—*Absolve beneficium tuum.* "Complete the favor you have conferred upon your country."—*Munifice augebunt.* Dionysius says that they actually did so.—*Ita persuasum est animis.* "So persuaded are they in mind."—*Regnum.* "Kingly power."

34–44. *Consuli primo tam novæ rei,* etc. "Amazement at so strange and sudden an occurrence had choked the utterance of the consul."—*Major ætate ac dignitate.* "Superior to the rest in age and character." *Dignitas* here refers to respectability, high character, and influence in general.—*Agere varie, rogando,* etc. "Began to try various expedients, by using entreaty and advice alternately." *Alternis* is here used as an adverb. Strictly speaking, however, it is the ablative of the

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adjective, *vicibus* being understood.—*Privato.* "When a private individual," i. e., after the expiration of his year of office.—*Lavinium.* Consult note on bk. i., chap. i., line 41.—*Cessit.* Plutarch, in his life of Poplicola, says that he was not compelled to leave Rome until he attempted to save his nephews the Aquilii. And it is also stated that he obtained twenty talents out of the public treasury, and five from Brutus, out of his own property, as a compensation.—*Ad populum tulit.* "Proposed to the people," i. e., brought in a bill to that effect. This he did as presiding officer at the comitia. So in the next clause, *sibi creavit.*

CHAPTER III.

2–17. *Spe omnium serius fuit.* "Was later (in its breaking out) than all expected."—*Nec hi tenui loco orti.* "And these, too, not sprung from a lowly origin."—*Quorum in regno*, etc. "Whose passions had been less restrained during the king's reign, the equals in age and boon companions of the young Tarquinii."—*Æquato jure omnium.* "Now that the rights of all were equalized."—*In suam vertisse servitutem.* "Had turned into their slavery," i. e., had become slavery for them. *Vertisse* is only apparently intransitive here, *se* being in reality understood.—*Regem hominem esse*, etc. There is a forcible opposition here between *hominem* and *leges*, as implied by the words *rem surdam.* A king is but a man, and a man may be swayed by favor or kindness; but not so the laws, which are deaf to expostulation.—*Ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit.* "Where right, where wrong may be required," i. e., whether your request be a fair or an unfair one.—*Locum.* "Room."—*Inopi quam potenti.* Livy often uses the singular to indicate a class.—*Sola innocentia vivere.* "To live solely by one's integrity," i. e., to have no security for life but innocence.

18–24. *Ægris.* "Being discontented."—*Superveniunt.* "Come unexpectedly."—*Bona tantum repetentes.* Under the head of "effects" are probably here included those of the different individuals who either went or were driven forth along with the Tarquins.—*Tenuit.* "Continued." Taken intransitively.—*Interim legati alia moliri.* The ordinary text has *alii alia moliri.* This, however, would merely signify that the ambassadors were planning different schemes. As, however, together with the application for the restitution of the property, they were privately plotting for the return of the Tarquins, and for this alone, it is evident that *alii* must be stricken out, and the clause *clam recuperandi regni consilia struere* must be regarded as explanatory of *alia.* The ambassadors were pursuing one course with the Senate, and another with the young nobles.—*Tamquam ad id, quod agi videbatur.* "As if to promote the business which seemed to be carrying on," i. e., the restoration of the king's property.

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CHAPTER IV.

1–8. *Vitelliis.* The patrician house of the Vitellii (in place of whom Dionysius has the Gellii) appears to have died out with the individuals here mentioned. The Aquilii, however, are spoken of at a later period. Compare chap. xl., line 51. The Aquilii mentioned in the text were born of a sister of Collatinus.—*Adolescentes liberi.* "Sons grown up to manhood."—*In societatem consilii.* "Into a participation in the plot."—*Conscii.* "As accomplices."—*Abiit.* "Has perished." *Interiit* and *intercidit* are more usual in this sense.

8–16. *In senatu.* The decision of the *Comitia Curiata* (Dionys., v., 6) is passed over by Livy in silence.—*Quæ censebat.* "Which recommended."—*Causam.* "As a pretext."—*Sumpsissent.* "They had obtained."—*Evincuntque instando.* "And gain their point by urging."—*Nam aliter, qui crediturus eos,* etc. "For otherwise how would they (the Tarquins) believe that false tidings were not communicated (to them) respecting affairs of so much importance?" Observe that *qui* is here the ablative. The employment of *super* for *de* is confined almost entirely, as Zumpt remarks, to writers of the silver age.—*Manifestum facinus fecerunt.* "Made the treason palpable."

17–27. *Cœnatum forte,* etc. "They had chanced to sup at the house of the Vitellii." The common text has *et* before *cœnatum,* but strict Latinity is against making *que* follow *et,* and we have accordingly thrown it out.—*Excepit.* "Overheard." More literally, "Caught up."—*Rem coarguere possent.* "Might be able to prove clearly the whole affair."—*Ne intercideren.* "Lest they should escape their hands." More literally, "Fall between (their fingers)."—*Commisisse, ut hostium loco essent.* "To have so far committed themselves, that they should be (regarded) in the light of open enemies, yet the law of nations prevailed," i. e., the international law, which renders inviolate the persons of ambassadors.

CHAPTER V.

2–4. *Res integra refertur ad patres.* "The whole subject is laid again before the fathers."—*In publicum redigi.* "To be converted into public property." Supply *ærarium* with *publicum.* That is, to be sold, and the proceeds of the sale to be paid into the public treasury.—*Diripienda.* "To be plundered."—*Contacta regia præda.* "Being infected by the royal plunder," i. e., polluted, as it were, and rendered criminal in the eyes of the king by their plundering his property.

7–14. *Martius deinde campus fuit.* "Has thence become the Cam-

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[illegible] Martem," i. e. the field of Mars. Dionysius, however, says that this place was consecrated to Mars long before this, but that Tarquin had taken possession of and added it to his own use.—*Religionem erat obtendere.*—"A religious scruple prevented them from making use of." More literally, "It was a religious obstacle to make use of."—*Deorum ira*, etc.—"A large force of men sent into it in a body threw the green sods down together with the straw, by means of hurdles, and as they fell sank with shallow water," etc.—*Sedem sibi iam*.—"Became settled, as having been covered over with mud."—*Insanum aut sanctum*, etc.—"That an island was gradually formed in the river, and that from other materials which the river's current bears as well as from soil being carried on to the same quarter."

14. *Moles*.—"Embankments of masonry."—*Mensque adjutus*.—"And that it was built by human labor."—*Tam amnibus*, etc.—"So conspicuous a site as it is at the present day, and fine enough for supporting," etc. This mound lay between Rome and the Janiculum, and was called *Insula Tiberina*, or *Insula Sacra*. The latter of these names was given to it from the legend of the serpent brought from Epidaurus, as a symbol of Æsculapius, to which deity a splendid temple was erected here.

15–20. *Damnati*. Livy does not say by whom they were condemned and punished, but the context plainly shows that it must have been by the consuls, from whom, however, an appeal lay to the people. According to Dionysius and Plutarch, Brutus alone sat in judgment on his sons, but both consuls on the other conspirators. (Dion., v., 13.) Niebuhr maintains that Brutus punished his children by his authority as a father, and that there was no appeal to the people from the father (*H. R.*, vol. i., p. 489).—*Et, qui*.—"And because," etc. Supply *quod* after *et*.

23–29. *Velut ab ignotis capitibus*.—"As if from unknown persons."—*Miserebatque non pœnæ magis*, etc.—"And men felt pity not more on account of their punishment than their guilt," i. e., because they looked upon this guilt as proceeding not so much from any bad principle as from some blind infatuation.—*Illos, eo potissimum anno*, etc. These are the reflections of the people.—*Induxisse in animum*, etc. "Had taken it into their mind to betray," etc.—*Infesto exsuli*.—"An embittered exile."

29–32. *Sedem suam*. The tribunal.—*Securique ferunt*. Beheading was the usual punishment of traitors.—*Eminente animo patrio*, etc. "His feelings as a father appearing evident to the view during the duty of inflicting public punishment." Drakenborch says the passage means that, while he superintended the public punishment of his sons,

his stern mind, though he was their father, was a more remarkable spectacle than his stern countenance; i. e., *animo eminente supra spectaculum oris.* But, though Dionysius and others represent him as obdurate and unmoved, this meaning, as Prendeville remarks, seems improbable, since how could his firmness of mind be seen except by his steadiness of countenance? Besides, it is scarcely credible that on such an occasion he did not evince some symptoms of humanity and paternal love.

33–39. *Secundum.* "After."—*Ut in utramque partem,* etc. "That there might be a signal example both ways for the preventing of crimes," i. e., by punishing the guilty and rewarding the informer.—*Vindicta.* "By the form *vindicta.*" The *vindicta* was properly the rod which was laid on the head of a slave by the prætor before he manumitted him. When a master wished to emancipate a slave, the usual method was to bring him before the magistrate, and say, "I wish this man to be free." The magistrate, or a lictor, then, putting a rod on his head, said, "He is free." Whereupon the lictor, or the master, turning him round in a circle (which was called *vertigo*), and giving him a blow on the cheek (*alapa*), let him go.—*Vindictæ nomen.* "The name of *vindicta.*"—*Observatum.* "It was observed as a rule."—*Viderentur.* "Should be supposed."

CHAPTER VI.

2–16. *Ad irritum cadentis.* "Sinking to disappointment."—*Etruriæ urbes.* The cities of southern Etruria are meant.—*Se ortum.* "A man sprung from themselves."—*Ex tanto modo regno.* "From a kingdom lately so flourishing."—*Augentem.* "While striving to increase." He alludes particularly to the siege of Ardea.—*Partes regni rapuisse.* "Had seized as plunder, and divided the different parts of the kingdom." Observe the double force of *rapuisse.* By *partes regni* are here meant the several functions of royalty.—*Expers sceleris.* "Free from guilt."—*Repetere.* "To recover."—*Persequi.* "To take vengeance upon." More literally, "To follow with vengeance."

18–27. *Ac pro se quisque,* etc. "And in a menacing tone they loudly declare, each for his part, that their disgraces should be effaced under a Roman leader at least," i. e., each to the best of his individual exertions, that they should wipe off their past disgraces, now at least when under a Roman general, since they were not able to do so before, when under a leader of their own.—*Suos.* "That their countrymen."—*Quadrato agmine.* "In battalion order of march." By *agmen quadratum* is meant an army marching in order of battle, in the form of a parallelogram. It was not a square battalion, but a battalion in line,

ready to meet the enemy.—*Ad explorandum.* "To reconnoitre."—*Primus eques*, etc. "The enemy's cavalry was the foremost in the line of march."

29–34. *Ex lictoribus.* The lictors attended upon the general in war also.—*Cognovit.* "Recognized."—*Ipse en ille.* Observe that *ipse* is placed first, since the emphasis rests upon it, inasmuch as Brutus seemed to the speaker to have driven out the Tarquins in order to reign himself. Hence, too, *en* is placed after the emphatic word. So in bk. iii., chap. xvii., we have "*primus en ego.*"—*Magnifice incedit.* "Moves pompously along," i. e., struts proudly.—*In ipsum consulem.* "Full against the consul."

34–39. *In se iri.* "That his movement is directed against himself."—*Decorum erat tum.* "It was honorable in those days."—*Adeo infestis animis.* "With feelings so deeply embittered."—*Dum vulneraret.* "Provided he could wound."—*Contrario ictu.* "By his opponent's blow." Literally, "By the opposite blow."—*Parmam.* The parma was a "buckler" used by the light-armed troops and the cavalry of the Roman army. It was circular in form, about three feet in diameter, and very strongly made upon a framework of iron.—*Hastis.* The spears that were implanted in them.

41–45. *Æquo Marte.* Compare bk. i., chap. xxxiii., line 16.—*Non stetit solum.* "Not only stood their ground."—*Pepulit.* "Drove in," i. e., obliged them to give way.

CHAPTER VII.

1–8. *Ita cum pugnatum esset.* That is, with uncertain issue to the battle.—*Tantus terror.* "So great a panic."—*Omissa irrita re.* "Having given up their attempt as ineffectual."—*Silva Arsia.* This forest was situated on the confines of the Roman and Veientine territories. It was probably nothing more than a sacred grove.—*Silvani.* Silvanus was a Latin deity of the fields and forests.—*Uno plus Tuscorum*, etc. "That more of the Etrurians (than of the Romans) by one man had fallen in the battle; that the Romans were the victors in the general issue of the war." It would have been clearer if Livy had said *uno plures*, since *uno plus*, etc., might also mean, "That more than one man fell on the part of the Etruscans." Consult the remarks of Zumpt, § 488, note 1.

9–15. *Ita certe.* "In this way at least," i. e., as far as the point could be ascertained from the marvellous announcement alluded to.—*Pro victis.* "As good as vanquished."—*Apparatu.* "Magnificence."

— *Multo majus morti decus fuit.* "Was a much greater honor to his death," i. e., to the deceased.—*Annum.* This was a year of ten months, such being at that time the length of the Roman year, as appointed by Numa. Tradition says that this was the period of time which the same king had fixed for widows to go into mourning for their husbands.—*Tam acer ultor.* "So strenuous an avenger."

18–21. *Ex favore.* "After popularity."—*Cum atroci crimine.* "Coupled with a heinous charge."—*In summa Velia.* The position of the Velia has been made a matter of much discussion among antiquarians. It would seem to have been the rising ground between the Palatine, the Esquiline, and the eastern side of the Forum.—*Alto atque munito loco.* Cicero (*De Rep.*, ii., 31) says that Valerius built on the same spot where Tullus Hostilius had previously dwelt.—*Arcem inexpugnabilem fieri.* "An impregnable stronghold was being erected." The common text has *fore*, for which we have substituted *fieri*, with Weissenborn and others. Some manuscripts have *fieri fore*, the copyists evidently being uncertain which was the true reading, and leaving it therefore to the choice of the reader.

22, 23. *Indignitate.* "By a sense of their unworthiness."—*Summissis fascibus.* "The fasces having been lowered," i. e., in token of respect to the majesty of the people. Livy omits to state here what is mentioned by Dionysius (v., 19), and by himself also in another passage (bk. xxiv., chap. ix.), that Valerius took away the *securis* from the fasces, so long as the consuls were within the city.—*In contionem escendit.* "He mounted a high place for the purpose of delivering an harangue." The steps of the *Curia Hostilia* are probably meant.

27–35. *Ibi audire jussis.* "Then being ordered to listen," i. e., being called to silence. The more usual reading is *ubi audire jussi*, but this is less spirited.—*Mortem occubuisset.* "He had encountered death."—*Ad crimen atque invidiam.* "For accusation and calumny," i. e., as an object of these.—*Ex liberatore patriæ*, etc. "That he had fallen back (in their estimation) to a level with the Aquilii and Vitellii, from having been regarded as the liberator of his country."—*Nunquamne ergo*, etc. The transition from the *oratio obliqua* to the *oratio recta* most happily expresses the excitement of the speaker.—*Adeo a vobis spectata.* "So fully proved by you."—*Subiturum.* "Would undergo."

37–45. *Tam levi momento*, etc. "Does my reputation hang with so light a weight in the balance?" i. e., when my reputation and your fear of my making myself king are weighed against each other, does the former hang with so light a weight in the scales?—*Adeone est fundata*, etc. "Is my credit so lightly established?"—*Non obstabunt.* "Shall

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not stand in the way of."—*Colli etiam subjiciam.* "I will also place it beneath the hill."—*Melius creditur.* "Is more securely intrusted." —*Ubi nunc Vicæ Potæ est.* "Where now the temple of Victory is." Supply *ædes.*—*Vica Pota*, that is, "the victor and conqueror" (*quæ vincit et potitur*), was the old name for *Victoria*, the goddess of victory.

CHAPTER VIII.

1–4. *Quæ . . . absolverent.* "Of such a nature as to acquit." The relative is equivalent here to *tales ut*, and hence is followed by the subjunctive. Consult Zumpt, § 558.—*Sed quæ adeo in contrarium verterent*, etc. "But such as to change the whole affair to so opposite a character, that they even made him popular." After *verterent* supply *rem.*—*Popularem.* The term *popularis*, in its political sense, properly means one who is attached or devoted to the people, as opposed to the nobility. Hence the general signification of "popular." So in the plural, by *populares* are strictly meant the people's party, as opposed to the optimates or aristocracy.—*Cognomen Publicolæ.* The term *Publicola* means literally, "one who courts the people" (from *populus* and *colo*), and thus, as here, "a friend of the people." The form *Poplicula* or *Poplicola* was the most ancient. *Poplicola* generally occurs in inscriptions, but we also find *Poplicula* (Orelli, *Inscr.*, No. 547). *Publicola* was the more modern form, and seems to have been the one usually employed by the Romans in later times. We find it in the best manuscripts of Livy, and in the palimpsest manuscript of Cicero *De Republica.*

6–10. *Sacrandoque cum bonis capite ejus.* "And the devoting of the life together with the property of him." This ceremony of devoting a guilty head was equivalent to a declaration of outlawry. The property of the offender was confiscated, and any one might kill him with impunity.—*Ut sua unius in his gratia esset.* "That the popularity in the case of these might be exclusively his own." Observe that *sua unius* is for *sui unius*, or, in other words, *unius* is put in apposition with the personal pronoun implied in the possessive *sua.* (Zumpt, § 424.) —*Collegæ subrogando.* "For electing a new colleague." The verb *subrogare* means literally, "to choose in place of another." So here, "to choose a colleague in place of Brutus."

11–21. *Sp. Lucretius.* The father of Lucretia, Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus. Compare bk. i., chap. lviii., line 21, and chap. lx., line 20.—*Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt.* They place Horatius immediately after Brutus." Polybius (iii., 22) mentions Brutus and Horatius together as the first consuls.—*Memoria intercidisse.* "That it has fallen out of remembrance." The idea literally conveyed by *intercidere* is,

as we have before remarked, that of something slipping between the fingers and falling to the ground.—*Necessarii.* "The kinsfolk."

23–27. *Postem jam tenenti.* The person who dedicated a temple held the door-post during the ceremony.—*Fœdum nuntium incutiunt.* "They abruptly communicate the shocking intelligence." *Incutio* literally conveys the idea of suddenly striking into and thus seeking to excite and agitate. The false news on the present occasion was brought by M. Valerius, the brother of Publicola.—*Funestaque familia.* "And that the family having been defiled," i. e., as having in it an unburied corpse.—*Non crediderit factum.* "Whether he did not believe the fact." Supply *utrum* before *non.*—*Tantum animo roboris.* "So much firmness in his mind." Supply mentally, "that he was not disconcerted by the intelligence."—*Nec interpretatio est facilis.* "Nor is the decision an easy one."

28–31. *Nihil aliud ad eum nuntium*, etc. "Having been turned off from the purpose in hand to this intelligence, no farther than that he might order the body to be carried forth (for interment)." More literally, "In no other way." If any omen was unexpectedly presented to a man, while his thoughts were employed on some other subject, this was called *augurium oblativum*, and he was at liberty not to receive it, as was the case with Horatius. But if he asked for an omen from the gods, and got one, it was called *impetrativum*, and he was bound to obey it.—*Inde.* "After this."

CHAPTER IX.

1, 2. *Ad Lartem Porsenam.* "To Lars Porsena." The term *Lars* or *Larth* was a title of honor, given to almost all the Etruscan kings or chiefs, and makes the genitive in *Lartis* or *Larthis.* It probably means "Lord." On the other hand, *Lar*, signifying "a god," makes the genitive in *Laris.*—*Porsenam.* The quantity of the penult in this word is doubtful. We might infer from the form *Porsenna* that the penult was long, but we sometimes find it short in the poets. Niebuhr, indeed, asserts that Martial (*Epigr.*, xiv., 98) was guilty of a decided blunder in shortening the penult; but Mr. Macaulay points out (*Lays of Ancient Rome*, p. 45) that other Latin poets have committed the same decided blunder, as, for instance, Horace in his pure Iambic line, "*Minacis aut Etrusca Porsĕnæ manus*" (*Epod.*, xvi., 4), and Silius Italicus in several passages. The penult, however, is not short in all the Latin poets, as the line of Virgil proves, "*Nec non Tarquinium ejectum Porsēna jubebat*" (*Æn.*, viii., 646), and the Greek writers make it long, Πορσήνας (Plut., *Publ.*, 16), Πορσῖνος (Dionys., v., 21), etc. It would, therefore, seem that the word was pronounced indifferently

either *Porsĕna* or *Porsēna*. (Smith, *Dict. Biogr.*, s. v.)—*Clusinum regem*. "King of Clusium." Clusium, now *Chiusi*, was an inland city of Etruria, one of the most ancient and powerful in that country, and one of the twelve cities which formed the Etrurian confederation. It was situated about twenty miles to the south of Cortona, and was distant eight hundred stadia (one hundred Roman miles) from Rome. Its earlier name was Camars, which makes it probable that it was originally an Umbrian city.

7–13. *Satis libertatem ipsam*, etc. "That liberty has sufficient sweets of itself," i. e., without its being encouraged from without by suffering this custom of expelling kings to pass unavenged. — *Nisi quanta vi*, etc. "That unless kings, with as great energy as states seek it out, with so great protect their kingdoms, the highest things are reduced to a level with the lowest," etc.—*Rei pulcherrimæ*. "The most beautiful institution."—*Amplum*. "A great thing."

18–21. *Vel cum servitute pacem acciperet*. "Should accept peace even though attended with slavery."—*Blandimenta*. "Conciliatory favors."—*Cumas*. Cumæ, the most ancient of the Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily, was situated on the coast of Campania, and was powerful at this time both by land and sea.—*Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium*, etc. "The license also of selling salt, as it was sold at an exorbitant price, was taken away from private individuals, the whole expense having been assumed by the public treasury," i. e., the whole expense attending the manufacture of the article. The object of this arrangement was to supply the salt to the people at a lower rate. With *sumptu* supply *recepto*, an ellipsis naturally suggested by *in publicum*, and after publicum supply *ærarium*. The salt-works referred to were at Ostia, and had been established by Ancus Marcius. By the arrangement now introduced they were no longer let by auction, but the state took them under its own management, and carried them on by means of persons employed to work on the public account. In retaining *omni sumptu* we have followed the reading of all the manuscripts. Lipsius, who is followed by Zumpt and others, conjectures *sumpto*, and makes the meaning to be, "all the salt being transferred to the state." Gronovius gives *omne sumptum*, making *arbitrium* mean the "farming," which was let out (*venibat*) at a high price, and which the state now took to itself. The manuscript reading is decidedly the best.

23–25. *Portoriis et tributo*. "From port-duties and taxes." By *portoria* are meant duties paid on imported and exported goods. Sometimes also the term is applied to the duties raised upon goods for being carried through a country or over bridges. The *tributum* was not a property tax in the strict sense of the word, but a direct

tax upon objects without regard to their produce, like a land or house tax, which indeed formed the main part of it. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 581.)—*Plebes.* Equivalent here to *pauperes*, which latter term again is the same as *proletarii* or *capite censi.*—*Qui oneri ferendo essent.* "Who might be able to bear the burden." This construction of *esse* with the dative of the gerund is usually explained by an ellipsis of *idoneus;* but it is better not to have recourse to an ellipsis, and to consider it analogous to the expression *auxilio alicui esse.* (Zumpt, § 664, note 1.)—*Satis stipendii.* "Tax enough."—*Si liberos educerent.* "If they brought up their children." The reference is to physical education merely. The manuscripts have *educent*, which appears to have arisen by abbreviation (*educ'ent*) from *educerent.* Many editions have *educarent*, but this refers to moral education, which the *pauperes* could not afford to give.

CHAPTER X.

1–11. *Pro se quisque.* "Each for himself," i. e., as best he could. —*Sepiunt præsidiis.* The parts that were not sufficiently strong they make secure by military posts.—*Tiberi objecto.* On this side therefore there were no walls.—*Pons sublicius iter pœne*, etc. "The sublician bridge almost afforded a passage to the enemy, had there not been," etc., i. e., would have afforded, etc. Historical writers often employ the perfect indicative instead of the pluperfect subjunctive, to render a description more animated, and to indicate that a part of the inference has already come to pass, and that the whole would have been realized if some obstacle had not been thrown in the way. (Zumpt, § 519.)—*Munimentum.* "Bulwark."—*Janiculum.* Compare bk. i., chap. xxxiii., line 24.—*Citatos.* "At full speed."—*Reprehensans.* An unusual form, employed to express frequency of action.—*Obsistens.* "Standing in their way."—*Testabatur.* "He assured them." Observe the poetic tinge in *obtestans . . . testabatur.*—*Præsidio.* "Their post," i. e., the Janiculum, where they had been stationed.

12, 13. *Si transitum pontem*, etc. "If they should have left the bridge after having been crossed by them in their rear," i. e., if they crossed the bridge and left it behind them. As we can say in the active *transeo pontem*, so we can have in the passive *transitus pons.* Some less correctly read *transitui*, or else make *transitum* a substantive in apposition with *pontem.* Compare "*Alpes transitæ*," bk. xxi., chap. xliii., line 12, and "*Amne transito*," bk. xxiii., chap. xxviii.—*Jam.* "That soon."

13–18. *Monere, prædicere.* Historical infinitives. Many editions, less correctly, connect these in construction with the previous clause; "That he therefore charged, that he warned them."—*Possint.* The

present is here more animated than *possent*, as given in most editions, and brings the action at once before the view. So likewise *interrumpant.*—*Aditum.* "Entrance."—*Insignisque inter conspecta*, etc. "And conspicuous amid the backs visible to the foe of those retiring from the fight." We have preferred the ablative *pugna* as the more natural reading. The ordinary text has *pugnæ cedentium*, "of those yielding (or, giving way) to the fight."—*Obversis comminus*, etc. "With his arms turned against them for close encounter." Observe that *comminus* is to be construed with *ad ineundum prælium.*

20–27. *Lartium.* An Etrurian name, and indicating, as Weissenborn suggests, that there were Etrurians fighting on the side of the Romans also.—*Et quod tumultuosissimum*, etc. "And what was the most furious part of the battle."—*Proceres.* The Lucumones, or leaders, of the Etrurians.—*Servitia.* "Slaves." Abstract for concrete. —*Alienam oppugnatum.* "To attack that of others."

29–35. *Incipiant.* The plural, because the idea implied in *alius alium* is plural. Cicero, however, in such a case, would, as Zumpt remarks (§ 367), have employed the singular verb. Gronovius is in favor of reading *incipiat* here also. —*Neque ille minus obstinatus*, etc. "And he with no less resolution kept possession of the bridge in firmest attitude of defence." *Gradus* is here employed in its gladiatorial sense, to indicate the position or ground taken by a combatant. The expression *ingenti gradu* does not therefore mean, as some think, "with vast strides," but refers to one firm and fixed position.—*Impetu.* "By a rush."—*Alacritate perfecti operis.* "From joy at the completion of the work."—*Impetum sustinuit.* "Checked their onset."

37, 38. *Hunc militem.* "This thy soldier."—*Ita sic armatus.* "Upon this, armed as he was." Observe that *ita* is here equivalent in reality to *his dictis.* There is no need therefore of regarding *ita sic*, with Drakenborch and others, as pleonastic here. *Ita* is to be construed separately.—*Incolumis ad suos tranavit.* Polybius (vi., 56) relates the legend differently. According to his account, Cocles defended the bridge alone, and perished in the river. Macaulay observes (*Lays of Ancient Rome*, p. 43), with much probability, that it is likely that there were two old Roman lays about the defence of the bridge; and that, while the story which Livy has transmitted to us was preferred by the multitude, the other, which ascribed the whole glory to Horatius alone, may have been the favorite of the Horatian house. (Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, s. v.)

41–44. *Statua in comitio posita.* This statue was afterwards struck by lightning, and the Etrurian haruspices, who had been consulted respecting the prodigy, envious of the glory of Rome, caused it to be

placed on a lower spot, where the sun never shone upon it. But their treachery was discovered; they were put to death, and the statue was placed on a higher spot, in the Vulcanal, or temple of Vulcan, above the comitium. (Aul. Gell., iv., 5.) The statue still existed in the time of Pliny (*H. N.*, xxxiv., 5, 11, § 22).—*Circumaravit.* "He went around with a plough." The reference is to the drawing a furrow around, not to the ploughing up of land. Dionysius says that Scævola got the same quantity of land. Some commentators think that the domain of the infant republic was too limited to allow such a grant, but they forget that the whole story is mythical.—*Studia.* "Exhibitions of zeal."—*Pro domesticis copiis.* "In proportion to their domestic resources."—*Fraudans.* "Depriving."

CHAPTER XI.

3–11. *Plano.* The plain between the Janiculum and the Tiber.—*Subvehi.* "To be conveyed up (the river)." Literally, "To be brought from below."—*Ut milites transflumen trajiceret.* "That he might throw his soldiers across the river." We have given *trajiceret*, the conjecture of Gronovius, in place of the ordinary reading *trajicerent.*—*Adeo infestum reddidit.* "He so harassed." *Infestus* is here used passively.—*Propellere.* "To drive any thing forth."

11–18. *Hoc tantum licentiæ.* "This so great a degree of impunity," i. e., in their inroads.—*Consilio.* "Policy."—*In parvis rebus negligens ultor.* "A remiss avenger in trifling matters," i. e., indifferent about retaliating by inflicting a petty chastisement.—*Frequentes.* "In great numbers."—*Aversissima.* "Most remote." It was on the other side of the city.—*Servitia infida transfugerent*, etc. "Faithless slaves were in the habit of deserting, and the enemy discovered it by the information of a deserter."

21–23. *Ad secundum lapidem.* "At the second mile-stone," i. e., two miles from Rome. The mile-stones along the Roman roads were called *lapides*, and also *milliaria*, and, when no other place is mentioned, Rome is to be understood as the starting-point. Sometimes we have in full *ab Urbe*, or *a Roma.* Augustus set up a gilt marble pillar in the forum at Rome, to mark the central point from which the great roads diverged to the several gates of Rome. It was called *Milliarium aureum.* Whether the miles began to be reckoned from the pillar itself, or from the city gates, is uncertain.—*Portam Collinam.* The Porta Collina, at the northern extremity of the *agger* of Servius Tullius, was the most northerly of all the gates, and lay near the point where the *Via Salaria* branched off from the *Via Nomentana.* The Etrurians would pass by this gate in going round to the *Porta Esquilina.*

25–31. *Porta Nævia.* The position of this gate is uncertain. It appears to have been in the line of wall between the Aventine and Cælian hills. — *Educit.* He leads them out from Mount Cælius, through the gate called *Cœlimontana*, to the south of the *Porta Esquilina.*—*Versis in Valerium.* "Who had turned against Valerius."—*Redditus clamor.* "The shout was returned."—*Ad fugam sæptis omnibus viis.* "All the avenues for escape having been blocked up."

CHAPTER XII.

1–8. *Erat.* "Continued."—*Expugnaturum se urbem.* "That he would force the city into a surrender."—*Mucius.* This individual appears here as a patrician, and yet the *gens Mucia* is first mentioned 300 years later, and then too as plebeian. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 213.)—*Servientem, cum sub regibus esset.* "Even when in a state of slavery, while they were under their kings."—*Liberum eundem populum.* "(And yet) that the same people, when (now) free."—*Itaque*, etc. "And so (as I intended to state) Mucius, having thought," etc. The discourse was suspended while Livy stated Mucius's reflections, and now he resumes the thread of the story, and returns, as it were, to mention what he had determined upon.—*Facinore.* "Deed."

12–22. *Fortuna tum urbis*, etc. "The forlorn condition of the city at this time corroborating the charge," i. e., stamping it with credibility.—*In vicem ultor.* "An avenger in turn."—*Proficiscitur.* According to Dionysius, Mucius had learned the Etrurian language in his youth, and arrayed himself on the present occasion in Etrurian armor. — *Regium tribunal.* "The king's tribunal." The elevated seat of the commander in the camp is meant.—*Multa ageret.* "Was busily engaged."—*Eum milites*, etc. Observe the asyndeton.—*Ignorando regem.* "By showing his ignorance of the king."—*Quo temere traxit fortuna facinus.* "To whom chance blindly directed the stroke." *Quo* is equivalent here to *in quem.* Literally, "Whither."

26–30. *Destitutus.* "Placed helpless." Both meanings of the verb *destituo* are here combined, namely, the original one of "to set down or place," and the later and more common one of "to forsake or abandon."—*Romanus.* Placed first as the emphatic word.—*Hostis hostem*, etc. As there is no opposition of persons here, the pronoun *ego* is not required to be expressed.—*Nec ad mortem*, etc. "Nor have I less resolution for death in my own case than I had for death in the case of another."—*Fortia.* "With fortitude." The neuter plural of the adjective taken in an adverbial sense, in imitation of the Greek idiom. [Nägelsbach (*Stilistik*, § 102) explains it as a pregnant construction, equivalent to *et agendo et patiendo fortia facinora edere.*]

30–35. *Nec unus in te*, etc. "Nor have I alone entertained these feelings against thee."—*Proinde in hoc discrimen*, etc. "Wherefore, gird thyself for this risk, if it so please thee, that for each successive hour thou mayest have to do battle for thy life."—*Regiæ.* "Of thy pavilion." The royal tent, not palace, is meant.—*Timueris.* Perfect subjunctive as imperative.

37–41. *Circumdari ignes.* "To be placed around him," i. e., to be kindled around.—*Quas insidiarum sibi minas*, etc. "What threats of snares he was darkly throwing out against him."—*Qui magnam gloriam vident.* "Who have great glory in view." Another reading is *petunt.*—*Foculo.* "Into a brazier." The *foculus* was a species of low movable hearth, used properly for sacrifices to the Lares. Consult *Dict. Antiq.*, s. v.

42–51. *Alienato ab sensu.* "Estranged from feeling."—*Attonitus.* "Thunderstruck."—*Altaribus.* Put here for *foculo.*—*In te.* "Against thine own self."—*Juberem macte virtute esse.* "I would bid thee go on and prosper in thy valor."—*Pro mea patria.* "On the side of my country."—*Jure belli liberum.* "Released from the law of war," i. e., from the punishment which, by the laws of war, I could inflict on thee as an enemy.—*Remunerans meritum.* "Making a return for the kindness."—*Ut tuleris.* "So that thou hast obtained." Literally, "Hast borne away."—*Ceteri, ut cuique*, etc. "The rest, according as it shall have fallen by lot to each one first (i. e., before the rest of his associates), will be present, each at his proper time, until fortune shall have put thee in their power." More literally, "Shall have given thee as an opportune one (for the blow)." Several manuscripts and many editions have *utcumque*, "in whatsoever way." We have followed the reading of Drakenborch, as affording the best sense.

CHAPTER XIII.

1–10. *Scævolæ.* The name is said to be derived from *scævus*, "left" (compare the Greek σκαῖος), and *vola*, "the hollow or palm of the hand." The appellation *scævola*, therefore, will mean "the left-handed." For remarks on the legend of Mucius Scævola, consult Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 544 seqq.—*Quo nihil se*, etc. "From which nothing but the mistake of the assassin had sheltered him." The ordinary phraseology would have been *a quo.*—*Jactatum nequidquam*, etc. "Among the conditions, the proposition was thrown out in vain respecting," etc.—*De agro Veientibus restituendo*, etc. "His request was obtained respecting the restoring of their territory to the Veientes, and the necessity of giving hostages, in case they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from the Janiculum, was wrung from the Romans."

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Livy very carelessly mixes up here the two accounts of the termination of this war, the one dictated by Roman vanity, which made Porsena to have been foiled of his object, and the other, or true one, which made Rome to have been actually conquered by the Etrurian monarch. Consult note at the close of the present chapter.

17–21. *Ad publica decora.* "To public acts of glory," i. e., to earn distinction by patriotic exploits.—*Ripa Tiberis.* A different locality, of course, from that mentioned at the beginning of chapter xi., since Porsena had now retired from the Roman territory.—*Ad propinquos restituit.* Another tradition, of far less celebrity than the one here followed by Livy, made all the hostages to have been massacred by Tarquinius, with the exception of Valeria, who swam over the Tiber and escaped to Rome; and the equestrian statue, mentioned below, to have been erected to her, and not to Cœlia. (Dionys., v., 33. Compare Plut., *Poplic.*, 19.)

22–30. *Oratores.* Poetic for *legatos.*—*Alias haud magni facere.* "That he did not make the other hostages of any great consequence."—*Supra Coclites Muciosque.* In comparisons of this kind the person is often mentioned instead of the act or quality by which he is made conspicuous.—*Præ se ferre.* "Openly declared."—*Utrimque constitit fides.* "Good faith stood firm on both sides," i. e., maintained its ground.—*Laudatam.* "After having been eulogized by him."—*Parte.* "With half." Supply *dimidia.*

32–34. *Quod et virginitati decorum*, etc. "What was both honorable to her virgin delicacy, and was sure to be approved of by the agreement of the hostages themselves," etc.—*Opportuna.* "Exposed."

The tale which Livy follows in the present chapter, respecting the conclusion of the war with Porsena, was that by which Roman vanity concealed one of the earliest and greatest disasters of the city. The real fact is that Rome was completely conquered by Porsena. This is expressly stated by Tacitus (*Hist.*, iii., 72), and is confirmed by other writers. Thus Dionysius relates (v., 34) that the Senate sent Porsena an ivory throne, a sceptre, a golden crown, and a triumphal robe, which implies that they did homage to him as their sovereign lord; for we find that the Etrurian cities are represented to have sent the same honors to the Roman king Tarquinius Priscus as an acknowledgment of his supremacy. (Dionys., iii., 62.) So thorough, indeed, was the subjection of the Romans, that they were expressly prohibited from using iron for any other purpose than agriculture. (Plin., *H. N.*, xxxiv., 14, 39, § 139.) Even the common story related that they were deprived of the land which they had taken from the Veientines; and Niebuhr shows that they lost all the territory which the kings had

gained on the right bank of the Tiber, and that they did not recover it until a long time afterwards. He remarks that we find the thirty tribes which were established by Servius Tullius reduced to twenty after the war with Porsena, and that it appears clear from the history of the subsequent war with the Veientines that the Roman territory did not then extend much beyond the Janiculum.

The Romans, however, did not long remain subject to the Etrurians. After the conquest of Rome, Arruns, the son of Porsena, proceeded to attack Aricia, but was defeated before that city by the united forces of the Latin cities, assisted by the Greeks of Cumæ. The Etrurians appear, in consequence, to have been confined to their own territory on the right bank of the Tiber, and the Romans to have availed themselves of the opportunity to recover their independence.

The object of Porsena's expedition against Rome is said to have been the restoration of the Tarquins, and it is natural that such should have been the belief in later times, happening as the war did within a year or two of the establishment of the republic. But if such had been its real object, the Tarquins must have been restored to Rome on the conquest of the city. It is therefore more natural to believe that this war was in reality a great outbreak of the Etrurian nations, who meditated the conquest of Latium, and attacked Rome first, because it was the first city that lay in their way. K. O. Müller even goes so far in opposition to the old tale as to conjecture that it was Porsena who expelled the Tarquins from Rome (*Etrusker*, vol. i., p. 122; Smith, *Dict. Biogr.*, s. v. *Porsena*).

CHAPTER XIV.

1–16. *Huic tam pacatæ profectioni*, etc. "A custom quite at variance with this so peaceful a departure of the Etrurian king from the city," etc.—*Solemnia.* "Established usages."—*Bona Porsenæ regis vendendi.* "Of selling the goods of King Porsena." The public crier, before the sale began, repeated this form of words, which seem to breathe a hostile spirit, though they did not, according to Livy, as appears from the king's peaceful departure, originate from any hostile proceeding.—*Quam hic præ se ferat titulus.* "Than this form of words may seem to import."—*Proximum vero.* "The most probable account."—*Venisse.* "Were sold." From *veneo, -ire.*—*Gratiam muneris significante.* "Implying gratitude for the gift."—*Fortunæ regiæ.* "Of the king's property."—*In potestatem.* For *in potestate*, an irregularity usual, as Zumpt remarks, in some public formulæ, but only sometimes retained by historians. [The accusative is often found in MSS. in these expressions, and seems to have arisen from the confusion of the accusative and ablative in pronunciation;

the letter *m* at the end of words being scarcely audible. Madvig remarks, we never find *in vincla habere* for *in vinclis habere*.]

The Romans of a later age were constantly reminded of Porsena's expedition against their city by the custom at all auctions of offering for sale first the goods of King Porsena. Niebuhr conjectures, with much probability, that this custom may have arisen from the circumstance that, when the Romans recovered their independence, they must have obtained possession of property within the city belonging to Porsena, which they probably sold by auction. (Smith, *Dict. Biogr.*, s. v. *Porsena*.)

20–25. *Ariciam.* Compare bk. i., chap. l.—*Tantum spei fecere.* "Occasioned so much hope."—*Ipso incursu.* "At the very outset."—*Declinavere.* "Turned aside."—*Effuseque prælatos hostes*, etc. "And having wheeled about, attacked in the rear the enemy borne past them in disorder," i. e., who had dashed beyond them in loose array in pursuit of the Aricinians.

27–33. *In medio cæsi.* "Were enclosed and cut to pieces."—*Et fortuna et specie supplicum.* "In both the condition and with the air of supplicants."—*Divisique in hospitia.* "And were distributed through lodgings."—*Hospitum urbisque caritas.* "Affection for their hosts and the city."—*Tuscum vicum.* According, however, to Varro, *L. L.*, iv., 8, and Tacitus, *Ann.*, iv., 65, this street was constructed by Romulus. These conflicting statements may perhaps be reconciled by considering the later settlement as a kind of second or subsidiary one.

CHAPTER XV.

1–6. *M. Horatius*, etc. The common text has *P. Lucretius inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules facti*, omitting the consuls of one year. According to Dionysius (v., 2), and the *Fasti consulares*, M. Horatius and P. Valerius were consuls, and after them Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius. The reading which we have adopted, therefore, is decidedly preferable to the ordinary one. Consult the remarks of Drakenborch, *ad loc.*—*Honoratissimus quisque*, etc. "Each most distinguished one of the fathers." Zumpt thinks that *honoratissimus* here means "who had held the highest offices," but up to this time few high offices could have been filled in the infant republic.

7–14. *Non quin breviter*, etc. Supply before these words *qui regi nuntiarent*. "To announce to the king that the reason why chosen ones of the fathers were sent to him rather than an answer given to his ambassadors at Rome was not because an answer could not have

been made in brief terms that the royal family is not received, but in order that," etc. Observe that *quin* (i. e., *qui non*) is equivalent here to *quia non.*—*Neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis*, etc. "And that amid so great mutual acts of kindness the feelings (of good-will) on either side might not be disturbed."—*In perniciem suam faciles.* "Bent on their own destruction."

15–17. *Non in regno*, etc. "That the Roman people were no longer under the dominion of their kings, but in the enjoyment of liberty." Walker objects to this natural and obvious meaning of the text, and says that the idea intended to be conveyed is as follows: "That the Roman people, under the government of the kings, did not exist as a people," i. e., had no power or influence; but that now, in a free state, and in the enjoyment of liberty, they did exist as a people, i. e., had influence and power. An ingenious but very improbable explanation. The meaning of Livy's words is simply this, that the Romans, being now in a state of liberty, were resolved to maintain that liberty, and have no more kings.—*Eam esse voluntatem omnium.* Some editions have *Ea esse vota, eam esse voluntatem omnium;* but the words *ea esse vota* are merely a conjecture of Rhenanus, drawn in part from one of the manuscripts, though Drakenborch confesses that they are in Livy's style and manner.

20–29. *Verecundia.* "By a feeling of respect."—*Obstinatum.* "Fixed."—*Neque ego obtundam*, etc. "I will neither annoy you by any longer urging these same things to no purpose." *Obtundere* has usually an ellipsis of *aures*, and means literally "to drum the same thing again and again into a person's ears."—*Quod nullum in me est.* "Which does not exist in me," i. e., which it is not in my power to afford.—*Distineat.* "May interrupt." Literally, "May part, or divide."—*Agrum Veientem*, etc. The more probable account has already been given in the note at the close of the previous chapter.—*Fida ita fuit.* "Remained thus inviolable."

CHAPTER XVI.

3–17. *Majore mole.* "With greater exertion," i. e., on a greater scale.—*Adversus eos.* "To oppose these."—*Inter belli pacisque auctores.* "Between the advocates respectively of war and peace."—*Turbatoribus belli.* "The agitators of war."—*Par factioni.* "A match for the faction opposed to him."—*Ab vico Regillo.* "From the township of Regillum." The position of Regillum, except that it lay in the Sabine territory, is entirely unknown.—*Magna clientium*, etc. "No less than three thousand in number."—*Vetus Claudia tribus*, etc. "It was called the old Claudian tribe, new tribesmen being afterwards

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added who came from that same country." There was in later times also a *nova Claudia tribus*, which likewise consisted of Sabines. —*In principum dignationem.* "To the rank of the first men in the state."

18-26. *Cum ita adflixissent.* "When they had so prostrated."—*Rebellionis.* "Of a renewal of hostilities."—*Princeps belli pacisque artibus.* "The leading man in the arts of war and peace."—*Copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis.* "With private resources so scanty."—*De publico.* Supply *ærario.*—*Est datus.* Some read *est elatus.* "He was buried." Literally, "He was borne forth (to his funeral)."—*Pometia.* Consult note on bk. i., chap. liii., line 6.—*Cora.* A city of Latium, on the left of the *Via Appia*, and about thirty-seven miles distant from Rome; now *Cori.*—*Deficiunt.* "Revolt."—*Ad Aurunco s.* The original inhabitants of these places would seem to have belonged to the stem of the Ausones, and these to have now driven out the Roman or Latin colonists. The *Aurunci* and *Ausones* were originally the same people, the two names being merely different forms of the same, with the change, so common in Latin, of the *s* into the *r* (*Aurunci* = *Aurunici* = *Auruni* = *Ausuni*).

29, 30. *Pometiam compulsum est.* "Was concentrated at Pometia." More literally, "Was driven to Pometia."—*Cædibus temperatum est.* "Was any check given to slaughter."—*Et cæsi aliquanto plures.* "Both a good many more were slain, and," etc.

CHAPTER XVII.

1-6. *Verginius.* Written also *Virginius.*—*Vineis.* "By vineæ." The *vinea* was a species of shed or mantlet, under cover of which the assailants advanced to beat down or undermine the walls.—*Magis jam inexpiabili odio.* "More by this time through implacable hatred." *Jam* means, now, after their many defeats.—*Excucurrissent.* "Had sallied forth from the town."

10-18. *Reditum.* "A return was made." Supply *est.*—*Relatus.* Some editions have *relictus*, "having been left," i. e., in the camp at Pometia.—*Supplendoque exercitui.* "And for recruiting the army." —*Cum ira majore belli.* "Both with greater rage for war," i. e., warlike rage.—*Aliaque mole belli.* "And the other apparatus of war," i. e., the other military engines.—*Jam in eo esset, ut*, etc. "The soldiery were now on the point of scaling the walls." Literally, "It was now in such a state that the soldiery would have gone forth upon the walls."—*Nihilo minus fœde.* "No less cruelly."—*Sub corona venierunt*, etc. "The rest, who were colonists, were sold as slaves."

Literally, "Were sold under the crown." An ordinary expression for the sale of prisoners of war, from their being crowned with a chaplet at the time of sale. Observe that by *coloni alii* are meant the other citizens of Pometia.—*Dirutum.* And yet in chap. xxii. he speaks of Pometia and Cora as places that then flourished; and in chap. xxv. he talks of the capture and plunder of Suessa Pometia; in consequence of which inconsistency it has been considered probable that Livy, following different writers, has described the same war in two places. Dionysius makes no mention of this war with the Aurunci.

CHAPTER XVIII.

3–8. *Per ludos.* "On occasion of the games." But *per lasciviam*, "through a wanton spirit."—*Rixa.* "A quarrel."—*Rebellionem.* "A renewal of hostilities."—*Super belli Sabini metum.* The ordinary reading is *supra*, but the thirty communities (*triginta populi*) are the thirty Latin cities which formed a league, and *super*, therefore, as Zumpt remarks, is the necessary reading according to good Latin, in the sense of "in addition to," *supra* being used only of place, "above."—*Octavio Mamilio.* Compare chap. xv., towards the close.

9, 10. *In hac tantarum*, etc. "While the city was in a state of excitement amid this expectation of such important events," i. e., being disquieted amid the anticipations of such serious difficulties.—*Sed nec quo anno*, etc. "But it is not sufficiently clear in what year; or who were the consuls unto whom, because they were of the Tarquinian party (for that, too, is handed down), little confidence was extended," etc. We have placed a semicolon after *anno*, as recommended by Prendeville, *consulibus* being the dative depending on *creditum sit.* Dionysius says that a dictator was appointed four years before this, when Lartius and Cœlius were consuls, and that this appointment was occasioned by the people's refusing to enlist.

15–20. *Consulares legere.* "They chose men of consular rank," i. e., as Dictator and Magister Equitum. The selection of the latter of these functionaries, however, was commonly left to the dictator, unless the senatus consultum specified, as was sometimes the case, and as would seem to have happened in the present instance, the name of the person who was to be appointed. In later times the office of magister equitum was held usually not by a man of consular rank, but by a *vir prætorius*, or one who had been prætor. The dictator himself was always nominated by one of the consuls, but it was necessary that a decree of the Senate should be first passed, authorizing one of the consuls to do this. As the Senate, therefore, virtually chose him through the consul, we have *legere* in the text. Some editors make

consulares the nominative, "men of consular rank chose them," but this is altogether erroneous.—*M.' Valerium, M. filium.* That is, *Manium Valerium, Marci* (Valerii) *filium.*—*Qui, si maxime*, etc. Observe that *qui* refers here to the senators.

23–36. *Postquam præferri secures viderunt.* The dictator was preceded by twenty-four lictors, and, as there was originally no appeal from his sentence, his lictors bore the axes in the fasces even in the city, as a symbol of his absolute power over the lives of the citizens, although, as we have already seen, by the Valerian law, the axes had disappeared from the fasces of the consuls. Subsequently, however, an appeal lay from their sentence to the people.—*Dicto.* "His order."—*In cura parendi.* "In careful submission." Literally, "In the care of obeying."—*Hominibus adolescentibus.* The Sabine youth mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.—*Præstare.* "To make good."—*Tacitæ.* "With the tacit consent of both parties," i. e., without any formal ratification of the same.

CHAPTER XIX.

3–11. *Fidenæ.* Compare bk. i., chap. xxvii., line 11.—*Crustumeria.* Compare bk. i., chap. ix., line 24.—*Præneste.* Now *Palestrina*, an old and powerful city of Latium, nearly due east from Rome, from which it was distant twenty-three miles.—*Gliscens.* "Kindling." *Glisco* properly means to gather strength, as a fire.—*A. Postumius dictator.* This statement must, as Zumpt remarks, if we believe Livy's own declaration (chap. xviii.) that only men of consular rank were named dictators, be doubted. For A. Postumius was neither one of the consuls of the present year, nor had he ever borne the office before. It would seem more correct, therefore, as the same editor remarks, to follow those annalists who, as Livy tells us in chap. xxi., assigned the battle with the Latins at Lake Regillus to the third year after this. —*Ad lacum Regillum.* The Lake Regillus lay at the foot of the Tusculan hills.—*Sustineri ira non potuit*, etc. "Their fury could not be restrained, but that they must engage forthwith."

12–20. *Aliquanto quam cetera*, etc. "Considerably more hard-fought and desperate than all the others (had been)."—*Suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes.* "But they themselves in their own persons encountering the risk." The common text has *ipsis.* Our reading *ipsi* is an emendation of Gronovius.—*Ætate et viribus gravior.* He was now about ninety years of age; and therefore Dionysius says he was not at the battle.—*Admisit.* "Urged on." Equivalent often, as here, to *immisit.*

23–30. *Nec fefellit*, etc. "Nor did he, as he came on, escape the

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notice of," etc.—*Contra quem*, etc. Observe that *quem* here refers to Æbutius, and *ille* to *dux Tusculanus*, or Mamilius.—*Tantaque vis infestis*, etc. "And so great was the impetuosity of the parties, as they came onward with hostile spears, that the arm of Æbutius was pierced through, the breast of Mamilius was wounded." Literally, "Was struck." This does not, of course, imply that it was pierced through like the arm of his opponent, but the idea of wounding is merely a general one.—*Prælium ciet.* "Stirs up the fight."—*Ea.* Scil. *cohors exsulum.*

CHAPTER XX.

3–11. *Ostentantem se.* "Displaying himself proudly."—*Ut, cujus familiæ*, etc. "That the slaying of the kings might be a glory on the part of that same family, on the part of which their expulsion was a glory." The Latin participles are here converted in our idiom into nouns.—*Infenso cessit hosti.* "Shrunk from his infuriated enemy." Literally, "Yielded unto," etc.—*Ex transverso.* "Sideways." More literally, "From a cross direction."—*Nec quidquam equitis vulnere*, etc. The galloping of the horse contributed to his fall. This is his reason for saying that the speed of the horse was not in any way checked by the rider's wound.—*Ad terram defluxit.* "Sank down gradually to earth." Observe the poetic form of the language here.

14–16. *Cohorti suæ.* Even in the early times of the republic the Roman general appears to have been attended by a select troop as his body-guard. At a later period Scipio Africanus formed a regular cohort for this purpose, termed *cohors prætoria*, out of the bravest troops, whom he exempted from all other duties except guarding his person, and to whom he gave sixfold pay. At a still later day the prætorian cohorts became a separate force owing to the policy of Augustus, and played an important part in the history of the empire.—*Dat signum.* "He gives orders."—*Metu ancipiti.* "Through fear from both sides," i. e., fear both from the enemy and their own side."

22–34. *Ex subsidiariis.* "From the reserve." The Triarii probably are meant.—*Tanto vi majore*, etc. "Joined battle with the leader of the enemy with so much greater fury than the master of the horse had done a little before."—*Veruto.* Consult note on bk. i., chap. xliii., line 20.—*In primum.* "To the front." The more usual form of expression would be *in primam aciem.*—*Pro antesignanis.* "As a front line." The *antesignani* were the men in the first line of infantry, so called because the standards (*signa*) were carried in the second and third lines. They were otherwise denominated *hastati.*—*Juventutis proceres.* "The nobles of the young men," i. e., the young nobles. The Equites were all *Juniores*, and the most conspicuous for birth and

station of all included under the military age.—*Æquato genere pugnæ.* That is, by their foregoing the advantage of their horses, and forgetting their superiority of rank.

35–42. *Impulsi Latini.* "The Latins were driven in," i. e., beaten back.—*Equiti admoti equi.* "Their horses were brought to the cavalry," i. e., to those horsemen who had dismounted as above.—*Eodem impetu quo fuderant.* "By the same charge with which they had routed."—*Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est.* Hardly any event in early Roman history has been more disguised by poetical embellishment and fiction than the battle of Regillus, and it is impossible to decide what amount of historical character may be attached to it.

CHAPTER XXI.

1–4. *Triennio deinde.* "During three years thereafter."—*Clavius.* Another form for Cluilius.—*Ædes Saturno dedicata.* It was in this temple the public money and public records were kept.—*Saturnalia instituta festus dies.* "The Saturnalia festival-day was instituted." Observe the apposition between *festus dies* and *Saturnalia*, and compare bk. xxxiv., chap. liv.: "*Cerealia ludos fecerunt.*" The Saturnalia was the festival of Saturn, to whom the inhabitants of Latium attributed the introduction of agriculture and the arts of civilized life. Falling towards the end of December, at the season when the agricultural labors of the year were fully completed, it was celebrated in ancient times, by the rustic population, as a sort of joyous harvest-home. During its continuance no public business could be transacted, the law courts were closed, the schools kept holiday, to commence a war was impious, to punish a malefactor involved pollution. Slaves, too, enjoyed during this period some singular immunities and privileges. Strictly speaking, one day was consecrated to religious observances (hence *festus dies* in our text), the festivities, however, lasted seven days.

6–13. *Hoc demum anno.* "In this year and not sooner." This is the account of Dionysius, and very probably the correct one.—*Dubiæ fidei.* "Of doubtful fidelity (to the state)," i. e., suspected of favoring the interests of the Tarquins.—*Tanti errores implicant temporum.* "Such mistakes about dates embarrass one," i. e., who describes the events of these early times. Supply *res gestas scribentem*, or something equivalent. A mental, however, rather than an actual ellipsis.—*Qui consules secundum quosdam.* "What consuls came after certain consuls," i. e., there were some consuls whose successors or predecessors could not be clearly ascertained.—*Rerum.* "Of facts."

15-23. *Mortuus Cumis.* The death of Tarquinius at Cumæ is, as Niebuhr remarks, certainly historical. But the only reason for placing it in the year 259 was, no doubt, because the ferment among the commonalty at Rome broke out in that year; and the tradition ran that so long as he lived the patricians kept within bounds. Aristodemus, whose name is infamous among the earlier Greek tyrants for his atrocities, became the heir of his illustrious client; and some years after detained the property of the republic in lieu of his claims to that of the Tarquins. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, vol. i., p. 560.)—*Luxuriosa.* "Immoderate."—*Cui ad eum diem*, etc. "To whom, up to that day, deference had been paid (by them) to the utmost of their power."—*Signia colonia.* Compare bk. i., chap. lvi., line 15.—*Suppleto numero colonorum.* "The number of the colonists being filled up." Being a military outpost on the borders of the Volscian territory, it had suffered from the incursions of that people.—*Tribus una et viginti factæ.* By the addition, probably, of the Claudian tribe. Consult note on bk. ii., chap. xvi., line 14.—*Ædes Mercurii.* Compare bk. ii., chap. xxvii., line 19.—*Idibus Maiis.* "On the fifteenth of May." The Ides fell on the 15th of March, May, July, and October, and on the 13th of the other months.

CHAPTER XXII.

3-11. *Quæ mitterent.* "Which they were in the act of sending." Not "would have sent," which would have required *misissent.*—*Hac ira.* "Through resentment at this." Livy seems neither here nor at *recens*, farther on, to have considered that four years had already, according to his own account, elapsed since that time. He appears to have had in view the annalists who placed the battle of Regillus three years later.—*Consilii pœnam non metuentes.* "Dreading no punishment for mere intention."—*Pometia.* In the sixteenth chapter of this book mention is made of a war against the Aurunci, which appears identical with the one here described as carried on with the Volsci. It is impossible, as Zumpt remarks, that both could have been carried on, for in the sixteenth chapter Pometia was almost annihilated, whereas here it appears again as a considerable town. Livy, therefore, had, as Zumpt thinks, several ancient annalists before him, some of whom placed this event in the one year, others in the other. Without himself deciding as to the true date, he repeats the same occurrence in the separate years, in order to pass over nothing which was given as a fact in the legendary history.

13-19. *Suum ingenium.* "Their natural disposition," i. e., their fondness for warlike outbreaks.—*Hernicis.* The Hernici, as we have before remarked, were a people of Central Italy, bordering on the Æqui towards the north, and on the Volsci to the south and east.—

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Latinos ne ab legatis, etc. "Induced the Latins to refrain not even from violating," etc. Observe that *abstinere aliquem* is the same as *efficere ut aliquis abstineat*. Livy uses the word *violandis*, as the persons of ambassadors were held sacred.—*Indicatumque est*. "And information was given."

20–30. *Relata re ad senatum*, etc. "The affair having been laid before the Senate, it proved so pleasing to the fathers," etc.—*Quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat*. "Which had nearly been refused them forever."—*Ad novos magistratus trajicerent*. The conclusion of the matter was referred to the consuls for the next year. Some editions read *rejicerent*, but *trajicerent* is stronger, and means not only to refer a matter to another, but to recommend it to his careful consideration. —*Eninvero*. "Then assuredly."—*Pacis auctores*. "(Those among them who had been) the advisers of peace."—*Qui captivorum remissi*, etc. "A great multitude pouring around (on every side), those (namely) of the captives who had been sent back, came," etc. Some manuscripts have *captivorum qui remissi*, etc., i. e., "A great number of the captives who had been sent back came," etc.—*Liberaliter habiti cultique*. "Having been generously kept and treated."—*Hospitia jungunt*. "They form connections of hospitality."

CHAPTER XXIII.

2, 3. *Intestino flagrabat odio*. "Was all in a blaze with internal animosity."—*Propter nexos ob æs alienum*. "On account of those confined for debt," i. e., whose persons were pledged as security for debt, and who had been delivered, in consequence, into the hands of their creditors. According to the Roman law at this time, if a debtor did not discharge a debt within thirty days after it was demanded of him, he was summoned before the proper magistrate, who delivered him up to the creditor. He was then kept in bonds by the latter for sixty days, after which period he was brought for three successive market-days (*nundinæ*) before the tribunal of the judge, where a crier proclaimed the debt; and after the third market-day, if the debt was not paid (sometimes the rich redeemed the poor by paying their debts), the creditor had a right to keep him in slavery until he had worked off the debt, or even to sell him unto another. Hence such debtors were called *nexi*, because, until they had worked off the debt, they were in the position of slaves to their creditor.

6–13. *Captos et oppressos esse*. "Were made captives and laden with fetters."—*Invidiam eam*. "This embittered feeling."—*Insignis calamitas*. "The signal misery."—*Insignibus*. "The outward marks."—*Obsita*. "Thickly covered." Said properly of a field "overgrown"

with weeds.—*Fœdior corporis habitus*, etc. Literally, "The condition of his body, worn out with paleness and emaciation, was still more revolting." [*Pallor*, "mouldiness," refers to the condition produced by imprisonment in dark and damp dungeons.]—*Promissa barba et capilli.* This is merely added as a coloring to the picture, since the early Romans were always accustomed to wear the beard and hair long, barbers not having been introduced into Rome until A.U.C. 454.

14–19. *Deformitate.* "Wretchedness."—*Et ordines duxisse aiebant.* "And they said that he had led a century," i. e., had been a centurion. Literally, "Had led ranks." The *ordo* (more commonly used in the plural, *ordines*) formed the half of a *manipulus*, or one century, and was commanded by a centurion.—*Militiæ decora.* "Military distinctions (obtained by him)."—*Contionis.* "Of a regular assembly." *Contio* (a contraction from *conventio*) is properly an assembly attending to a public harangue, or any meeting for a public purpose. It sometimes means a public harangue itself.

21–27. *Fructu.* "The produce."—*Iniquo suo tempore.* "At a time inconvenient for him."—*Se exuisse.* "Had stripped him."—*Fortunis aliis.* "Of the rest of his resources."—*Velut tabem.* "Like a wasting malady."—*Sed in ergastulum et carnificinam.* "But into a workhouse and place of torture." The *ergastulum* was a private prison attached to most Roman farms, where the slaves were made to work in chains. The cruel sufferings endured there might well obtain for it the name of *carnificina.*—*Fœdum.* "Disfigured."

30–32. *Nexi, vincti solutique.* "The debtors, those still subject to bonds, and those released therefrom." By *nexi* are meant all debtors who had lost their liberty, and these again are divided into two classes, the *vincti*, who worked in fetters, and the *soluti*, who were without fetters, it is true, but still wrought for their creditors. The ordinary text has *nexu vincti solutique*, "Those bound by fetters, and those released from them;" but the *nexu soluti*, that is, those freed from restraint for debt, had no need now to implore the help of the people. —*Fidem.* "The protection."—*Voluntarius comes.* "A voluntary associate." One who had suffered no injury, and therefore had nothing to complain of.—*Multis agminibus curritur.* "There is a rush in many bodies (of the people)."

38–56. *Hæc se meritos dicere*, etc. "They said that they had gained these for their services, upbraiding them with their respective discharge of military duty, each in a different campaign," i. e., "they said that this was what they had gained for their services," etc.—*Ipsi futuri arbitri*, etc. "Intending to be themselves the witnesses and control-

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lers of the public deliberations."—*Contracti ab consulibus.* "Were drawn together by the consuls."—*Infrequentiam.* "The thin attendance."—*Extrahi.* "Put off." The more usual form of expression is *tempus extrahi*, or *rem extrahi*.—*Et consules ipsos tergiversari.* "And that the consuls themselves were shuffling."—*Jam prope erat ut*, etc. "It was by this time near happening that," etc.—*Tandem.* Purposely repeated, for emphasis' sake.—*Non modo.* For *non modo non*.—*Satis conveniebat.* "Was there sufficient unanimity."—*Vehementis ingenii.* "Of violent temper."—*Consulari imperio*, etc. "That the matter should be settled by the consular authority."—*Aptior.* "More inclined."—*Flecti, quam frangi*, etc. "To be bent (by mild words) than to be broken (by harsh measures)."

CHAPTER XXIV.

2–16. *Tumultuoso.* "Alarming."—*Plebes.* Livy uses this form of the nominative as well as *plebis* and *plebs*.—*Alius alium confirmare*, etc. "They kept encouraging one another, not to give in their names," i. e., for enrolment as soldiers.—*Perituros.* Not *perirent*. The future indicates here a fixed resolve.—*Præmia.* The booty gained in war, and the possession of the conquered lands.—*Curia.* "The Senate."—*Cui ingenium magis populare erat.* "Who possessed a more conciliating disposition," i. e., than his colleague, Appius Claudius.—*Misso senatu.* "After having dismissed the Senate."—*Curæ esse patribus*, etc. "That the Senate were solicitous that the interests of the people be consulted, but that fear for the whole collective state had interrupted their deliberation for that (which), though the greatest no doubt, (was) yet but a part of the state." He means that the plebeians constituted but a part, and not the whole of the state, as they themselves, by their violence, would seem to believe they did.

19–23. *Nec posse bello prævertisse quidquam.* "That neither could any consideration take precedence of the war." *Prævertere* is literally "to turn (one's self) in front of," and hence "to outstrip, outrun," etc. Zumpt makes the perfect infinitive here indicative of rapidity or rashness. Weissenborn, on the contrary, regards *prævertisse* as an aorist.—*Laxamenti aliquid.* "Any relaxation of the enemy's attack."—*Nisi mercede prius accepta.* Servilius, in order to awaken the pride and shame of the people, artfully uses the term *mercede*, as it would be a base and heartless thing to have felt no more generous incentive than mere "recompense" to fight for their liberty and country. *Mercede* here alludes to the granting of their demands.—*Per metum quam voluntate.* "Through fear (i. e., under the influence of fear) than of their own free will." Observe the difference of force between *per* with an accusative and the simple but expressive ablative.

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24–32. *Contioni.* "To his speech," i. e., to what he had just said in the *contio* or assembly.—*Edixit.* "He ordained."—*Quo minus ei*, etc. "So that he should not have the power," etc. — *Moraretur.* "Detain in custody," i. e., as a pledge for his debt; because a man's children and grandchildren were by the law in a state of quasi-slavery to him, and, of course, considered as part of his property. [The *patria potestas* is distinguished from *dominium* over slaves (*Dig.*, 50, 16, 225), and never involved ownership; yet both children and slaves were *res mancipi.* See Smith's *Dict.*, s. v. *patria potestas.*]—*Proposito.* "Having been published." — *Nexi.* "The debtors." Those who were indebted to others, and under obligations to pay, but not yet in the immediate power of their creditors.—*Ut sacramento dicerent.* "To take the military oath." Literally, "To give their adhesion to the oath." *Sacramento* is here the dative, not the ablative. After the levy was completed, one soldier was chosen to repeat the words of the military oath, and the rest swore after him, that is, each one as he passed along said *idem in me.*

CHAPTER XXV.

2–14. *Si qua*, etc. "(To see) if any desertion or treachery might be able to be effected during the night."—*Temptant.* "Make an attempt upon."—*Vellebantur.* "Were being torn up." The reference is particularly to the *valli* or stakes which held together the earth of the rampart, and the pulling up of which would insure the demolition of the wall.—*Fugientibus.* More graphic than *fugientium.*

18–22. *Suessam Pometiam.* Livy describes here, the year and the name of the foe being alone changed, the same event which he had already related in chapter xvii. Dionysius mentions the occurrence only under the present year.—*Paulum recreatus.* "Were a little relieved."—*Ecetranorum Volscorum.* "Of the Volscian Ecetrani." The Ecetrani were the inhabitants of *Ecetra*, a city of the Volscians, which figures repeatedly in the wars of that people with the Romans. It was situated on the north-eastern frontier of the Volsci, towards the Æqui and Mount Algidus.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1–10. *Confestim et Sabini.* "Immediately after, the Sabines also," i. e., as well as the Volsci.—*Tumultus.* "A turbulent inroad." This term was often, as here, taken in a loose and general sense to signify any sudden and disorderly taking up of arms. In a special sense, however, it meant a sudden or dangerous war in Italy or Cisalpine

Gaul. This is its later signification, in the time of Cicero (*Phil.*, viii., 1).—*Pervenisse.* "Had passed through (the intervening country)."—*Villas.* "The country-houses." *Villa* here merely means a country or farm house, not a villa in the later and more extended sense of the term.—*Postumius.* He was employed on this occasion merely as a *legatus* under the consul.—*Sabina legio.* "The Sabine army." The Roman writers often apply to the enemy, in a general sense, military terms peculiar to Roman discipline.

11–21. *Repleti.* "Glutted."—*Vix fugæ quod satis esset*, etc. "Possessed hardly what there was of strength sufficient for flight."—*Legati Aurunci.* The Aurunci had been called in by the Volsci to their aid, as being of the same race.—*Cujus fama haud procul*, etc. "The news of which (army) having been seen not far now from Aricia." Observe the force of *jam*; the Auruncan army was "already" near Aricia.—*Ordine.* "The senators could not be asked their individual opinions in order."—*Arma inferentibus.* "To those who were bearing arms to invade them."—*Signa collata.* "Their standards were brought in opposition with those of the foe," i. e., battle was joined with the Aurunci. *Signa conferre*, "to join battle."

CHAPTER XXVII.

2–5. *Promissa consulis*, etc. "Waited for the promises of the consul and the plighted faith of the Senate (to be made good)."—*Ut collegæ vanam faceret fidem.* "That he might render ineffectual the engagement of his colleague."—*Jus de pecuniis creditis dicere.* "Proceeded to enforce the law respecting borrowed moneys." *Dicere* is the historical infinitive, used here with the conjunction *cum*, on which construction consult Zumpt, § 582. The expression *jus dicere* means literally "to dispense justice."

6, 7. *Deinceps.* "Then in succession," i. e., one after the other.—*Qui ante nexi fuerant.* The *nexi*, relying on the edict of Servilius, mentioned in chap. xxiv., and awaiting an amelioration of their condition, would seem to have refused to place themselves again in the power of their creditors. They were therefore summoned before Appius, who gave judgment against them, thus virtually declaring the edict of his colleague to be of no value. At the same time creditors were empowered, as before, to take into custody other debtors who had hitherto been free.—*Nectebantur.* "Were taken into custody."

8–11. *Collegam appellabat.* "He appealed to the colleague (of Appius)."—*Ut aut referret ad senatum*, etc. Gronovius and Crevier think that *aut* . . . *aut* should be both expunged; but they appear in all

the manuscripts, and are necessary to the sense. Servilius had told the people (chap. xxiv.) that alarm for the whole commonwealth had alone interrupted the deliberations of the Senate respecting their welfare; and the people now entreat him to pursue one of two courses, either to lay the matter anew before the Senate, or else to lend them his official and individual aid. Observe moreover the repetition of the conjunction *ut*, in order to indicate the more sharply two distinct courses of action.

13–17. *Tergiversari.* "To temporize."—*Adeo in alteram causam*, etc. "To such a degree had not only his colleague, but the whole party of the nobles, plunged headlong into the opposite side," i. e., the side of the creditors. Most of the manuscripts have *præceperat*, a reading out of which it is difficult to elicit any satisfactory meaning. We have adopted, therefore, with Drakenborch and others, the conjecture of Sabellicus, *præceps ierat.* Some editors prefer *præceps erat.* —*Medium se gerendo.* "By carrying himself in a middle course."—*Mollem consulem et ambitiosum.* "A weak and popularity-hunting consul."—*Fallacem.* "A deceiver."

20, 21. *Rejecit.* "Referred."—*Eum præesse annonæ*, etc. "That he should preside over the market, should establish a guild of merchants, should perform the customary rites in the place of the pontifex." Mercury was the Roman divinity of commerce and gain, and presided, of course, over merchants, markets, etc. Hence the establishment of a guild of traders is here connected with the dedication of his temple. His festival was celebrated, chiefly by merchants, on the Ides of May, the day when his temple was consecrated. By *annona* is properly meant the yearly produce derived from anything, particularly from the main article of trade, namely, grain. From this original sense comes the meaning of "the market price," as it rose or fell, "the market," as in the present instance, etc. Under the republic, a *præfectus annonæ*, or prefect of provisions, especially of the corn market, was only appointed in times of extraordinary scarcity. Under the empire he became a regular magistrate. —*Solemnia pro pontifice*, etc. The customary rites in instituting the guild and dedicating the temple.

23–25. *Primi pili centurioni.* "The centurion of the first rank," i. e., the chief centurion in the legion. The *primipilus* was the first centurion of the first maniple of the triarii, and was also called *princeps centurionum.* He was intrusted with the eagle, and had a seat in the council of war. The appellation of *primipilus* arose from the fact that the *pilum*, or javelin, was at first the peculiar weapon of the *triarii* or *pilani*, while the *hastati* and *principes* were called *antepilani.*—*Non tam ad honorem ejus*, etc. "To have been done not so much out

of respect for the individual, to whom had been assigned a charge higher than his rank, as to put an affront upon the consuls."

26–32. *Consulum alter.* Appius Claudius.—*Grassabantur.* "They began to proceed."—*Cum vidissent.* "Whenever they saw."—*Exaudiri.* "Be heard to the end."—*Vi agebatur.* "All was managed by violence," i. e., the whole business was an affair of violence.—*Metusque omnis*, etc. "And the entire dread and danger, with respect to personal liberty, were transferred from the debtors to the creditors, when they were individually assaulted by numbers in the very sight of the consul." One of the best manuscripts omits *libertatis*, but the term is good enough, and refers to the alarm entertained by the patrician creditors, lest the mob might go still farther, and treat them as they themselves were accustomed to treat the *nexi*.

34–41. *Super hæc.* "Over and above all this."—*Incessit.* "Came upon (the state)."—*Populari silentio.* "By popularity-courting silence."—*Et ad id, quod de credita pecunia*, etc. "And to the fact that he had not pronounced sentence concerning borrowed money, was adding (the delinquency) that he was not even holding a levy," etc., i. e., that he had not enforced the law against debtors.—*Projectum.* "Flung away," i.e., given up to contempt.—*Vindicem.* "The assertor."

42–49. *Adripi.* "To be arrested."—*Insignem.* "Conspicuous."—*Pertinacia.* "His obstinacy."—*Adeo supererant animi*, etc. "Such a superabundance of resolution had he for withstanding public odium."—*Secessione occultisque colloquiis.* "By retiring apart and by secret conferences," i. e., by secret meetings and cabals.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

3–12. [*Esquiliis.* The name of a part of the town is here used as if it were the name of a town, without a preposition.]—*Ne in foro*, etc. "Lest, when assembled in the forum, they should be thrown into confusion by (being compelled to adopt) hasty plans of action."—*Sed delatam consulere*, etc. "But it was not permitted to take their opinions in regular order with regard to it when so laid before them." Zumpt makes *delatam* to be governed by *consulere*, on the analogy of verbs of asking and requesting. It is better, however, to regard it as the accusative of nearer definition.—*Si, quod imperio consulari*, etc. "If, what should have been effected by the consular authority, the odium of this the consuls should throw back upon the Senate."—*Profecto, si essent*, etc. "That most assuredly, if there really were magistrates in the republic, there would have been no council at Rome but the public one."

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17-28. *Virum.* "Man of spirit."—*Id enim plus esse quam consulem.* "For that that was more than a (nominal) consul."—*Correpti.* "Having been (thus) rebuked."—*Nihil enim segnius*, etc. "For (they declared) that they intended to do nothing more slothfully or tamely than may prove pleasing to the fathers," i. e., that they intended to act with as much promptness and energy as the senators wished.—*Dilectum quam acerrimum.* "As strict a levy as possible."—*Otio lascivire.* "Were growing insubordinate from want of employment."—*Ni præstaretur fides publica.* "Unless the public faith were made good," i. e., unless the public faith, pledged to the *nexi*, were maintained.—*Dominis.* "Masters."

29-36. *Quid mandatum esset*, etc. "Saw clearly what had been commanded by the Senate," i. e., understood fully the orders they had received.—*Ferociter.* "Largely."—*Participem.* "As a sharer."—*Atrox certamen.* "A desperate conflict."—*Ultima experirentur.* "They resorted to extremities."—*Tum vero ad sellas consulum*, etc. "Then, indeed, all the youngest of the fathers flew in a body almost to the very seats of the consuls." Observe that *minimus natu* is merely relative, and does not imply that they were absolutely young, since every senator had served as a soldier for ten or twenty years. Some connect *prope* with *convolare*, "flew almost in one body." Others read *propere.*—*Deesset.* The subjunctive here assigns the cause or reason. "Since courage was wanting for defending this."

CHAPTER XXIX.

1-8. *Utraque re satis experta.* "Both experiments having been sufficiently tried," i. e., the attempting to overcome the obstinacy of the Commons and the determination of the Senate.—*Ne prædictum negetis.* "That you may not say that warning was not given you."—*Arbitrio.* "At the discretion."—*Quando.* "Since." For *quandoquidem.*—*Dedita opera.* "Purposely," i. e., in order to test the matter effectually, and prove to the Senate the refractory spirit of the Commons.

10-17. *Violaretur.* "He might be treated with violence," i. e., might be seized in case of refusal, and dragged away to prison.—*Nihil aliud quam prendere prohibito.* "Who was prevented from nothing else than arresting him," i. e., the lictor was only prevented from arresting the man, not otherwise maltreated. Compare Zumpt, § 771.—*Intercursu.* "By the interposition."—*Quam injuriæ.* "Than of actual mischief."

19-24. *Quæstionem.* "An inquiry," i. e., into the tumult. They

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wished an extraordinary inquiry to take place, since they placed the outrage upon a senator on a par with one offered to a magistrate.—*Sententiis.* "By an expression of their opinions," i. e., by their votes.—*Sanitatis.* "Of sound sense."—*Rem non vulgabat.* "Was not for making the case common to all alike," i. e., was of opinion that relief from imprisonment for debt was not to be extended to all without distinction.—*Fidem secuti.* "Having relied upon the word."

27–29. *Ut merita tantummodo*, etc. "That services only should be paid off."—*Nec sisti posse*, etc. "And that a check could not be given to the evil." *Sistere* is to render a thing stationary and firm. *Sisti non potest* is a phrase which signifies that an impending evil cannot be remedied or stayed.—*Quin.* "Nay rather."

31–38. *Efferatus.* "Infuriated."—*Et lascivire magis plebem*, etc. "And that the Commons were more wanton than mad," i. e., were urged on by gratuitous wantonness rather than by the madness arising from real suffering.—*Quippe minas esse consulum*, etc. "Since that threats (alone) belonged (now) to the consuls, not any exercise of authority," i. e., the consuls could only utter mere threats, and not exercise real power over the people, in consequence of the privilege of appeal being granted to the latter.—*Pulset tum mihi lictorem*, etc. "Then let any one strike for me a lictor," i. e., let me see then the man who shall strike a lictor.—*Jus de tergo vitaque*, etc. That is, when he shall know that that man alone (namely, the dictator) whose majesty he shall have violated, by striking his lictor, has power to flog and behead him.

CHAPTER XXX.

1–5. *Horrida et atrox.* "Harsh and violent."—*Rursus.* "On the other hand."—*Exemplo haud salubres.* "Not of healthy influence by reason of the precedent they would establish," i. e., since it would appear that the seditious movements of the people had wrested concessions from the patricians, and this would be encouraging sedition.—*Utique Lartii putabant sententiam*, etc. "The proposition of Lartius especially they regarded as one that would destroy all credit," i. e., by releasing debtors from the necessity of paying their debts.—*Medium maxime et moderatum*, etc. "The advice of Verginius was regarded as most occupying a middle course, and (most) moderate for both sides." Observe that *utroque* here is equivalent to *in utramque partem.*

6–18. *Sed factione*, etc. "But through the spirit of faction, and a regard for private interests."—*Quæ res utique.* "Which step certainly."—*Ut imperium, suo vehemens*, etc. "That a power, in its own nat-

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nre uncontrolled," etc.—*Cum provocationem fratris lege haberet*, etc. "Since they had the right of appeal by a law of his brother, feared nothing harsh or tyrannical from that family."—*Confirmavit animos.* "Established their confidence (in him)."—*Fere conveniens.* "Coinciding almost exactly."—*Sed et homini*, etc. "But having thought that this man and his power could be more safely relied on," etc., i. e., this man whose disposition was conciliatory and mild, and whose family had ever been friendly to them, and his power, which was beyond any control from the opposite side.

20–25. *Legiones decem.* This must be a great exaggeration. At the battle of the Allia the Romans had but four regular legions.—*Ternæ inde datæ consulibus.* "Of this number three were given to each of the consuls." Observe the force of the distributive.—*Aut se ipsos tuendorum*, etc. Weissenborn thinks that the Latins had again fallen under the Roman sway as in the time of Tarquinius Superbus, and therefore had to ask leave to take up arms to defend themselves. Zumpt, on the other hand, is of opinion that the old annalists, from whom Livy here copies, must have misunderstood the connection at this time subsisting between the Romans and the Latins, and that the latter were quite independent of the former.—*Retractare arma.* "To handle arms again." They feared lest they might employ them against themselves.

27–31. *Locoque magis quam*, etc. "And relying on their position more than on their arms."—*Ne et ipse tereret tempus.* "Lest he too (as well as his colleague) should waste his time." As the Æqui took shelter in the fastnesses of their hills, and gave Vetusius no opportunity of coming to an engagement, he was obliged to remain inactive.—*Ad conferenda propius castra.* "To pitch their camp nearer his."—*Medio inter castra campo.* "In the interjacent plain between the camps." *Medius* sometimes signifies "lying between;" sometimes, "in the middle of."—*Quisque.* The individuals of both armies are meant.

34–45. *Nec clamorem reddi.* "Nor the battle-cry to be raised in turn."—*Coortos.* "Having arisen simultaneously." Livy very correctly uses this word here, as he previously described them to have stood "*defixis pilis.*" The verb *consurgere* he always applies to the charge of the Triarii, for they used to await the charge of the enemy, "*sinistro crure porrecto*," or, as we would term it, with the body at rest.—*Velut stupentibus.* "As if paralyzed by fear."—*Impressionem.* "A charge."—*Haud secus quam si*, etc. They were quite taken by surprise, since they expected no resistance on the part of the Romans.—*Facile adepti fessos.* "Having easily overtaken them wearied."—*Plusque sanguinis factum.* "And more bloodshed was caused."—

Velitras. Velitræ, a city of Latium, on the southern slope of the Alban hills, and on the left of the Via Appia.

CHAPTER XXXI.

3–11. *Exuitque.* The *que* connects *exuit* as a consequence with *fundit fugatque.* The ordinary reading is *et exuit.*—*Qua, dum se cornua,* etc. "In the part where, while the wings extend themselves too widely, they had not properly strengthened their line by a depth of files," i. e., by deepening the files. Literally, "by files inward." Some read *quam,* and reject the second *aciem,* from a dislike of the repetition of the same word. But Livy shows numerous instances of similar repetitions.—*Debellatumque est.* "And the war was ended," i. e., by the subjugation of the enemy; for the word does not mean to put an end to a war in any way, as, for instance, by peace.—*Locus in circo,* etc. That is, a place where he might erect a seat, whence to view the games. Compare bk. i., chap. xxxv., line 33.

14–23. *Et colonia deducta.* "And a colony was planted." Literally, "was led forth."—*Post aliquanto.* "Some time after."—*Criminantes.* "Complaining."—*Irrita caderent.* "Might fall to the ground of no effect."—*Perpulere, ut forte tenere,* etc. "Forced him at all hazards to march his army up the opposite mountains." Compare note on bk. i., chap. xxvii., line 23.—*Id male commissum.* "This imprudent step."—*Obstupefacti.* "Astounded."—*In aversas valles.* "Into the valleys in their rear." Literally, "Into the valleys that were turned away." The front of the camp was towards the Romans, and the valleys were in a direction opposite to this. Some read *aversas,* on the principle that the valleys were *aversæ* while they continued in their camp; but when they left their camp, and turned their backs to the Romans, the valleys, which had been *aversæ* to them, then became *adversæ.* This, however, is rather far-fetched.

26–31. *Tanta cum gratia,* etc. "With so much influence as well as artifice had the money-lenders concerted measures, to disappoint," etc.—*Omnium actionum in senatu,* etc. "Of all his measures in the Senate made that in favor of the victorious people the first; and proposed the question, what it was their pleasure should be done in the case of those confined for debt." Any act or measure of a magistrate before the Senate or people was called *actio.*—*Relatio.* "Motion."

32–42. *Me dius fidius.* "Depend upon it." *Fidius* is a surname of Jupiter as the god of faith (Ζεὺς Πίστιος), and the full expression would be, "*me dius* (i. e., deus) *fidius servet.*" Hence it means, "most assuredly," "most certainly," "depend upon it," etc. Zumpt,

less correctly, makes it equivalent to *mehercules*, i. e., *dius* for Διός, and *fidius* archaic for *filius*. (Zumpt, § 361, note.)—*Seditioni interero.* "I shall be a witness of the sedition."—*Suam vicem indignantem.* "That, being indignant at their condition," i. e., at the treatment they had received.—*Quoniam per eum non stetisset*, etc. "Since it had not been owing to him that it was not made good." *Stat per me* means, "it is in my power," "it rests with me."—*Favore.* "Approbation."

CHAPTER XXXII.

4–6. *Tamen quoniam*, etc. "Yet, since they had sworn to the words of the consuls' (dictation)," i. e., had sworn to the oath administered by the consuls. It appears, remarks Zumpt, from Livy's description. that the dictator, by virtue of his unlimited power, had completed the levy, but had made the troops swear obedience not to himself, but to the consuls of the year. We must take it so, though it seems strange. We read a little above, however, that the dictator had not, as usual, named a *magister equitum*, but had intrusted the command of two armies to the consuls. It seems probable, therefore, that he was appointed solely for the purpose of holding the levy.—*Per causam.* "Under the pretext."

10–16. *Nullam scelere religionem exsolvi.* "That no religious obligation is dissolved by an act of criminality." The more prosaic phraseology would be *nulla religione exsolvi*, "that men are freed from no religious obligation." Compare Zumpt, § 607, note.—*Sacrum montem.* The *mons sacer* was a hill about three miles from Rome, across the Anio, and on the right of the Via Nomentana. It was so called because the people, on their return to the city, consecrated an altar there to Jupiter. (Fest., p. 318.)—*Ea frequentior fama est*, etc. "This tradition is more generally received than that of which Piso is the author." Yet Sallust adopts the account of Piso (*Bell. Jug.*, xxxi.), and says that the people retired twice to the Aventine, at this time, namely, and after the death of Virginia. With regard to Piso the Annalist, consult note on bk. ii., chap. lviii., line 3.—*Quieti.* "Remaining quiet."—*Sumendo.* The ablative of the gerund has often a meaning closely connected with that of the present participle.—*Per aliquot dies, neque lacessiti*, etc. It seems hardly correct to say that during this period they did not attack others, for though they abstained from offering any personal violence, yet they supported themselves from the lands of the Claudian tribe, hostile to and bitterly hated by the plebeians, and whose possessions lay in the immediate vicinity of the sacred mount. Dionysius says that the secession lasted for three months, from about the 1st of September to the 1st of December.

18–26. *Relicta ab suis plebes.* "The portion of the commons left behind by their party."—*Residem.* "Who remained peaceably."—*Nullam profecto spem reliquam ducere.* "They considered no hope assuredly left." *Ducere* is the historical infinitive.—*Eam per æqua, per iniqua*, etc. "That that (unanimity) should be restored to the state by fair means (or) by unfair," i. e., whether the demands of the people were reasonable or unreasonable, they should be granted.—*Inde oriundus.* "Sprung from themselves." As he had been consul (compare chap. xvi.), and as the consulship at this period was open to the patricians only, Crevier conjectures that on the mother's side he may have been of plebeian descent, though on the father's patrician, or that he was one of those whom Brutus is said to have enrolled into the Senate, i. e., the *conscripti.* Nine other deputies from the Senate accompanied him. (Dion., vi., 69.) Cicero, however, following a different account from Livy, makes the pacificator of the two orders to have been the dictator, M. Valerius (*Brut.*, 14; compare *Val. Max.*, viii., 9, 1).

27–36. *Intromissus.* "Having been admitted."—*Horrido.* "Unpolished."—*Non, ut nunc, omnia*, etc. "All the members did not agree together, as they now do." We have given here *consentiebant*, the reading of Drakenborch and others. The manuscripts, however, generally have *ut nunc omnia consentiant* (the subjunctive in the *obliqua oratio*), which will require us to supply, rather awkwardly, the words *omnia consenserint* after *non.*—*Suum consilium.* "Its own plan of action."—*Ministerio.* "Service."—*Conficerent.* "Masticate it."—*Hac ira.* "That under the influence of this angry feeling."—*Dum vellent.* The subjunctive in the *obliqua oratio.* There is no need, therefore, of our changing *dum* to *cum.*—*Ad extremam tabem.* "To the last degree of emaciation."

38–41. *Haud segne.* "No idle one."—*Reddentem in omnes*, etc. "Diffusing to all parts of the body this (our) blood, whereby we have life and strength distributed evenly through the veins, when brought to maturity by the digestion of the food." More literally, "matured after the food has been digested."—*Comparando hinc.* "That, by drawing a comparison from this."—*Quam similis.* "How like."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1–5. *Agi deinde cœptum.* "It then began to be treated."—*Concessumque in condiciones*, etc. "And there was mutual concession on the terms that the commons should have their own inviolable magistrates, to whom there should be power to bear assistance against the consuls." Literally, "a bringing of assistance."—*Capere.* "To hold."

—*Tribuni plebei.* So called, according to Varro (*L. L.*, iv., 14), because they were first chosen from the tribunes of the soldiers. The tribunes of the Commons were not properly magistrates or officers, for they had no express functions or official duties to discharge. The purpose for which they were appointed was only to afford protection against any abuse on the part of the patrician magistrates, and that they might be able to afford such protection their persons were declared sacred and inviolable.

6–11. *Hi tres collegas*, etc. All the ancient writers agree that only two tribunes were chosen at first, but there is a great difference in their statements as regards the time and manner of the subsequent increase of number. When this increase of from two to five took place is quite uncertain, notwithstanding Livy's statement in the text. The next increase, however, from five to ten, did not certainly take place until the year 457 B.C., when two tribunes were taken from each of the five classes, and this number of ten appears to have remained unaltered down to the end of the empire.—*Duos tantum*, etc. And that the remaining three were elected in the city, after the people returned. — *Ibique sacratam legem latam.* "And that the devoting law was passed there," i. e., on the sacred mount, not in the city, as others again maintained. A *lex sacrata* meant in general any law, the violation of which was punished by devoting the violator, with his family and property, to the vengeance of some deity. There were many such laws. The one, however, specially meant here is that by which the persons of the tribunes were made sacred and inviolable.

14–18. *Ictum fœdus.* Compare bk. i., chap. xxv., line 1.—*Antiates Volscos.* "The Volsci of Antium." The city of Antium was situated on the sea-coast, thirty-eight miles to the south-west of Rome. It was the frontier stronghold of the Volsci in this quarter.—*Longulam.* Longula appears to have been a small place, not far from Antium, and a dependency of the latter.—*Poluscam.* The site of this place, like that of Longula, is quite uncertain. It was somewhere in the vicinity of Antium.—*Coriolos.* Corioli, so celebrated from its connection with the legend of C. Marcius Coriolanus, was another small place near Antium. Its territory would seem to have adjoined those of Ardea and Aricia.

20–28. *Coriolano.* For some remarks on this name, and on the legend connected with it, consult note at end of chap. xl.—*Sine ullo metu*, etc. "Without any fear of war threatening from without," i. e., of any attack from without.—*In statione.* "On post."—*Retudit.* "Beat back."—*Cædeque in proxima urbis facta.* "And the slaughter having been carried into the adjoining parts of the city," i. e., the parts adjoining or nearest to the gates. *Cædem facere* must be re-

garded here as equivalent to *ordem ferre*, the idea of "motion into" being implied from the preposition *in* with the accusative plural neuter, *proxima*. One manuscript has *in proxima parte urbis*, but this has arisen from a gloss.—*Temere*. "Hastily."

30–42. *Ad terrorem, ut solet*, etc. "Having arisen, as is usual, at the first alarm." The manuscripts generally have *primo ortu*, which Rhenanus makes equivalent to *statim*. The meaning, however, would rather be, "at the panic in its very first commencement." The reading which we have adopted is the conjecture of Gronovius, and also of an earlier commentator.—*Qui ad ferendum*, etc. We have given *qui* with Weissenborn and others. The ordinary text has *cui*, referring to *urbe*.—*Obstitit*. "Eclipsed." Literally, "Stood in the way of."—*Monumento esset*. From the language of Cicero, in speaking of this "*columna aenea*," it would appear that Livy here refers not to his own time, but to that mentioned in the legend.—*Agrippa Menenius*. Written in the inverted order in the previous chapter. The first, however, would seem to be the more correct form, as *Agrippa* is the *praenomen*.—*Interpreti arbitroque*. "The mediator and umpire."—*Extulit eum plebs*, etc. "The Commons buried him by a contribution of a *sextans* apiece." Literally, "a sextans being contributed per head." The *sextans* was the sixth part of an *as*, which contained 12 *unciae*: therefore the *sextans* was two ounces.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

6–17. *Qualis clausis solet*. "Such as is wont to happen to those who are besieged." Literally, "shut up (within their walls)."—*Ventumque esset ad*. "And it would have resulted in." Literally, "It would have come unto."—*Utique et plebis*. "And indeed of the Commons also." Some, less correctly, connect *utique* with *servitiorum* in the sense of "especially."—*Coemendum*. The verb *coemere* denotes, "to buy up on all sides."—*Dextris ab Ostia litoribus*. "Along the shores to the right of Ostia," i. e., to the north of it.—*Sed quaesitum in Siciliam quoque*. "But into Sicily also to seek for it." Some manuscripts and editions have *in Sicilia*.—*Auxiliis*. "Aid." This term in the plural more commonly means "auxiliary troops."—*Aristodemo*. Compare chap. xxi.—*Pomptino*. "The Pomptine territory." Supply *agro*. *Pomptino*, quasi *Pometino* from *Suessa Pometia*, the capital city. Compare bk. i., chap. liii., line 4. — *Periculum quoque*, etc. "There was danger also to the corn-dealers themselves from the violence of the inhabitants."

19–24. *Sustenta est plebs*. Observe here the employment of *sustenta* for *sustentata*. This, however, is of rare occurrence.—*Incom-*

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modo bello, etc. "Amid so scanty a supply of food they would have been harassed by an inconvenient war."—*Ut etiam ubi ea remisisset.* "In order that even when it should have abated." Supply *se* after *remisisset.*—*Velitris.* A colony had already been planted there. Consult chap. xxxi.—*Et Norbæ in montes.* "To the mountains of Norba." We would expect here *Norbam*, but from the language of the text it would appear that this colony was settled on high grounds which commanded the site of an earlier city. Hence, too, the name *Norba*, equivalent to *nova urbs.* Norba was situated on the border of the Volscian mountains, overlooking the Pontine marshes. The site of the ancient city is entirely uninhabited. The modern village of *Norma* lies about half a mile to the south, on a detached hill.—*Quæ arx in Pomptino esset.* "Which might serve as a stronghold in the Pomptine territory," i. e., a barrier against the Volsci.

26–32. *Quanti.* "At what price."—*Premendæ plebis.* "For crushing the Commons," i. e., putting them down entirely.—*Annonam veterem.* "The old price of corn," i. e., provisions at the old rate.—*Sub jugum missus*, etc. "After having been sent under the yoke, after having (as it were) been ransomed from robbers." He speaks figuratively; i. e., being obliged to submit to such humiliating terms as the patricians were obliged to submit to. He compares the plebeians to robbers, from whom the patricians were forced, as it were, to ransom themselves by acceding to their demands.

34–40. *Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim.* "Who would not have endured Tarquin as king." *Tulerim* for *tulissem.* Some render this, "who would not endure," but this is manifestly erroneous, since Coriolanus, according to Plutarch, was ἔτι μειράκιον at the battle of Regillus, and must therefore have been but a child in the time of Tarquin.—*Rapiant frumenta ex agris.* Compare note on chap. xxxii., line 15.—*Utantur annona*, etc. "Let them enjoy the market which in their madness they have established," i. e., let them reap the fruits of their own madness; they who have left their fields uncultivated in order to waste their time in seditious movements.—*Hoc malo domitos.* "That they, subdued by this state of suffering," i. e., brought to their senses by the evil which they have brought upon themselves.—*Haud tam facile dictu est*, etc. "It is not so easy to be said whether this thing ought to have been done, as I am of opinion that it could have been done, namely, that the fathers, on condition of reducing the price of provisions, might have rid themselves of the tribunitian power, as well as all the laws imposed upon them against their will," i. e., I think it might have been done; but whether it would have been right to do so is not so easy to decide.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

1–10. *Nimis atrox.* "Too harsh."—*Et plebem ira prope armavit.* "And almost drove the Commons to arms through exasperation."—*Se jam peti.* "That they are now being assailed."—*Victu.* "Sustenance."—*Satisfiat.* "Satisfaction be taken." The surrender of the tribunes, their only protectors, would lead to the infliction of punishment on the backs of the Roman populace.—*Eum sibi carnificem,* etc. "That he had started up as a new executioner for them." Coriolanus is meant.—*Diem dixissent.* "Appointed a day of trial for him." *Diem dicere* is a legal form of expression, and means to give notice that on a certain day a certain individual will be brought to trial. The accused, in the mean time, was compelled to give security for his appearance on the day appointed. If such security was not given, he was kept in confinement.

11–18. *Ibi.* "Thereupon."—*Auxilii non pœnæ.* "Of lending aid, not of inflicting punishment." Consult note on chap. xxxiii., line 3. —*Potestati.* "Office."—*Ut unius pœna,* etc. "That the fathers had to get off by the punishment of one individual," i. e., had to escape danger themselves by giving up one of their own number to punishment. The verb is here taken impersonally.—*Restiterunt tamen,* etc. "They made a stand, however, though popular hatred stared them in the face;" i. e., though they thereby exposed themselves to the hatred of the populace. Observe that *adversa invidia* is the ablative absolute. — *Qua . . . qua.* "As well . . . as." Taken adverbially. But strictly *parte* is understood.

19–22. *Clientibus.* The *clientes,* dependent as they were on their *patroni,* the patricians, had, until the period of the Twelve Tables, other interests than those of the free plebs, and often stood arrayed against the latter, and on the side of the patricians.—*Disjicere rem.* "To quash the whole affair."—*Universi.* "They all in a body."—*Quidquid erat patrum,* etc. "You would have said that whatever there was of fathers were under impeachment," i. e., that all the fathers were accused of treason, and endeavoring to excite compassion, and not one of their order merely. On these occasions the individuals who went around to solicit the people either for themselves or for others usually arrayed themselves in mourning.—*Unum sibi civem,* etc. "That, if they were unwilling to acquit him as innocent, they would (at least) pardon unto them, as guilty, one citizen, one senator," i. e., pardon for their sakes, out of regard for them. More literally, "would make his pardon, as a guilty man, a present to themselves."

24–28. *Damnatus.* Dionysius and Plutarch say that this sentence

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was passed by the *Comitia Tributa*, where the influence of the plebeians was predominant; but Livy makes no mention of the *Comitia Tributa* being held for twenty years after this time.—*Absens.* Plutarch says he was present when the sentence was passed.—*Colebant.* "Treated him."—*Percipiebantur.* "Began to be heard."

29–36. *Attii Tulli.* In the best manuscripts of Livy the name is written *Attius Tullius*, and in Zonaras we also find Τούλλιος; but in Dionysius and Plutarch the form Τύλλος occurs. *Tullius*, and not *Tullus*, is the correct form. Compare Alschefski, *ad Liv.*, ii., 37; Niebuhr, *H. R.*, ii., note 217.—*Consilia conferunt.* "They concert schemes."—*Arte agendum*, etc. "That they must go to work artfully in the case of hatred that had now grown feeble through lapse of time."—*Exacerbarentur.* "Might be exasperated."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1, 2. *Ludi magni.* "The great games." Called also *Ludi Circenses.* They appear to have superseded the *Consualia*, established by Romulus (Liv., i., 9), and were celebrated every year, during several days, from the 4th to the 12th of September.—*Ex instauratione parabantur.* "Were preparing to be celebrated anew." More literally, "By renewal." The games formed part of the religious celebrations of the Romans, and whenever, therefore, there had been any informality or omission in the mode of holding them, they had to be celebrated anew.—*Ludis.* "On the day of the games." Some words, which do not in themselves denote time, but an event, are used in the ablative without a preposition, in order to indicate the time when a thing takes place. (Madvig, § 276, Obs. 2.)

4–6. *Nondum commisso spectaculo.* "The show being not yet commenced." *Committo* is properly "to match," "to join together in fight," and is peculiarly applicable to a *spectaculum*, as in it the combatants for a prize were matched against one another. So, too, the gladiators at a later day.—*Sub furca cæsum.* "Scourged under the fork." Observe that *cæsum egerat* means properly "had scourged and driven," the acts being simultaneous; not "had driven him after having been scourged." As regards the *furca*, consult note on bk. i., chap. xxvi., line 40. — *Circo.* The Circus Maximus. — *Nihil pertinuisset.* "Bore no relation."—*Ad religionem.* The games, as already remarked, were religious ceremonies.

8–12. *Ludis præsultatorem displicuisse.* "That the initiatory dancer on the day of the games had not pleased him." The term *præsultator*, applied here ironically to the scourged slave, properly means

one who dances before or in advance of others, and is connected in origin and meaning with *præsul*, a name applied to the chief of the Salii, who went foremost in procession, dancing the sacred dance. Hence *præsul*, "*qui ante alios salit.*"—*Religione.* "From superstitious feelings."—*Verecundia tamen*, etc. "His reverence, nevertheless, for the dignity of the magistrates, lest he might pass into men's mouths as an object of ridicule, conquered his religious fear." Observe that *majestatis* is here the objective genitive.

14–21. *Magno illi stetit.* "Cost him dear." More literally, "Stood him in a great price." Supply *pretio.*—*Ægro animi.* "Unto him while troubled in mind."—*Mercedem.* "Recompense." Ironical.—*Jam præsentior res erat.* "The thing was now brought more home to him." *Præsens* is applied to what furnishes immediate and direct proof. He before thought the danger remote and contingent, but he now found it to be at his own door.—*Debilitate subita.* He was seized with paralysis.

24–30. *Repræsentatas.* "Speedily realized." Equivalent to *statim præsentes factas*, i. e., *oculis subjectas*, presented, as it were, to the eyes.—*Consensu haud dubio.* "With the unhesitating assent."—*Captus omnibus membris.* "Deprived of the use of all his limbs."—*Functum officio.* "After having discharged his duty."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

5–8. *Agere.* "To treat with them about."—*Quod sequius sit.* "What may be otherwise than might be wished," i. e., what may be thought rather unfavorable. *Sequius* is the comparative of *secus*, and is here used elliptically.—*Non tamen admissum*, etc. "I do not, however, come to allege any actual commission on their part, but to warn, lest they may commit (some outrage)."

16–29. *Sabinorum.* Compare bk. ii., chap. xviii.—*Quod ad me attinet.* "As to what regards myself."—*Ne cujus facti*, etc. "Lest I may be tainted, if present, with the infection of any deed or word," i. e., lest any word or act may taint my character, and thereby injure me in your estimation.—*Rem dubiam sub auctore certe.* "This questionable statement on unexceptionable authority."—*Ad præcavendum vel ex supervæno.* "To take even unnecessary precautions," i. e., to take precautions even though they should eventually be found to be needless.—*Pavor.* "Panic."—*Discurrentes in hospitia.* "Running about to their lodgings."—*Oborta.* "Burst forth." Said of indignation smothered for a time, and then bursting forth against (*ob*) all one's efforts to repress it.—*Conscelerates.* "One and all polluted

with crime."—*Cœtu quodam modo*, etc. "From the society in a manner of men and of gods."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1–6. *Prope continuato agmine.* "In an almost unbroken line."—*Caput Ferentinum.* "The headwaters of Ferentina." Consult note on bk. i., chap. l., line 3.—*Ut quisque veniret.* "As each would come up." The subjunctive is here employed to denote an oft-repeated action. (Zumpt, § 569.)—*Sedulo audientes*, etc. "Eagerly listening to words favorable to their resentment."—*Multitudinem aliam.* "The rest of the multitude." Where the contrasted objects together compose one whole, *alius* may be employed with the force of *reliquus.*—*Subjectum viæ.* "Adjacent to the road." *Sub* in composition has often the force of "close by," "near to."

7, 8. *In contionis modum.* "After the manner of a public harangue."—*Veteres populi Romani injurias*, etc. "Even though you may forget the injuries done of old by the Roman people, and the (by-gone) disasters of the nation of the Volsci, all other things in fine, with what feelings, pray, do you endure," etc. The construction here is purposely made irregular, in order to mark strong indignation on the part of the speaker. The conjunction *ut* (for the force of which here consult Zumpt, § 573) is put after the first clause, instead of at the beginning, so that the order of construction is, *ut veteres injurias . . . omnia obliviscamini*, etc., and *omnia*, from its being a summing up, as it were, has the force *omnia denique.* There is no need therefore of the emendation and pointing of Gronovius, who proposes to read *oratione exorsus veteres populi Romani injurias, cladesque gentis Volscorum*, i. e., "having, in an oration after the manner of a public harangue, given a prefatory detail of the injuries," etc., so that the words of Tullius commence at *ut omnia.* The reading and explanation which we have given are far more natural.

11–19. *De vobis.* "Over you."—*Spectaculo fuisse.* "Were as a show."—*Traductos per ora hominum.* He uses this form of expression to arouse them the more, since it was properly applied to captives, who were led in triumph before the eyes of the people.—*Quo, si interessimus*, etc. "By which, if we had been present at the spectacle, we should have profaned the games, and should have rendered expiation necessary." Literally, "Should have deserved expiation." Some editors make the previous sentence end at *nefas esse*, and commence a new one with *quod*, which they substitute for *quo.*—*Piorum.* "Of these pious ones." Ironical.

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20 25. *Si hoc.* The neuter here is brought in for the sake of a comprehensive summary; "if all this." More usual Latinity would give *hæc.*—*Si viri estis.* "If you are true men." The condition on which *magno malo* is based.—*Incitati.* "Incited by Tullius."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1–9. *Omnium populorum.* "Of all the states," i. e., all those that formed the Volscian nation.—*Aliquanto plus spei repositum.* "Considerably more hope was reposed," i. e., than in Attius, their own leader.—*Nequaquam fefellit.* "He by no means disappointed."—*Circeios.* Compare bk. i., chap. lvi., line 15.—*In Latinam viam*, etc. "Having passed across the country by transverse by-roads into the Latin way." The line of the *Via Latina* was in all probability not completed as a regular road until after the reduction of both the Latins and Volscians under the Roman sway. Livy, it is true, speaks of it here as if it already existed in the time of Coriolanus, but he in fact uses the name only as a geographical description, both in this passage, and in bk. x., chap. xxxvi., where he speaks of Interamna as a colony "*quæ via Latina est.*" Neither passage, however, affords any proof that the *road* was then in existence; though there is no doubt that there was already a way or line of communication.

11–12. *Mugillam.* The ordinary text has, after *Coriolos*, the words *novella hæc Romanis oppida ademit*, the expression *novella oppida* meaning "towns but recently conquered." Many editors, however, think that the name of a city ought to be given here, and therefore read, some *Mugillam*, others *Borillas*, according to the list of conquered cities mentioned by Dionysius. The elder Gronovius is in favor of the latter, the younger of the former, and we have given the emendation of the younger in the text, as the more natural one. Both places are mentioned by Dionysius (viii., 36) among those taken by Coriolanus.—*Lavinium recepit.* "He took possession of Lavinium," i. e., without fighting. Not "he recovered Lavinium," for the place had not before this been subject to the Volscians. *Cepit.* on the contrary, implies that there was actual fighting in the case of the other cities mentioned. These cities lay to the east of Rome, on the borders of the Æqui, from whom they appear to have been taken by the Romans.

14–24. *Fossas Cluilias.* Compare bk. i., chap. xxiii., line 13.—*Inde.* "From this point."—*Populatores.* "The devastators."—*Jam ferocem per se.* "Already exasperated of themselves."—*Criminando.* "By bringing charges."—*Quamvis suspectos.* "Although distrustful."—*Id modo non conveniebat*, etc. "In this alone they did not agree, that," etc.—*Sp. Nautius jam*, etc. Between the consuls of the year

491 B.C., mentioned in chap. xxxiv., and those named here, Livy has omitted two sets of consuls, namely, of the year 490, Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and Sp. Larcius Flavus; and of 489, C. Julius Julus and P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus. The omission, as Zumpt thinks, was probably an oversight on the part of Livy himself, as there is no trace of a gap in the manuscripts. Weissenborn, on the other hand, is of opinion that Livy purposely indicates the omission by the employment of the particle *jam*.

25–32. *Recensentes legiones.* They were holding probably a muster and review of the new levies which had been raised to repair the losses occasioned by previous defeats.—*Stationes.* "Outposts." By *stationes* are specially meant the advanced posts thrown forward in front of the gates.—*Referre.* "To lay before them the question."—*Acceperunt relationem.* "Entertained the question."—*Labare plebis animos.* "That the spirits of the plebeians were giving way."—*Atrox responsum.* "A harsh answer."

32–38. *Si Volscis ager redderetur*, etc. The demands of Coriolanus appear, from a comparison of the accounts of Livy and Dionysius (viii., 35), to have been as follows: He demanded that the territory taken from the Volscians should be restored to them; that the colonies settled there should be recalled, and that the whole people should be received as allies and isopolites. He allowed the Romans the two terms of thirty-three days, fixed by the fetial law, to make up their minds. Should these pass away, and his demands not be acceded to, it would rest with him to determine what course to pursue. Niebuhr remarks that these terms are nothing else than the very sacrifice by which Rome, in the year 295, had the wisdom to purchase peace with the Volscians.—*Traditum est: nihilo magis*, etc. Gronovius would read *traditum* (scil. *traditum est*); *et nihilo magis*, etc. This would make the sentence somewhat more simple, though there are many instances of the present reading.

CHAPTER XL.

3–18. *Id publicum consilium.* "Whether this was a state measure." Supply *utrum* before *id*. Dionysius says (viii., 39) that this step was recommended by Valeria, the sister of Publicola. Plutarch gives his wife's name as Virgilia.—*In primo.* "At first." An unusual form for *primo*. The preposition, though defended by some, is probably erroneous here.—*Publica majestate in legatis.* "By the majesty of the state (represented) in its ambassadors." *Tanta offusa oculis*, etc. "By so great religious sanctity poured forth upon the eyes and the imagination in the persons of the priests."—*Insignem.*

"Conspicuous."—*Cognoverat.* "Had recognized."—*Tibi.* The *dativus ethicus.* (Zumpt, § 408.)

19–26. *Consternatus ab sede sua.* "Rushing in consternation from his seat." Some construe *consternatus* with *prope ut amens*, "confounded, almost like one who had lost his reason." This, however, is less spirited.—*Obviæ.* "As she met him."—*Sine sciam.* "Let me know." *Ut* elegantly omitted before *sciam.*—*Ad hostem.* Supply *utrum* before *ad*, and compare note on line 31. So again, *captiva materne*, "a captive or a mother."—*Senecta.* More poetic than *senectus.*—*Traxit.* As if against her will.—*Non succurrit.* "Did not the thought occur to you."

30–32. *Sed ego nihil jam pati*, etc. "But I for my part can now suffer nothing that is not more disgraceful to you than distressing to me, nor, as I am most wretched, am I likely long to remain so." She alludes, in consequence of her old age, to the speedy termination of her miseries by death. The ordinary reading is *ut sim*, which Zumpt very properly rejects, and gives *ut sum*, as found in one of the best manuscripts, because, as Veturia has just said that nothing could be more distressing to her, the undecided expression *ut sim*, "granting that I am," is quite unsuitable.—*De his videris.* "See to these." Pointing to his wife and children. Compare bk. i., chap. lviii., line 35.—*Si pergis.* "If you proceed (in your present course)."

35–40. *Comploratio sui patriæque.* "Their joint lamentation for themselves and their country."—*Fregere.* "Broke down."—*Invidia rei oppressum*, etc. "They relate that, overwhelmed by the odium of the proceeding, he perished, some say by one kind of death, others by another." Supply *tradunt* after *alii.*—*Fabium.* Fabius Pictor. Compare bk. i., chap. xliv., line 10.—*Hanc sæpe usurpasse vocem.* "That he frequently made use of this remark."

41–44. *Non inviderunt laude sua*, etc. "Did not grudge the women the praise that was their due." *Invideo* is commonly used intransitively with one dative, either of the person or the thing; but sometimes the accusative of the thing is added to the dative of the person. Quintilian, however, observes (ix., 3) that his contemporaries used the ablative instead of the accusative of the earlier writers; and this construction first occurs in the present passage; very frequently in the younger Pliny, and sometimes in Tacitus. (Zumpt, § 413.)—*Sine obtrectatione gloriæ alienæ.* "Without detracting from the fame of others."—*Templum Fortunæ muliebri.* Tradition connected a temple of *Fortuna muliebris*, which lay four miles from the city on the Latin road, with this intercession of the Roman matrons. It was overlooked, however, that this temple after all did not stand on the spot

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where Coriolanus must have received the mission; for, as the tradition most distinctly related, he pitched his camp five miles from Rome, at the *Fossæ Cluiliæ*.

45–53. *Deinde.* "Afterwards."—*Aquilio Hernici*, etc. "The Hernici, for they too were in arms, fell as a province to Aquilius." The consuls drew lots for their respective provinces.—*Cum Volscis æquo Marte discessum est.* "They came off in battle with the Volsci on equal terms."

The date assigned to the legend of Coriolanus in the annals is B.C. 490. The inconsistency of this legend with the traces of real history which have come down to us have been pointed out by Niebuhr, who has also shown that if the banishment of Coriolanus be placed some twenty years later, and his attack on the Romans about ten years after that, the groundwork of the story is reconcilable with history. The account of his condemnation is not applicable to the state of things earlier than B.C. 470, about which time a famine happened, while Hiero was tyrant of Syracuse, and might have been induced by his hostility to the Etrurians to send corn to the Romans. Moreover, in B.C. 458 the Volscians obtained from the Romans, as we have already remarked, the very terms which were proposed by Coriolanus. The circumstance that the story has been referred to a wrong date Niebuhr considers to have arisen from its having been mixed up with the foundation of the temple to Fortuna Muliebris. The name Coriolanus may have been derived from his settling in the town of Corioli after his banishment. (Smith, *Dict. Ant. Biogr.*, etc., s. v.)

CHAPTER XLI.

2–3. *Cum Hernicis fœdus ictum.* This was only the renewal of an ancient league; and its stipulation (which is here quite misrepresented) was that all territory conquered in future by the arms of the confederates should be equally divided between the Romans, Latins, and Hernici. Livy erroneously regards the league as a treaty of peace at the end of a war; and Dionysius even enters into a circumstantial relation of the campaign. The war, however, is a mere fabrication, derived from the notion that the league was a treaty of peace, and from a misunderstanding of what was reported of its contents with regard to the division of conquered territories. (Niebuhr, *H. R.*, ii., p. 87.)—*Partes duæ.* "Two thirds." The other third, according to Livy's erroneous version of the affair, was given to the Hernici, which is a charge brought soon after by his colleague against Cassius.—*Inde dimidium.* "One half of this;" i. e., of these two thirds.

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5-9. *Adjiciebat.* "He was for adding."—*Publicum.* "Though belonging to the state."—*Possideri.* "Was occupied." So by *possessores* are meant "occupiers;" by *possessio* is meant the property occupied; by *usus*, the act of occupation. These terms are always employed when the use of the *public* lands is spoken of. It was an essential part of the definition of *possessio* that it could relate only to what was not a man's own property. After every conquest, what portion of land should be retained as public property was determined, as well as what portion should be assigned in parcels to individuals by way of remuneration for military services. The plebeians were as much disqualified for *occupation* as the patricians were from receiving assignments.—*Publica sollicitudo.* "A solicitude for the public welfare." Observe here the force of *sed et* at the beginning of the clause. The anxiety of many of the fathers arose no doubt from their apprehensions with regard to their own property. *But* there was *also* among them a solicitude for the public welfare, etc.

11-15. *Lex agraria.* This was but a revival of the Servian law; and its object was, after setting apart the public portion, to divide the remainder among the plebeians; and at the same time, by way of raising a fund for the payment of the army, to levy from the "occupiers" the tithe, the payment whereof had been discontinued. The patricians, of course, set their faces against such a law, because the public land, which was wholly unprofitable to the Commons while undivided, became wholly lost to themselves when divided.—*Cœperat fastidire*, etc. "Had begun to feel disgust, that he had gone from citizens to allies, to make the gift an indiscriminate one." If the reading *isse* be here correct, *Cassius* and not *munus* must be regarded as the object. *Vulgatum*, according to our reading, is the supine after *isse*, a verb of motion.

18-31. *Regno viam fieri.* "That the way was being paved to a throne."—*Quid ita enim adsumi*, etc. "For why was it so that the allies and the Latin nation were admitted to participate?"—*Quid attinuisse.* "What purpose did it serve that."—*Pro Coriolano.* "Instead of a Coriolanus."—*Dissuasor et intercessor.* "The dissuader and opposer."—*Ambitiosus in socio*, etc. "Anxious to be popular with the allies, and on that account less regarded by the citizens."—*Siculo frumento.* Compare chap. xxxiv., line 12.—*Præsentem mercedem regni.* "An immediate bribe for sovereign power."—*Velut abundarent omnia.* "As if all things were in abundance (unto them)."—*Respuebantur.* "Were loathed," i. e., were rejected with disgust.

33-40. *Actorem.* "The exactor," i. e., the one who inflicted. The ordinary text has *auctorem;* but *auctor* properly denotes "the proposer of a measure," which would be inconsistent here with the

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father's authority.—*Peculium.* "The private property." *Peculium* is properly the property acquired by a slave with his master's consent; and as a son was in *patria potestate* as much as a slave was *in domini potestate*, the term "*peculium*" is appropriate to the property of a son acquired with the father's consent.—*Signum.* In the sense of *statuam.*—*Kæsone.* Commonly written with merely the initial K. The name *Kæso* was given as a prænomen to those whose birth was like that of Macduff. (Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, v., 7.) The name *Cæsar* arose from a like circumstance.—*Diem dictam.* Compare chap. xxxv., line 10.—*Perduellionis.* "For high-treason." Compare bk. i., chap. xxvi., line 21.—*Telluris ædem.* This temple, first consecrated in 484, stood in the *Carinæ*, near the *Sororium Tigillum.* (Becker, i., 524.) —*Damnatur.* Dio Cassius (*Frag.* 19) shows that he was unjustly condemned.

CHAPTER XLII.

2–12. *Dulcedo.* "The charm."—*Dempto.* "Having been removed out of the way."—*Malignitate.* "By the parsimony." This is the sense in which this word is generally used in Livy.—*Volscis Æquisque.* Both nations are generally mentioned together from this time down to 295.—*Fraudavere.* Livy himself, by the employment of this term, acknowledges the gross unfairness with which the Plebeians were treated, in being deprived of all share in the conquered lands, although they furnished the greater part of the foot forces.—*Vendidit.* "Caused to be sold."—*In publicum.* Supply *ærarium.* [*Fabium nomen.* "All the Fabii." *Nomen* is used as in the common phrase *nomen Latinum.*]—*Tenuere.* "Gained their point." For *obtinuere.*—*Intermissæ.* "Were suspended."

13–16. *Uno animo.* "Becoming of one mind," i. e., becoming united in feeling.—*Castoris ædes.* Though dedicated to the twin gods, this temple was commonly called *Ædes Castoris.* After the battle at Lake Regillus, the Dioscuri, who had assisted the Romans in the fight, were seen refreshing themselves and their horses, all covered with dust and sweat, at the little fountain of Juturna, near the temple of Vesta. A temple was accordingly erected to these deities on the spot where they had appeared. It was not a temple of the largest size, but its conspicuous situation on the Forum made it one of the best-known in Rome.—*Idibus Quinctilibus.* "On the Ides of July," i. e., on the 15th of the month.

19–24. *Sollicitati sunt.* "Were excited."—*Popularem potestatem*, etc. "Were every day bringing more into note their popular power by means of this popular law." Observe the force of the imperfect. Since the tribunes as yet could not originate any motion of this kind,

the law here and afterwards meant is that brought forward by Cassius, the passage of which was hindered by the Senate.—*Satis superque gratuiti furoris esse.* "That there was enough and more than enough of gratuitous frenzy." Some manuscripts give *favoris* instead of *furoris*, "That the tribunes had enough and more than enough of gratuitous favors among the multitude." The common reading, however, ought not to be disturbed.—*Vicit.* Namely, by preventing the passage of the bill.

28–41. *Vana lex*, etc. "The law became an empty project, and the abetters of the law mere empty boasters from their ostentatiously promising a favor that could not be realized." Observe the force of the frequentative.—*Unoque velut tenore*, etc. "And all uniformly tried in contests with the tribunes," i. e., their fidelity to the cause of the patricians was thus tried and established. *Expertus* is here employed in a passive sense; it commonly appears in an active one.—*Bene locatus.* "Well placed." A metaphorical expression, from money well laid out, and yielding good interest.—*Prope supererant.* "Was almost more than sufficient."—*Ægras jam mentes.* "The already affected minds."—*Consulti.* Belonging to *numinis* along with *moti*, and not, as some erroneously think, to *vates.*—*Incesti.* "For unchastity." The punishment was to be buried alive.

CHAPTER XLIII.

2–14. *Segnior.* "Less active."—*Atrocius.* "More formidable."—*Cura.* "The solicitude."—*Ortonam.* Situated on the confines of the Æquian territory. The Romans had to lend aid to it, in accordance with the stipulations of the Latin league. There was another Ortona, a considerable town of the Frentani, on the coast of the Adriatic.—*Pleni.* "Sated with."—*Cum compescere deberent.* "When they ought to have held in check."—*Non sua sponte.* As in former days. Compare chap. xxvii., line 35.—*Spurius Licinius.* Dionysius calls him *Icilius*, and Zumpt thinks that this is the correct form of the name, since the prænomen *Spurius* does not occur among the Licinii, but is common among the Icilii.—*Injungendæ.* "Of forcing."

16–19. *Auctorem.* "The author of the step," i. e., the tribune Licinius, who had endeavored by his veto to stop the levy.—*Collegæ.* This conduct on their part, however, was unconstitutional, since they had no power to interfere with the intercession of Licinius, which was properly final. Compare Seneca, *Controv.*, i., 5: "*Ex tribunis potentior est qui intercedit.*"—*Ducendis Fabio in Æquos*, etc. This reading, which was first established by Sigonius, on the authority of one or two manuscripts, preserves a consistency in Livy's statement;

for he says, in the next chapter, "*Proximo bello, in ipsa acie, in ipso certamine, consensu exercitus, traditam ultro victoriam victis Æquis.*" The old reading of almost all the manuscripts and printed copies was *Fabio in Veientes, in Æquos Furio datur*, but this destroys the consistency of the passage.

20–27. *Veientibus.* The old reading is *Æquis.* Consult preceding note.—*Ipse consul.* "Himself (alone) a consul," i. e., alone displaying the true spirit of one. This is said as a contrast to the movements of his colleague.—*Imperatorias artes.* "Qualities as a commander."—*Nec illos, etsi non*, etc. "Nor, although the exhortation of their leader, whom they hated, was not (able to effect this), could their own infamy at least, and the public disgrace at present, and danger soon after, if courage should have returned to the foe, compel them to accelerate their pace, or if (they did) nothing else, stand in order of battle." We have given, in the last line of this passage, *stare*, the correction of Muretus, instead of the common reading *instare*, which cannot be defended, although many have sought to do so.

32–36. *Navatam ab equite operam.* "The assistance rendered by the cavalry." Equivalent to *equitem quod navaverit operam.*—*Adeo excellentibus ingeniis*, etc. "To such a degree, unto transcendent abilities, is the tact more likely to be wanting," etc., i. e., so true it is that to transcendent abilities, etc.—*Citius defuerit.* More literally, "Likely sooner to be wanting." Observe the force of the potential *defuerit.*—*Obtinuere.* "Gained their point." Compare chap. xlii., line 9.—*Ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret.* The extraordinary fact, says Niebuhr, that for seven consecutive years, from 269 to 275, one of the seats in the consulship was always filled by a member of the Fabian house cannot have been the result of accident. It was the price paid by the older tribes to the powerful house in question for their support in an attempt to exclude the lesser houses from the consulship.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1–13. *Auctorem legis agrariæ.* "As the advocate of the agrarian law." Not "as the *author* of *an* agrarian law," for the reference is to the law of Cassius, which was again, as before, sought to be carried through.—*Tib.* Contraction for Tiberius.—*Velut processisset Licinio.* "As if success had attended Licinius." More literally, "As if it had succeeded to Licinius." The verb is here taken impersonally, though more commonly construed with a subject.—*In præsentia re*, etc. "For the present by the very fact (of the defeat of Licinius), for all future time by the precedent (which had been established),"

i. e., when the patricians had once found that the tribunitian power could be defeated, they would always have recourse to the same method of defeating it. Most of the manuscripts and old editions have *reipublicæ* in place of *re ipsa.*—*Dissolvi.* "Was rendered nugatory." —*Qui et ex collega*, etc. "To wish both a victory (won) from a colleague for himself, and also the gratitude of the better portion (of the community) by means of a public service."—*Et unum vel adversus omnes*, etc. Compare note on chap. xliii., line 16.

17–22. *Præceptis.* "By the counsels."—*Comiter ac benigne.* "Courteously and kindly."—*Ut cuique privatim*, etc. "As each had in his personal capacity any influence with them individually." Observe that *jus* here, as often elsewhere, signifies "power" or "influence," and moreover that *adversus* does not always imply hostile opposition or injury.—*Salubres.* That is from a patrician point of view. —*Quatuorque tribunorum*, etc. In the manuscripts and old editions the reading is *novemque tribunorum*, etc., which is quite incorrect, as at this time there were only five tribunes. The error arose, as Sigonius remarks, from inaccuracy in transcribing the Roman numeral IV, V being written X.

24–37. *Profecti.* That is. in company with the Latins and Hernici. —*Etruria.* This country was then at the height of its power.—*Principes.* The Etrurian Lucumones are meant. Compare bk. i., chap. xxxiv., line 1.—*Id unum venenum*, etc. "That this was the only bane, this the plague-spot discovered for powerful states, in order that great empires might be mortal." The allusion is to internal dissension.—*Sustentatum.* "Kept down." *Sustentare*, as Zumpt well remarks, has two significations, "to maintain, keep up" a good thing; and "to retard, keep down" a bad thing.—*Consiliis.* "By the wise measures." And yet, in reality, it had been fomented by the very course of policy pursued by the fathers.—*Sævire.* "To act turbulently."—*Qualicumque urbis statu*, etc. "That, as long as military discipline remained, in whatever condition of the city, it had been possible for order to be established."—*Non parendi.* "Of disobeying."

38–44. *In ipsa acie.* "In the very field."—*Ultro.* "Voluntarily." —*Æquis.* Consult note on chap. xliii., line 19.—*Multis in vicem casibus*, etc. "By many vicissitudes vanquished and victors in turn." Livy appears to mean that they expected some decisive advantage now from the divisions of the Romans, especially as they were sometimes successful against them even when united.

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CHAPTER XLV.

1–7. *Præterea aliud.* Pleonastic.—*Ne rem committerent eo*, etc. "Lest they should bring the affair into such a situation where two armies would have to be feared at the same time," i. e., their own and that of the enemy.—*Tam ancipiti periculo aversi.* "Keeping aloof (from an engagement) by reason of so double a danger." Supply *a prælio committendo* after *aversi.*—*Diem tempusque*, etc. "(Hoping) that length of time and circumstances," etc. Compare Weissenborn, *ad loc.*, "Länge der Zeit und Umstände." Supply *sperantes* at the beginning of the clause.—*Sanitatem.* "A healthy tone of feeling."

9–14. *Præpropere.* "With overhaste."—*Obequitando.* "By riding up to." This compound is a favorite with our author.—*Qua . . . qua.* "As well . . . as." Frequent in Livy.—*Remedium timoris.* "As a palliation for their cowardice."—*Inventum.* Properly *inventam;* but the participle is usually accommodated in gender to the predicate.—*Et consules magis non confidere*, etc. "And that the consuls rather distrusted the valor than disbelieved the sincerity of the soldiers," i. e., their willingness to fight. Drakenborch thinks that, inasmuch as Fabius says afterwards, "*Ego istos posse scio; velle ne scirem, isti fecerunt,*" the expression *non confidere* means, not to depend on their fidelity, and *non credere*, not to trust their valor. But, as Prendeville remarks, it does not follow that the enemy and the consuls said or thought the same thing. The enemy said it was cowardice, the consuls said it was want of inclination on the part of the Romans. Each had their own motive for what they said.

16–23. *In novitatem generis*, etc. The Etrurians, proud of the antiquity of their nation, taunt the Romans with "the newness of their race and origin."—*Sub.* "Close to."—*Haud ægre.* "Without any impatience."—*Vorsare.* "Kept agitating." Literally, "Kept turning to and fro."—*Nolle successum non*, etc. "They wished not success either to the fathers or the consuls." The general negation comes first, and is then repeated distributively with the single terms. Hence the two negatives do not destroy one another. (Madvig, § 460, Obs. 2.)—*Certare.* "Struggled for the mastery."—*Eludebat.* "Mocked them."

25–35. *Capita conferunt.* "Lay their heads together." So also *conferre sermones*, "To talk over together."—*Sed retro revocanda*, etc. "But this wish was to be kept back and concealed."—*Incitato semel.* "When once aroused."—*Ut in hostem animadversuros.* "That they will inflict punishment on him as on an enemy."—*Quo minus consules velle credunt.* "The less they believe the consuls to wish for battle."

—*Rem ad ultimum*, etc. "That the affair will break out into the extreme of sedition," i. e., into a desperate sedition.

39–44. *Totis castris.* "From every quarter of the camp."—*Sensim.* "With reserve."—*Centurionum principes.* "The principal centurions." The allusion is to the first centurions of the three lines, the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, of each legion. They were also called *principes ordinum*, or *primi ordines*, or *centuriones primorum ordinum*. Their centuries were called *honesti ordines*.—*Tergiversantur tamen.* "They keep putting it off, however," i. e., keep delaying to accede to the cries of the soldiery. *Tergiversari* means properly, "to act in a shuffling or evasive manner, to temporize."—*Ad crescentem tumultum*, etc. "As his colleague was now beginning to yield through the fear of a mutiny, on the tumult increasing." *Ad* has here a species of temporal signification. (Zumpt, § 296.) Some, less correctly, make it equivalent to *propter*. Another, but inferior reading, is *tumultu . . . metum*.—*Ego istos, Cn. Manli*, etc. "I know, Cneius Manlius, that those soldiers can conquer the enemy; (but, by their conduct,) they themselves caused me not to know for certain that they wished to do it."

49–57. *Pugnæ flagitator.* "Importunate for battle." Literally, "An importunate asker of battle."—*Jovem patrem*, etc. "He calls down upon himself the anger of father Jove," etc.—*Gradivumque Martem.* Consult note on bk. i., chap. xx., line 15.—*Jubent.* Ironical. It is properly the language of compliment and of polite invitation. Compare Terence (*Andr.*, iii., 3, 1.), "*Jubeo Chremetem*," "I bid Chremes hail," scil. *salvere*.—*Quisque.* Belonging to the subject in *jubent*.—*Offerri.* In a middle sense. —*Nomen.* The terms *nomen* and *gens* are here, in fact, synonymous, but see note on chap. xlvi., line 12.—*Infensos.* "Embittered against them."

CHAPTER XLVI.

2–5. *Legiones.* For *copiæ* or *exercitus*. The Roman mode of speaking applied to the enemy. Compare Horace, *Sat.*, i., 6, 4.—*Prope certa spes erat.* That is, to the Veientes and the Etrurians.—*Majus quoque aliquod*, etc. "That some greater feat also (on their own part) is not to be despaired of in the case of such irritated feelings, and on so doubtful an occasion." As the Romans before, when sure of success against the Æqui, gave up the advantage, it was not likely that they would now hazard a battle, when they could not be certain of the successful issue of it, and were besides in such a state of discontent. The enemy therefore calculated upon an easy victory, and even hoped to accomplish some greater feat than before—for instance, to take the Roman camp.

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8–12. *Explicandi ordines.* The MS. reading is *ordinis*, which would refer merely to a single rank, not to an entire army. We have given therefore the correction of Gronovius. Drakenborch conjectures *explicandis ordinibus.*—*Abjectis temere magis*, etc. "Having been rather thrown off at random than hurled with any aim (at the foe)."—*In manus . . . ad gladios.* Livy is fond of varying his expressions, particularly prepositions.—*Genus Fabium.* Equivalent to *gens Fabia.* Zumpt, however, thinks that *gens* would refer merely to the patricians, whereas *genus* includes also the humbler families of the same name attached to the great house, freedmen and their descendants.

14–28. *Principem in confertos Veientes.* "Foremost into the thickest of the Veientes."—*Armorum arte.* "Skill in arms."—*Versantem.* "Ranging." Moving to and fro.—*Telo extracto*, etc. "The weapon having been plucked out (by the Tuscan), Fabius fell headlong on the wound," i. e., fell forward on his breast where he had received the wound. The word *abiit*, says Burmann (*ad Quinctil. Declam.*, 9, 5), is expressive of the force and quickness with which he fell.—*Hoc jurastis?* "Was it this which you swore?"—*Injuratus.* Dionysius (ix., p. 567) says, on the contrary, that the consuls did take the oath.—*Te impetraturum.* "That you will bring it to pass."—*In primum.* "To the van."—*Infensis hastis.* The term *infestus* is more commonly applied to weapons and things, and *infensus* to persons.

CHAPTER XLVII.

3–12. *Est versata.* "Prevailed."—*Et ut ille.* "And when he," i. e., Manlius.—*Gradum rettulere.* "They fell back," i. e., from the point to which they had advanced.—*Cessissentque loco.* "And would have retired from the field." Literally, "from the place" originally assigned them in the commencement of the fight.—*Rem inclinatam.* "The drooping action." *Inclinatam* properly means here "bent," or "turned away," for the purpose of flight, the latter, however, not having as yet actually commenced.

13–22. *Coram.* "In person."—*Vanior.* "Thinner," i. e., full of gaps. Equivalent to *rarior*, and opposed to *densa acies.* The primary signification of *vanus* is "empty."—*Subtracta subsidia.* "Detached bodies of reserve."—*Terunt.* Some read *tererent*, which is incorrect. *Cum tererent* would be correct.—*Nuntiis.* "Intelligence." *Nuntius*, like the Greek ἄγγελος, has the double meaning of "messenger," and of "the message" sent.—*Ad prætorium.* "To the general's tent," i. e., to the quarter where the general's tent was. The commander of an army was originally called *prætor*, i. e., *qui præit.*—*Opposita.* "Having been posted."

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23–32. *Ea desperatio.* "Such a desperate position." *Ea* for *talis.* —*Incursantes.* "Rushing on."—*Exitum.* "A prospect of escape." —*Vano aliquotiens impetu issent.* "They had frequently advanced with fruitless efforts."—*Excepta.* "Were intercepted."—*Rapto.* "Having been caught up."—*Consternato agmine.* This could hardly have been expected from what has just been said of them.

34–48. *Tristis.* "Saddened."—*Facile passurum.* "That he will willingly acquiesce.—*Familia funesta.* "His own family being plunged in grief."—*Ex parte orba.* "Having in some degree been bereaved." —*Laurcam.* The general who triumphed wore a laurel crown, which he deposited in the lap of the statue of Jupiter in the Capitol.—*Omni acto triumpho*, etc. "The triumph (thus) declined was more glorious than any triumph celebrated; so (true it is that) glory despised at the proper time returns sometimes more enhanced."—*Deinceps.* "In succession," i. e., first of his colleague, as being consul, and then of his brother.—*Idem in utroque laudator*, etc. "The one and the same person being panegyrist in the case of both, when, by yielding up to them the praises that were really his own, he himself bore off (in men's minds) the greatest share of them." Fabius pronounced the funeral oration, or eulogy, over both of them.—*Ejus quod initio consulatus imbiberat.* "Of that resolution which he had indelibly impressed on his mind." Literally, "Had drunk in," i. e., so as to be thoroughly impregnated with it.—*Ulla nisi salubri*, etc. "By any practice except what was beneficial to the state." All the MSS. have *re* after *ulla*, which we have thrown out with most of the editions.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1–11. *Studiis.* "In accordance with the zealous wishes."—*Belli.* The MSS. have *bella*, which most editors retain, on the supposition that Livy intended to go on thus: *neque ullam aliam rem prius curare*, but from forgetfulness, or by mistake, introduced *curam agere* instead of *curare!* We have adopted, however, the conjecture of Hearne, *belli*, which makes *delectus* a genitive.—*Ullam aliam.* Equivalent in effect to *ullius alius rei publicæ.* — *Cum patribus coalescerent*, etc. "The feelings of the Commons might become in unison with those of the fathers."—*Censuit.* "He proposed."—*Occuparent patres ipsi*, etc. "That the fathers themselves should anticipate (such a movement) by making it their own gift." More literally, "Should be beforehand to make it," etc. He recommended that they should themselves vote the division of the lands, and thereby carry off from a tribune the credit of giving the people a present—*Quam maxime æqualiter.* "As equally as possible." That is, two *jugera* to each man. Compare bk. i., chap. xlvi., line 5.—*Verum esse.* "That it is but fair." More literally, "That it is the true way."

14–19. *Nimia gloria luxuriare*, etc. "That the once energetic spirit of Cæso was running to waste, and beginning to grow enfeebled through a surfeit of glory."—*Deinde.* "For some time thereafter." It would be palpably erroneous to make *deinde* here refer to all the time that came after. He merely means, immediately or for some time after this. The demands for an agrarian law were ever and anon renewed by the tribunes, though without success.—*Eo nulla pugna*, etc. Observe that *eo* is here equivalent to *ideo*. Compare bk. i., chap. xi., line 29.

21–27. *Temeritate.* As he carried on the war alone, and without the co-operation of any of the allies, his defeat is easy to be conceived. —*Res proxime*, etc. "The affair had come very nearly to the form of a mere predatory excursion." By *res* is meant the campaign. The MSS. have *in formam*, but the absence of the preposition makes neater Latinity, though the other form of expression is not opposed to the usage of the language.—*Legionibus Romanis cedebant.* "They retired from before the Roman legions." On this employment of the dative, consult Madvig, § 244; *a.* — *Eludentes.* "Evading." The verb *eludere* is properly said of gladiators avoiding a blow by shifting the body, etc. *Ludus* is the gladiatorial school or combat.—*Neque omitti*, etc. "Could neither be wholly disregarded nor yet brought to a conclusion."

28–34. *Præsentia.* "At the very time."—*Non diutius, quam recens*, etc. "No longer than (while) the fresh smart of their late disaster would be passing off."—*Mox moturos se.* "Would soon put themselves in motion." Livy here varies the construction. We would have expected the clause to run as follows: *Aut exspectabantur, ut a Sabinis*, etc. He makes the change, however, in order to lay the emphasis on *Sabinos* and *Etruriam.—Assiduus magis quam gravis.* "Persevering rather than seriously formidable."—*Animos agitabat.* "Kept their minds in constant uneasiness." Observe the force of the imperfect.—*Averti alio.* "To turn their attention elsewhere." Referring to the Romans. The passive in a reflexive sense, and equivalent to *avertere se*, like the middle voice in Greek. (Zumpt, § 146.)

35–40. *Assiduo magis*, etc. "A permanent rather than a large military post." *Præsidium* is often used in the same sense with reference to colonies sent out to such a post.—*Vos curate.* "Do you attend to."—*Hostes.* "As foes."—*Auctores sumus.* "We pledge ourselves."—*Nobis in animo est.* "It is in our contemplation."—*Res publica et milite*, etc. "Let the state be exempt from (the charge of providing) both soldiery and money in that war." *Illic* is here equivalent to *in illo bello.*

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42. *Vestibulo.* "The court-yard." *Vestibulum* has here its proper meaning. It did not, strictly speaking, form part of a building, but was a vacant space before the door, forming a court, which was surrounded on three sides by the structure, and was open on the fourth to the street. The two sides of the building joined the street, but the middle part of it, where the door was placed, was at some little distance from the street. The ordinary meaning of the term "entrance-hall," within the house-door, but without the sleeping-apartments, does not of course apply here.

Aulus Gellius (xvii., 21) says that the three hundred and six Fabii perished *along with their families* on the Cremera, and hence Niebuhr (vol. ii., p. 193) infers that they were not merely an advanced post in an enemy's country, occupying a fort there for the sake of ravaging the territory of the foe, but that they formed a regular settlement on the river with their wives and children, and that eventually a town would have sprung up there.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1–11. *Manat.* "Gradually spreads."—*Subisse.* "Had undergone," i. e., had taken upon themselves.—*In privatam curam.* "Into a matter of private concern." This is said with somewhat of rhetorical exaggeration, since the state still really carried on the war. Compare line 38 seqq. of the present chapter.—*Si sint.* "If there be besides."—*Postera die.* Livy very rarely uses *dies* in the feminine gender. Drakenborch says only in four places, of which the present is one, and yet even in these the MSS. vary, so that he himself gives the masculine the preference here. We have followed, however, Alschefski and Zumpt.—*Paludatus.* "In his paludamentum," i. e., in full military costume. Consult note on bk. i., chap. xxvi., line 10.—*Acceptus in medium.* "Being received into the centre."

14–21. *Sex et trecenti.* These were the Fabii proper, or members of the Fabian house; but there were besides these, as Festus informs us, five thousand clients, since it would require a large number of men to maintain a military post in the immediate vicinity of the foe. Perizonius (*Animadv. Hist.*, c. 5) thinks that the number of the Fabii is greatly exaggerated, and no doubt he is right, since the whole account has evidently been drawn from some family lay of the Fabian house. Compare the remarks of Niebuhr on this whole subject (*R. H.*, vol. ii., p. 195).—*Quorum neminem*, etc. Rhetorical exaggeration merely.—*Egregius senatus.* "An upright senate."—*Propria alia*, etc. "One part belonging to themselves, composed of their relations and acquaintances." We may here mentally supply *pars*, as elicited

from *turba* which precedes.—*Nihil medium*, etc. "Nothing moderate, neither (moderate) hope, nor (moderate) anxiety."—*Immensa.* "On the highest scale."—*Stupens.* "Wholly engrossed."

22-28. *Felices.* "With happy omens."—*Reddere.* "To bring back."—*Ut mittant.* "To send on its way."—*Ad parentes.* Those who are going forth are here regarded as *juniores*, just as above they are termed *milites.*—*Infelici via*, etc. "Having set out on their luckless route, through the right-hand archway of the Carmental gate." This gate lay just at the foot of the Capitol, and was named after a fane or altar of Carmenta, the mother of Evander, which stood near it. The principal gates of Rome had commonly more than one thoroughfare, and these archways, or passages, were called *fornices* and *Jani.* (Consult note on bk. i., chap. xix., line 6.) The right-hand *Janus* of the *Porta Carmentalis* was always afterwards regarded as ill-omened to one passing out of the city under it, and was branded with the name of *Porta Scelerata*, from the disaster of the Fabii.—*Cremĕram.* The Cremera, now *la Valca*, was a small stream, in the territory of the Veientes, and emptying into the Tiber, on the Etrurian side of that river.

31-45. *Donec nihil aliud*, etc. "As long as the war consisted in nothing else than devastations." For this idiomatic usage of *aliud quam*, consult Zumpt, § 771, and on *donec* with the indicative, Zumpt, § 575.—*Infesta hostium.* "Those of the enemy constant objects of attack."—*Per utrumque finem.* "Along each frontier."—*Dirigendi.* For *instruendi.*—*Dum post signa*, etc. "While the ranks, following their standards, are entering upon their ground, and posting their reserves." Some, less correctly, regard *ordines* here as the accusative: "While they are entering their ranks."—*Ademit locum.* "Took away all room," i. e., all possibility.—*Saxa Rubra.* A village and station on the Flaminian Way, now *Prima Porta*, nine miles from Rome. It evidently derived its name from the redness of the tufa rocks, which is still conspicuous in the neighborhood.—*Ab insita animis levitate.* "From the innate fickleness of their minds."—*Ante deductum*, etc. It would seem from this to have been the intention of the Romans to give up the post on the Cremera, and to recall the Fabii.

CHAPTER L.

2-12. *Majoris belli apparatu.* "Preparation for a more serious war." Equivalent in effect to *majore belli apparatu.*—*Incursantium.* "Of marauders."—*Collatisque signis.* "And in pitched battle."—*Ut tum res erant.* "As things then were," i. e., considering how such things were then estimated.—*Ex re natum.* "Springing from

the very nature of the case," i. e., the offspring of, and suggested by, the very circumstances of the case.—*Prædantibus obviam.* "In the way of those who were plundering."

17-28. *Provexit.* "Carried them on so far."—*Rara.* "Here and there."—*Improvidi.* "Incautious."—*Superassent.* "They had passed." Livy often employs *superare* in this sense. Compare Virg., *Æn.*, i., 244: "*Fontem superare Timavi.*—*Vaga.* "Straying about."—*Et adversi et undique.* "Both in front and on all sides."—*Accidebant.* "Kept falling in upon them."—*Septi.* "Hedged in."—*Orbem colligere.* "To contract their ring."—*Insignem.* "Conspicuous."—*Multiplicatis in arto ordinibus.* This refers to the Etrurians, whose ranks grew more numerous as the space grew narrower. Some, less correctly, give *multiplicatis* here the meaning of "more condensed," to signify that the Etrurians, who before, when scattered, appeared few, now seemed more numerous when wedged closely together.

30-35. *Nisi.* "Having used their utmost efforts."—*Editum leniter.* "Of gentle ascent."—*Restitere.* "Halted."—*Subeuntes.* "The foe advancing up the hill."—*Vincebatque auxilio*, etc. "And their paucity of numbers was beginning to conquer by the advantage of the ground (and would eventually have proved victorious), had not," etc. The indicative is here employed instead of the subjunctive, to mark that a part of the inference has already come to pass, and that the whole would have been realized if an obstacle had not been thrown in the way. (Zumpt, § 519.) Compare note on bk. ii., chap. x., line 4. —*Jugo.* "Along the slope."

38-39. *Unum prope puberem*, etc. It is unanimously stated by the ancient writers that all the Fabii perished at the Cremera, with the exception of one individual, from whom all the later members of the gens were descended. The same accounts relate, as Livy does here, that he was left behind at Rome in consequence of his youth; but this could not have been the reason, if the supposition be a correct one that the Fabii migrated from the city with all their families, and it is moreover refuted by the fact that this same Fabius was consul ten years afterwards. ["By the words *prope puberem ætate* Livy intends merely to describe Fabius, not to assign a reason for his being left in the city; and *relictum* means 'survived the battle.'" (Weissenborn.)]—*Stirpem genti Fabiæ.* "A stock for the Fabian house," i. e., to propagate the Fabian house.

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CHAPTER LI.

1–11. *Clades est.* Not *esset*, as some read, because this would imply that Horatius and Menenius were consuls *after* the defeat of the Fabii had taken place, whereas it plainly appears from the next chapter (*quum haud procul inde stativa consul habuisset*) that Menenius was consul during the disaster. — *Super bellum.* "Over and above the war."—*Institit.* "Threatened."—*Ad Spei.* Supply *ædem.* This temple was about a mile from the city.—*Portam Collinam.* This was the most northerly of all the gates, and lay near the point where the *Via Salaria* branched off from the *Via Nomentana.* It took its name from the adjacent *Collis Quirinalis.*—*Parvo momento.* "By but a slight preponderance." More literally, "Turn of the scale."—*Meliorem.* The Greek *ἀμείνονα.*

15–22. *Velut ab arce Janiculi.* "From the Janiculum, as if it were their fortress." For *a Janiculo velut arce.*—*Secuti dedita opera,* etc. "Having pursued some cattle intentionally driven out in every direction for a decoy, they plunged headlong into an ambuscade."—*Atrox.* "Bitter." — *Major.* For *eo major.* A common ellipsis. — *Adorti sunt.* Used here in its primitive sense. Compare Donatus, *Ad Ter. Andr.*, 3, 1, 21: "*Adortus dicitur, qui ex insidiis repente invadit.*"

25–31. *Ferox.* "Elated."—*Magis tamen, quod,* etc. "More, however, because want of provisions drove him into measures however rash, provided they were more expeditious."—*Adverso Janiculo,* etc. "He rashly marched his army up the Janiculum." It would appear from this that the Janiculum at this time was detached from the city. As regards the phrase *erigit aciem,* compare bk. i., chap. xxvii., line 23. —*Occidione occisi.* "Were slain with utter slaughter," i. e., were cut to pieces. An expression of frequent occurrence in Livy.—*Oppressum.* "Was put a sudden stop to." *Opprimere* is often employed, in describing military operations, to denote some sudden and unexpected act.

CHAPTER LII.

1–13. *Laxior annona.* "A less straitened market."—*Abditum fuerat.* "Had been hoarded up."—*Suo veneno.* "With their (old) poison."—*Universos.* "All collectively."—*Invidia erat,* etc. "The loss of the post on the Cremera afforded a ground of odium (against him)." Niebuhr remarks that, in whatever way the Fabii may have perished, they were without doubt sacrificed. They could easily have been saved by Menenius. — *Ea oppressit.* "This (odium) crushed him." Supply *invidia.* The editions generally have *eum oppresserunt.* Many MSS., however, have *eam oppressit,* from which Gronovius de-

duced by conjecture the reading given in our text, which undoubtedly gives the best sense.—*Cum.* "Although."

15–18. *In multa temperarunt*, etc. "The tribunes acted with moderation in (merely imposing) a fine. Though they had prosecuted him for a capital offence, they only decreed against him when condemned two thousand asses as a fine." In our currency this would be about $230 according to Hultsch's valuation. Other authorities take the *as libralis* at 16¾ cents.—*Ea in caput vertit.* "This proved fatal to him." *Caput* is here taken in its physical sense. In the phrase *capitis anquirere* the reference is to physical and civil existence combined.—*Inde morbo absumptum esse.* If, as is generally supposed, Menenius allowed the Fabii to be destroyed, in accordance with the wishes of the ruling party in the Senate; if these sacrificed him, in his turn, for the sake of washing out their own guilt; if with vulgar thoughtlessness they estimated the sentence by the insignificance of the penalty, we can easily conceive that Menenius, who may have known that many of his judges, as far as wishes and commands went, were more culpable than himself, should have sunk under his shame. (Niebuhr, vol. ii., p. 208.)

22–31. *Gratiaque.* "And his influence."—*Et huic prælium*, etc. "Against him also a battle, etc., was made a ground of accusation," i. e., against him also, just as Menenius had been charged with the loss on the post on the Cremera.—*Oratione feroci refutando.* "By confuting in a haughty speech."—*Cujus patris munere.* Compare bk. ii., chap. xxxii., line 25.—*Discussit.* "He shook off."—*Participando laudes.* "By sharing his praises with him," i. e., by attributing to him a share in his praiseworthy deeds.—*Mutaverant animum.* Observe the transitive force here given to the verb *mutare* with *animum.* The form *mutaverant animi* would have been more in Livy's style, and some editors actually adopt it.

CHAPTER LIII.

2–7. *Quibus.* Referring to *Veientibus* as implied in *Veiens.*—*Sabini.* They had been quiet or only threatening since A.U.C. 260.—*Pro mœnibus.* As a defence for the city.—*Ut, dum dispersi*, etc. "That, while scattered (throughout the camp), they sally forth in different ways, by separate companies," etc. With *alia* supply *via.* They did not march out of their camp in one body, but in companies, by different ways, and hence, amid the confusion which thus arose, the Romans made themselves masters of one of the gates of the camp.

13–25. *Toto impetu intentos*, etc. "Whose attention was turned with all their energy towards the camp."—*Utroque versis signis.* That

is, they formed a double front.—*Finitimæ gentes.* One idea, and therefore the two attributives that precede.—*Per se.* "By their own exertions." Literally, "Through themselves." The inroad was so sudden that they had no time to wait for succor from Rome.—*Calamitatis contumeliæque.* "Of injury and indignity."

CHAPTER LIV.

2–10. *Non tamen bellatum.* "No war, however, was waged."—*Stipendio.* "Money." *Stipendium* is properly the pay of soldiers, and money raised for that purpose. It cannot, however, mean pay here, since the Roman soldiers did not receive pay until seventy years after this time, in 405. In later times it was usual to exact a contribution of corn and money for the troops from conquered enemies, before granting them peace or a cessation of hostilities. Here, however, as Zumpt remarks, the term *stipendium* is used for "money" generally, the expression being taken from the custom of later times.—*Paci externæ confestim continuatur.* "Is the immediate successor of peace abroad," i. e., ensues immediately after.—*Tribunicius.* "Applied by the tribunes." Equivalent to *a tribunis subditis.*—*Arripuit.* "Arraigned them." The verb *arripere* originally referred to a plaintiff's being allowed to lay hands upon a refractory defendant, and thus drag or take him to court.

14–19. *Ad populum.* That is, before the Comitia Tributa.—*Juniores patrum.* These would be naturally ambitious of attaining to public office and honors.—*Suadent, monent.* The first of these words is directed to the will, the second to the understanding.—*Prætextam curulemque sellam.* Compare bk. i., chap. viii., line 11.—*Claris insignibus,* etc. "That decked with these fine insignia, as with fillets, they were destined for sacrifice." A forcible allusion to the custom of decking victims with fillets before sacrifice. With *velatos* compare the Greek ἐστεμμένους.

21–28. *Jam tunc ita,* etc. "That they should now by this time bring into their mind the conviction," i. e., now at length after past experience.—*Apparitori.* Compare bk. i., chap. viii., line 10.—*Si se commoverit.* "If he but stir." Referring to the particular patrician whom they were addressing.—*Aliud.* "Any other power."—*Seducta.* "Withdrawn."

29–35. *Ubi.* Referring to these secret meetings of the patricians.—*Constaret,* etc. The idea, when more fully expressed, would be as follows: "*Constaret eripiendos esse periculo, nec interesse jure an injuria eriperentur.*" Hence the expression *jure an injuria* differs here but little

from sive jure sive injuria.—*Atrocissima.* "Most desperate."—*Auctor.* "A leader."—*Erecta exspectatione.* "On the tiptoe of expectation."—*Descenderet.* Into the forum, where the tribes were assembled.—*Suspectior fieret.* "Was becoming more and more suspicious."—*Qui obversati*, etc. "They who had been hovering about at the tribune's porch." Compare, as regards the meaning of *vestibulo* here, the note on chap. xlviii., line 42.

39–43. *Quam nihil auxilii.* "What a nullity of protection."—*Sacratæ leges.* Consult note on chap. xxxiii., line 11.—*Noxiæ.* "Of the crime." *Noxa* and *noxia* are often indiscriminately used to denote a criminal or punishable act.—*Malo.* "Bodily harm."

CHAPTER LV.

1–8. *Sub hac pessimi*, etc. "Close upon this victory, of a most ruinous precedent." Some prefer the accusative here instead of the ablative, but *sub hanc victoriam* would denote simultaneity, "at the same time with this victory," which is not the meaning of Livy.—*Silentio.* The non-interposition of the tribunitian veto.—*Antiqua.* "The old state of things," i. e., which preceded the establishment of the tribunitian office.—*Aliud agendum ac cogitandum.* "That some other course must be pursued and thought of." Observe that this is no *hysteron proteron*, as some suppose, but the words *ac cogitandum* are merely meant, as Weissenborn remarks, to be further explanatory of *agendum*.

10–22. *Quattuor et viginti lictores.* Consult note on chap. i., line 26.—*Apparere consulibus.* "Attend on the consuls." *Apparere* is the word used to signify the attendance of an inferior officer (*apparitor*) on a magistrate. Compare bk. i., chap. viii., line 10.—[*Contemptius.* "More contemptible." The perfect passive participle is often, like the Greek verbal in *-τός*, equivalent to an adjective in *-bilis*. Thus *invictus*, "invincible;" *conspectus*, "visible," etc.]—*Si sint qui contemnant.* "If there be only those who can contemn them."—*Quia, quod ordines duxisset*, etc. "Because, inasmuch as he had led a century," etc., i. e., had been a centurion. Literally, "Had led ranks." Consult note on chap. xxiii., line 15.—*Militem.* "A common soldier."—*Spoliari.* "To be stripped."—*Inquit.* Separated from its subject, in order to bring forward the latter more prominently.—*Circumscindere.* "Tore off his garments."—*Eo infestius.* "The more roughly."

23–36. *Prævalens.* "Of great bodily strength."—*Advocatis.* "Those called to his aid."—*Pro se.* "In his behalf."—*Acerrimus.* "Most

violent."—*Fidem.* "The protection."—*Nihil est quod exspectetis tribunos.* "There is no reason that you should wait for the tribunes."—*Omne discrimen.* "A general crisis."—*Majestatem.* "Official dignity."—*Vocari.* Supply *patres.*—*Injurias suas.* "Of the outrages committed against them," i. e., against their magisterial dignity.

CHAPTER LVI.

2–10. *Plebi.* Old genitive, for *plebei*, from *plebes*, the form of the fifth declension. It may also, however, be the regular dative of *plebs*, and Livy may mean to designate Volero, specially, as a tribune *for* the Commons, that is, one on whom they could certainly rely for aid in any future collision with the aristocracy and their adherents.—*Eum permissurum tribunatum.* "That he would give loose rein to his tribuneship." A metaphor taken from the management of steeds. Thus, *permittere equum* is to give loose rein to a horse, and thus quicken his speed.—*Post publicam causam*, etc. "Private resentment being postponed to the public interest." *Posthabere* is more commonly employed with the dative.—*Ad populum.* That is, to the people assembled in the *Comitia Tributa.*—*Ut plebeii magistratus*, etc. Before this time, according to Cicero and Dion. Hal., the tribunes of the Commons had been elected at the *Comitia Curiata.* Niebuhr, however, maintains that they were elected by the centuries, and that the curies merely sanctioned the election. — *Minime atroci.* "By no means formidable."

13–22. *Actioni.* "Measure." Any act or measure of a magistrate before the Senate or people was called *actio.* Compare note on chap. xxxi., line 29.—*Una vis.* "The only effectual means."—*Ex collegio.* "Of the college (of tribunes)."—*In annum.* "For a whole year," i. e., for a whole year after.—*Ad ultimum dimicationis.* "To the very extremity of a contest," i. e., to the last stage of a desperate struggle.—*Jam inde a*, etc. "All along from the time of," etc.—*Titus Quinctius.* His full name was Titus Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus.

24–34. *Inventor.* "The originator."—*Auctor.* "Supporter."—*Is, cum Volero*, etc. This sentence is rendered somewhat obscure by the two clauses each with *cum*, namely, *cum is . . . contenderet*, and *cum Volero . . . loqueretur.*—*Ipse in accusationem*, etc. "Having broken out, for his part, into an accusation of Appius." More freely, "Having broken out at once." Gronovius thinks that we ought to read *incusationem* here, and that the preposition *in* should be omitted.—*Rudis in militari homine*, etc. "His language, untutored as (was natural) in the case of a mere soldier, was not adequate to his freedom of spirit."—*Suppetere* means properly, "to be at hand in sufficient

quantity," "to be a supply to one."—*Non facile.* Supply *tam.* An ellipsis usual with the best writers.—*Adeste.* He said this in what was called a *contio.* We must always distinguish the meetings in which measures were put to the vote from those in which a proposition was merely advocated and debated. Such a preliminary assembly was called a *contio*, and hence, in the present instance, it was at a *contio*, on the day before the one appointed for voting, that Lætorius called on the plebeians to attend on the morrow. (Niebuhr, vol. ii., p. 216, note.)

37, 38. *Occupant templum.* "Take previous possession of the consecrated stand." The tribunal from which the speakers addressed the assembled people is here meant. *Templum* in general, however, refers to the whole place of assembling, since the people could not assemble anywhere for the transaction of public business except on consecrated ground, that is, in a *templum*, or duly inaugurated place. —*Ad impediendam legem.* Adopting Niebuhr's view that the patricians had no right to vote at the *Comitia Tributa*, or to take any part in the assemblies of the plebeians, until the time of the decemviral legislation, we may conclude that on the present occasion they only attended for the purpose of defeating the passage of the law by their tumultuous proceedings.

38–40. *Submoveri.* This was correct enough. Before the votes were taken, the ground was to be cleared of all who did not belong to the commonalty, in order that each tribe might collect within the space set out for it by ropes. The patricians, therefore, were only required to walk over to the other side of the rostra. (Niebuhr, vol. ii., p. 213.)—*Stabant.* "Stood firm."—*Viatori.* "To the officer." The *viatores* were officers who attended upon and executed the commands of certain Roman magistrates, to whom they bore the same relation as the lictors did to other magistrates. Their name was derived from the circumstance of their being chiefly employed on messages, either to call upon senators to attend a meeting of the Senate, or to summon the people to the comitia, etc.

42–46. *Non enim populi.* By *populus* is here meant the whole people taken collectively, and including the patricians. Niebuhr, less correctly, makes it refer merely to the patricians. Consult Weissenborn, *ad loc.*—*Nec illum ipsum*, etc. "Nor can that very magistrate himself (of the whole Roman people collectively), according to the usage of their forefathers, remove any one by virtue of his authority." The argument of Appius is this. No magistrate of the whole people, even the consul, for instance, can remove any one, even by any exercise of his *imperium*, from the public *comitia*, because the formula, "If you please," etc., handed down by ancient usage, implies that

such removal of a citizen cannot be commanded. Much less, then, can a tribune, who is only a magistrate for a part of the people, and who besides has no *imperium*, any right to do this. — *Contemptim.* "With a contemptuous air."—*Perturbare.* "To disconcert."

47–60. *Ad consulem.* "For the purpose of arresting him."—*Privatum.* Because without any *imperium*, although just mentioned as a *magistratus plebis.*—*Coorta.* They rose simultaneously, as indicated by *con.*—*Concitatæ.* "Exasperated."—*Negotio dato.* "Having given it in charge."—*Sævientem.* "Infuriated."—*Tempus.* "Delay."—*In potestate.* "Under the control," i. e., subject to the authority.

CHAPTER LVII.

2–5. *Patribus.* The *consulares* mentioned in the previous chapter are particularly meant.—*Dimisso tandem concilio.* It is more than probable that, before the comitia broke up, Lætorius carried through his *plebiscitum*, as he had promised to do. But as it still needed the ratification of the Senate, and of the curiæ or centuries, this circumstance was taken advantage of to delay its final passage. Meanwhile, as we learn from Dion. Hal. (ix., 48), the tribunes being resolved to have their law fully established, seized upon the Capitol by a sudden movement, and there defied all the attacks of the patricians.—*Sententias variassent.* "Had produced a diversity of opinions."—*Ab impetu*, etc. "Their minds were called from violence to cool deliberation." Zumpt thinks that *avocabantur* here would have been more in accordance with common usage. He does not perceive, however, that *advocabantur* is purposely employed by Livy, since the principal idea is contained in *consultandum.*

10–13. *Tantam.* "So great merely," i. e., so great and no greater. Hence the force of the adverb *tantum*, "only."—*In medio.* "Between the two." That is, there are two parties or factions, no state.— *Distractam laceratamque rem publicam.* Commentators generally regard this as the accusative for the nominative by enallage. It is better, however, to view it as a peculiar instance of what is termed *accusativus Græcus*, and to translate as follows: "That, as to the distracted and lacerated republic, the object sought for was rather in whose hands it is to be, than that it would be safe." (Consult Zumpt, § 459; Madvig, § 237, *c*, Obs. 3.)

17, 18. *Accipi.* "Are being received."—*Consensu.* "By the unanimity."—*Lex silentio perfertur.* The *plebiscitum* had already been passed. The reference now is to the ratification by the Senate, which made it a *lex.* By this Publilian law the plebs in the *Comitia Tri-*

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[illegible] were entitled to deliberate on all matters affecting the common weal when brought forward by the tribunes. However, such a resolution of the plebs might be rejected by the Senate unanswered, until the law of Ilius, in A.U.C. [illegible], which obliged the Senate to take such a resolution into express consideration.

CHAPTER LVIII.

2–15. *Additos.* All the MSS. and earlier editions have *addito*, which Drakenborch also retains, placing a comma after *addito*. The true reading, however, is *additos*, as given by all the later editors.—*Tres.* Consult note on chap. xxxiii., line 6.—*Piso.* Consult note on bk. i., chap. lv., line [illegible].—*Duellium.* Earlier form of *Duillium*.—*Ad se receptum haberet.* The fear of such a movement on the part of the plebeians was probably one of the causes which induced the patricians to yield the passage of the Publilian law.—*Appius Claudius in Volscos missus.* In accordance probably with the terms of the Latin league; since, otherwise, the tribunes would hardly have allowed Appius to take the command of an army.—*Saevitia.* "Severity."—*Liberior, quod, etc.* "The more unimpeded, because he was free from the fetters of the tribunitian authority." The power of the tribunes extended at no time farther than one mile beyond the gates of the city; at a greater distance than this they came under the *imperium* of the magistrates, like every other citizen.—*Se victum ab ea.* Some of the MSS., and all the early editions, have *quod se victum*, etc., but this can only be defended by supposing an anacoluthon to take place, or by an awkward ellipsis of *videbat* or *dicebat*.—*Se unico consule electo*, etc. "That, though he had been chosen as the only fit consul," etc. The reading *objecto* for *electo*, as given by many, does not, as Zumpt remarks, accord so well with the signification of *unico*.

19–28. *Nec ulla vi domari poterat.* "Nor could it (however) be subdued by any coercion on his part." The allusion is to the Roman army and its refractory spirit.—*Certamen.* "A spirit of opposition."—*Segniter, otiose.* "Lazily, slowly." The former of these adverbs refers to laziness in commencing, the latter to slowness in carrying on any work. They took their own time to begin, and their own time to finish after having made a beginning.—*Metus.* The fear of military punishment.—*Agmen agi.* "The march to be urged on."—*Motam industriam.* "The energy begun to be exhibited."—*Prompta.* "Having been openly tried."—*Cavillans.* "With an air of mockery." As the participle denotes the time with reference to the leading verb of a proposition, it here assumes a kind of adverbial force. (Madvig, § 431.)

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CHAPTER LIX.

2–14. *Certamen animorum.* "Animosity of feeling."—*Fabium consulem habuisset.* Compare chap. xliii.—*Nec ante restitit quam . . . vidit.* In negative propositions Livy uses the indicative after *ante quam* and *prius quam*, but in affirmative propositions the subjunctive. —*Tum expressa vis*, etc. "Then was forced out of them strength (sufficient) for contending, in order that," etc., i. e., the obligation to fight was wrung from them.—*Satis.* "Clearly enough."—*Alibi.* "In other respects." We have given *alibi* with Weissenborn. Haupt's conjecture, *aliter*, is also a good one. The MSS. have *alii*, which cannot be correct, since by *alii* and *miles Romanus* the same persons must be meant.

16–24. *Insuper.* "Still farther."—*Ne utique experiri*, etc. "By no means to wish to make trial of his authority," i. e., to put his power to the proof.—*Vis omnis.* "The entire strength."—*Vulgo.* "As a general thing."—*Ingentis mali.* "Of a great disaster."

26–30. *Quando quidem nihil*, etc. "Since they would gain nothing except a delay of punishment." This refers to what was passing in the mind of Appius at the time. He knew that he could punish them at some other time. Observe here the less usual meaning of *noxa.*—*Remissa.* "Having been given up."—*Cum maxime*, etc. "At the very time in particular when," etc.—*Novissimos.* "The hindmost."

33, 34. *Ullius.* For *ullius alius rei.* Compare chap. xlviii., line 3. —*Per stragem corporum*, etc. "Over heaps of men and arms lying strewed over the ground." The majority of the men, of course, would be, not the wounded or slain, but those who in their hurry to escape had flung away their arms, and were thrown down by coming into contact with one another.

36–43. *Cum revocando*, etc. "When he had in vain followed his men in endeavoring to rally them." Literally, "to call them back." Another instance of the gerund with a meaning closely allied to that of a present participle. Compare chap. xxxii., line 16.—*Haud falso.* "Not without truth."—*Signo amisso.* In a collective sense.—*Duplicariosque.* "And the soldiers of double allowance." The *Duplicarii* (called also *Duplarii*) were soldiers who received on account of their good conduct double allowance, and perhaps, in some cases, double pay likewise.—*Virgis cæsos*, etc. Compare chap. v., line 31.—*Decimus quisque.* This is the famous punishment of decimation which forms so marked a feature in the military discipline of Rome. It does not appear to have been often inflicted in the early times of the

[illegible], but it is frequently mentioned in the civil wars and under the empire.

CHAPTER LX.

1–15. *Contra eos.* "On the contrary." Taken in an adverbial sense.—*Quo is magis gauderet*, etc. On this superfluous addition of the pronoun is consult Zumpt, § 744.—*Gauderet.* "Indulged in."—*Placatior.* "More reconciled."—*Dominum.* "A tyrant."—*Varia fortuna belli.* "Amid the various vicissitudes of war."—*Comitia Tributa.* Consult chap. [illegible], line 1.—*Res major*, etc. "A matter more important from the victory (gained by the plebeians) in the contest entered into, than from any real advantage (accruing from it)." In a previous chapter (lvi., line 10) Livy calls it "*haud parva res.*" He does not, however, here contradict himself, because though the patricians lost all power of creating what tribunes they pleased, and therefore it was really a very important matter, yet as they generally found one or more of the tribunes to lend themselves to them in thwarting the measures of the rest by their power of intercession, that loss proved virtually of less serious consequence.—*Plus enim dignitatis*, etc. This is one of the passages which Wachsmuth adduces to prove that the patricians were included in the Servian tribes. Niebuhr's opinion, however, already referred to, is considered more correct, namely, that down to the decemviral legislation the tribes were entirely plebeian.

CHAPTER LXI.

1–9. *Turbulentior inde annus*, etc. Niebuhr thinks that it was in this year that the Icilian law was passed, which had for its object to prevent all interruption to the tribunes while they were addressing the *plebs*. In some cases the penalty was death.—*Tib. Æmilio.* The ordinary text has *T. Æmilio*, for which we have given the conjecture of Sigonius. The prænomen *Titus* does not otherwise occur in the *gens Æmilia.* Dionysius everywhere calls him Τιβέριον Αἰμίλιον.—*Possessorum.* Compare chap. xli., line 6.—*Tamquam tertio Consuli.* "As if he were a third consul." The two consuls were favorable to the law; but Appius, as if he were a third consul, counteracted them and opposed the tribunes.—*Diem dixere.* He was charged, according to Dionysius, with having violated the sacred person of a tribune.—*Plenus suarum*, etc. "Loaded with the angry feelings (of the Commons) towards himself, loaded with those towards his father." Observe that the adjectives represent here the objective genitive.

10–20. *Non temere.* "Seldom, if ever." Equivalent to *non facile.*—*Propugnatorem*, etc. "(Reflecting) that the champion of the Sen-

ate," etc. The allusion is here to what the patricians thought among themselves on the occasion, and hence the accusative with the infinitive.—*Suæ.* The Senate's.—*Oppositum.* "Placed as a barrier against." *Oppositus* is properly said of a mound or breakwater erected to resist inundations of the sea.—*Suum judicium.* "His own trial."—*Vestem mutaret.* Accused persons generally put on dark and sordid vestments in order to excite compassion, and went about grasping the hands of individuals (*prensantes*), with the view of obtaining their favor.—*Aliquid leniret atque summitteret.* "To soften down and abate aught."—*Habitus oris.* "Expression of countenance."

23–32. *Semel.* "Once only."—*Diem prodicerent.* "Adjourned the trial." It would seem, as Zumpt remarks, that the tribunes granted a second delay after this (*trahi rem sinerent*), which was probably sought by the accused himself, on the ground of his health, for he died before the day ultimately fixed.—*Morbo moritur.* Observe that *morbo* is purposely added here, since accounts varied respecting the manner of his death. Livy follows the statement given in the annals of the *gens Claudia*, but the common story made him to have committed suicide. With this last account the Greek writers agree, as, for instance, Dion. Hal. (ix., 54); Zonaras (vii., 17).—*Laudationem.* "Funeral eulogy." Compare chap. xlvii., line 43.—*Tam æquis auribus.* "With as favorable a hearing."—*Et exequias frequens celebravit.* "And attended his funeral rites in crowds" Observe the force of *celebravit.*

CHAPTER LXII.

4–6. *Fœda.* "Violent."—*Ut religio fuerit.* "That they felt a religious scruple."—*Villarum.* "Country-houses," not villas in the later sense of the term.—*Quibus frequenter habitabatur.* "In which it was numerously dwelt," i. e., wherein was a large population.—*Integro bello.* "The war remaining unfinished," i. e., without having brought the war to an end.

CHAPTER LXIII.

2–11. *Titus Numicius Priscus.* A family name of very infrequent occurrence, and hence probably the *cognomen* is here added.—*Latura.* "Likely to endure."—*Ultima vis.* "Extreme violence," i. e., seditious outbreaks.—*Coacti extemplo*, etc. "Being compelled by a decree of the Senate to set out at once to the war." We must here mentally supply *educere* from what follows.—*Nihil aliud quam*, etc. "Without effecting anything more than filling the Romans with

groundless alarm." Idiomatic Latinity. (Zumpt, § 771.) With *aliud* supply *agentes*.

12–22. *Antium.* Compare chap. xxxiii., line 15.—*Rem prolapsam restituit.* "Remedied the slip which had been made."—*Cœnonem.* The harbor of Antium, now *Porto d'Anzo*, lying at the foot of the height on which Antium itself lay.—*Tenent.* "Keep occupied."—*Utroque per iram consule*, etc. "Each of the consuls having entered their territory under exasperated feelings."

CHAPTER LXIV.

1–19. *Extremo anno*, etc. In consequence of the campaigns not occupying the entire year.—*Sollicitæ.* "Disquieted."—*Interesse consularibus comitiis.* From this passage we may infer the three elements of the *comitia centuriata*, namely, the patricians, their clients, and the plebeians.—*Tranquilla.* Supply *tempora*, to be elicited from *initia*.—*Crustuminos campos.* Compare chap. xix., line 4.—*Circum Anienem.* "In the country around the Anio." Compare bk. i., chap. xxvii., line 15.—*A porta prope Collina*, etc. That is, when now almost at the gate itself.—*Populationem adeo*, etc. Observe the emphatic nature of the asyndeton.—*Multiplici præda.* "Booty many fold greater," i. e., than what the Sabines had carried off.—*Et in Volscis*, etc. "In the case of the Volsci, also, the public interests were signally sustained," etc.—*Sanguine.* This refers to the wounded merely, as *cæde* does to the slain.—*Quia paucitas*, etc. "Because their paucity of numbers was nearer feeling the loss," i. e., made their loss to be more sensibly felt.—*Concitasset.* "Reanimated."

22–36. *Tacitis indutiis.* "By a tacit suspension of arms."—*Si senserint.* "If they (the Romans) shall have discovered (this great accession to the numbers of the foe)," i. e., whenever they shall have discovered it.—*Tertia fere vigilia.* The night was divided into four watches of three hours' length each.—*In stationem.* "For an outpost."—*Canere.* "To sound their trumpets."—*Armatorum peditum.* These were the outpost or advanced picket of Hernici, whom they mistook for Romans.—*Sæviebant.* "Were wildly restive."

CHAPTER LXV.

1–15. *Integer.* "Refreshed."—*In quos post principia*, etc. "To which the unbroken lines behind the front ranks had a safe retreat." Observe that *post principia* is here equivalent to *post primam aciem*.—*Ante signa.* They wished to advance in front of the legions, instead

of forming, as they usually did, the wings of the army.—*Conclamant.* "They cry out simultaneously," i. e., both horse and foot.—*Quo leviores ardua evaderent*, etc. "That they might with less incumbrance scale the heights, they advance on a run." Having dispensed with their javelins, they would be more active in their movements.—*Sic prope oneratum est*, etc. For the mood, consult note on chap. x., line 4. The soldiers, terrified by the stones showered down upon them, were panic-struck, standing still or beginning to retreat, exposed to the danger, and would have been crushed (*oneratum*) had not the consul urged them to renew the attack.

18–27. *Deinde, ut, in obtinentes*, etc. "Then, as their strength permitted them (so to do), they venture of their own accord to advance upon those who were holding the place against them." The MS. reading is *obtinentes* without *in*, making the participle refer to the Romans, "in striving to gain." As this, however, gives a far inferior meaning, we have introduced the preposition into the text, with many editors, on the conjecture of Sigonius.—*Commovent aciem.* "They put the whole line simultaneously in motion."—*Impetu capto.* "Having made an effort." More literally, "Impetuosity having been assumed."—*Enituntur.* "They struggle forward."—*Incidere.* "Rushed into."—*Nulla oppugnantium nova vi.* "Without any new effort on the part of the besiegers." The alarm occasioned by the recent defeat was quite enough to intimidate and induce them to surrender.

X

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NOTES ON BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.

INTRODUCTION.

The Twenty-first and Twenty-second Books contain the account of the triumphant advance of the Carthaginian arms from Saguntum to Cannæ. Livy uses, as his chief authorities, Polybius, the friend of Scipio Æmilianus, Fabius Cincius Alimentus, and the poems of Ennius and Nævius. To expect an impartial judgment of the Semitic invaders of Europe from an historian so inspired would be as idle as to expect an unbiassed judgment of the Saracens and Saladin from a writer who derived his information from the chronicles and romances of the Crusaders, or an unprejudiced description of the Moors in France from an author relying on Isidorus Pacensis and the *Chanson de Roland*. To Hannibal's talent as a general and to his bravery as a soldier, to his personal fascination over the wild tribes he led to victory through cold and hunger and weariness—trials harder to the ruder races of mankind than is the shock of battle—Livy bears sufficient testimony; nor does he omit to tell how generously he sought for the bodies of the slain consuls. But he is too fond of attributing to him falsehood and treachery, of regarding him always as *φοινιξ ανηρ απατηλια ειδώς*—a view perhaps derived from Ennius, in whom it was a reminiscence of Homer. As regards the charge of cruelty and carelessness of human life, Livy is most probably in the right. In all that we call culture and civilization Hannibal and his officers were far superior to the rough and unpolished Romans and Italians; yet all history tells us that such men may often be careless of human suffering, especially when the sufferers seem to them barbarians. In another respect Livy is merciful to the Carthaginians: he does not describe the army of Hannibal as modern writers describe those of the Constable de Bourbon, or of Tilly and Wallenstein; nor does he give the details of his *razzia* in Etruria with the minuteness with which Macaulay paints the devastation of the Palatinate by the order of Louis XIV. "Livy," writes a modern critic, "seeks to dispose us in favor of the Romans rather than to make us know Hannibal. Change the point of view. We observe that that army (the country of Hannibal, and the patrimony of his family) was a mercenary one. We perceive what an admirable and infamous education he received in that camp, an assemblage of hired brigands, engaged in a war without quarter; a mixture of all religions, of all languages, of all manners, 'sans country, sans home;' a wandering Sodom at which the old city of the plain would have

shuddered. Like Wallenstein, Hannibal lavishes money on his soldiers, and exacts absolute devotion and immediate obedience. He treats Italy as Tilly treated Magdeburg—throwing into wells the senators of Acerra, burning alive the wives of those who abandon him, putting to the sword the Italians who would not go with him. Brought up in a barrack, he is an adventurer, a soldier of fortune; he flings aside, after Zama, the tribune who talks against peace, and laughs at the senators who complain of the tribute." "Our tendency," says Arnold, "is to admire individual greatness far more than national; and, as no single Roman will bear comparison with Hannibal, we are apt to murmur at the event of the contest. Never was the wisdom of God's providence more manifest than in the issue of the struggle between Rome and Carthage; Hannibal's conquest would have stopped the progress of mankind."

An interesting comparison might be drawn between the first and second Semitic invasions of the West. Every place which had once been Phœnician or Carthaginian fell, almost without a struggle, beneath the Mohammedan power. The Mediterranean coast of Africa, the western side of Sicily, Malta, and Spain up to the Ebro, seem rather to have been annexed to the Semitic empire of Damascus than conquered by its arms. The townsmen of St. Augustine called themselves *Canani;* Strabo found Phœnicians and Phœnician customs at Tartessus. Did this old Phœnician influence prepare the way for the kindred Arabian? Like the Barcine family, the Arab commanders in Spain founded a kingdom with little encouragement from the sovereign power whose servants they were. When Abdulrahman crossed the Ebro and the Pyrenees, he defeated the Christians in two great battles, in the latter of which, the Franks confessed, God alone could count the number of the slain. The policy of Fabius was again called forth by Charles Martel, "If you follow my advice, you will not interrupt their march nor precipitate your attack. They are like a torrent, which it is dangerous to stem in its career;" and, very curiously, Gibbon suggests in the case of Charles, what Varro asserts in the case of Fabius, that this dilatory policy was adopted for the purpose of weakening political enemies.

The Carthaginians, or *Pœni*, called themselves *Canani*. Fable represents some settlements as having been made near the present Cape Bon by Canaanites fleeing from before the Israelites; more trustworthy accounts assign the foundation of Hippo and Cambe in that neighborhood to expeditions from Sidon, "the first-born of Canaan." But it was under the predominance of Tyre that the great development of Phœnician colonization took place. Of these colonies Carthage was the greatest, Tartessus the oldest. Utica had been founded in B.C. 1158, and Gades (now Cadiz) a few years later, and the Phœnicians afterwards planted other colonies in Spain at Calpe (Gibraltar), Carteia (Algesiras), and Malaca (Malaga). They had factories at

Lilybæum, Panormus, and Soluntum in Sicily; in Melita (Malta) and Gaulos (Gozo), and at Caralis (Cagliari) in Sardinia. All these seem to have been planted for purposes of trade; but Carthage (B.C. 872) arose from a revolution in Tyre, where Pygmalion, or Piimelun (the great-grandson of Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel), united with the people against the aristocracy. He deprived his sister Elissa of her share in the government, and put to death her husband, the High-Priest of Melcarth (the Tyrian Hercules) and head of the aristocratic party, the Sichæus of Virgil, the Acerbal (Zicharbaal) of other traditions. Elissa and the aristocracy, unequal to the task of opposing the king and the people, set sail with a large number of adherents, including three hundred senators, and, landing at the old Sidonian colony of Campe, founded a town, to which they gave the name of Carthage, i. e., the new city. Elissa from this voyage derived the name by which she is best known, Dido, "the wanderer."

Cut off from any return to their fatherland by political antagonism, the settlers were compelled to look on Carthage as a new home; they introduced trade and agriculture, and gradually extended their power over the native tribes in the neighborhood, while their numbers gave them a predominant influence over the other Phœnician colonies. This supremacy was confirmed by the siege of Tyre by the Assyrian king Sargon, in B.C. 715, which reduced Tyre from being the head of the Phœnician confederation; and by the settlements of the Greeks in Sicily (from B.C. 736), which drove the older Phœnician colonies into close connection with their powerful African neighbor. To the last, however, some of the Phœnician colonies, Utica, for example, retained a certain degree of independence of Carthage. By the close of the sixth century B.C. the power of Carthage, as the head of the confederate colonies, and as the mother of numerous colonies along the African shore within and without the Straits of Gibraltar, extended from the Greater Syrtis to the Fortunate Islands, and from Corsica to the flanks of Atlas.

Carthage seems to have long kept up a connection with Tyre. According to M. Oppert's readings of the cuneiform inscriptions (agreeing with a tradition in Ammianus Marcellinus), Carthaginian auxiliaries appear with the forces of Asshurbanipal at the capture of Thebes in B.C. 666. In the year 588 B.C., during and after the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, a further emigration to Carthage took place. After the surrender of Tyre to Cambyses, B.C. 525, the Phœnicians refused to serve against Carthage. In the great Persian invasion, B.C. 480, Xerxes seems to have been able to direct the Carthaginian fleet against the Sicilian Greeks, as well as the Phœnician fleets against the Greeks of Greece proper.

The constitution of Carthage was aristocratic; the native element, or the pure Phœnicians, located at Carthage, governing the rest of the empire. The chief magistrates were two Suffetes, or Judges, who

were elected, probably for life, by the people, under certain restrictions as to families. The Council consisted of several hundred members, from whom were chosen the Gerusia or Senate of One Hundred, and the Pentarchies or Commissions of Five, which managed the various departments of state. Originally the Suffetes commanded the fleets and armies, but these military functions were afterwards assigned to generals elected by the people. The aristocratic character of this constitution was maintained by public opinion, which was in favor of power resting with the rich.

The armies of Carthage consisted of a nucleus of citizens and Liby-Phœnices, and large bodies of mercenaries, raised partly from the Numidians and Mauritanians, partly from the Ligurians of Italy, the Celts of Gaul, and the Iberians of Spain. Her fleet was always numerous; the officers and sailors being Carthaginian, the rowers slaves of the state; and it rendered her for several centuries undisputed mistress of the Western and Central Mediterranean, her only rivals being the Etruscans. Rivals though they were, they joined forces to destroy the Phocæan fleet in about B.C. 550, when the Phocæans, after founding Massilia, and opening a trade with Tartessus, endeavored to get a footing in Corsica. In B.C. 508 was concluded the treaty between Carthage and Rome mentioned by Polybius. Carthage, succeeding to the influence of Tyre over the Phœnician colonies in Sicily, and dreading interference with her trade by the intruding Greeks, soon formed a desire to conquer the whole of that island. Defeated in B.C. 480, she returned in B.C. 409, but, after a century of warfare, had not succeeded in gaining a foot of ground. At the opening of the First Punic War she held rather more than a third of the island, her possessions lying to the west and south, and including Agrigentum. Deprived by that war of Sicily and Sardinia, she was induced by the Barcine faction (as Livy styles the war party headed by Hamilcar Barca) to seek for compensation in Spain, and by the year B.C. 220 had established her power over the southern and south-eastern districts, where Phœnician influence had been for centuries diffused from the great colonies of Tartessus and Gades. In the year B.C. 218 Hannibal formed the siege of Saguntum, and the twenty-first book of Livy begins.

Rome now appears as the mistress of Italy, maintaining her power by a system of colonies and alliances. The *socii* were either *fœderati* united by treaties to Rome, or *liberi*, possessing autonomy subject to the good-will of Rome. The *nomen Latinum* designates the Latins of Latium and the Latin colonies, i. e., colonies possessing the Latin franchise whatever might be the nationality of the colonists. The *coloniæ civium Romanorum* consisted of citizens who retained the rights they would have had at Rome. (Liv., bk. xxxix., chap. lv.) Of the

towns possessing the *civitas* there were three classes. The first class retained their own constitutions and magistrates, but the citizens could neither vote nor hold office at Rome. (Liv., bk. viii., chap. xiv., § 11.) The second was completely incorporated with the Roman state. (Liv., bk. viii., chap. xiv., § 3, Weissenborn's note.) The third class retained at home their own administration, but the inhabitants might go to Rome, and exercise there all the rights of Roman citizens.

BOOK XXI.

CHAPTER I.

1–9. *In parte operis mei.* "In this particular part of my undertaking," i. e., at this particular division of my work.—*Summæ totius.* "Of the entire body of their work," i. e., of their work considered as one connected whole. *Summa* means "a whole," in opposition to its parts. It is simpler to make *totius* agree with *summæ* than with *operis* understood.—*Scriptores.* Thucydides would seem in particular to be meant.—*Quod.* "Which war." The relative introducing an explanatory clause, and therefore followed by an indicative, *gessere*, instead of the more regular subjunctive, *gesserint.* (Zumpt, § 546.)—*His ipsis.* The Romans and Carthaginians.—*Virium aut roboris.* "Of external power or internal strength." According to Fabri, *vires* conveys the idea of power ready at hand, and adapted to carry out plans, and hence often stands for fleets, armies, etc., while *robur* denotes internal or innate strength, and carries with it the idea of firm and unflinching endurance.

10–16. *Et haud ignotas*, etc. "They brought into action moreover no arts of war unknown to one another." Connect *inter se* with *ignotas*, not with *conserebant.*—*Expertas.* "Those which had been tried."—*Propius periculum.* The reading of two of the best MSS. The later ones have *periculo*. Livy uses both constructions, the dative and accusative, with the comparative and superlative of *prope.* (Zumpt, § 411.)—*Qui vicerunt.* "Those who were eventually victorious."—*Odiis.* "Feelings of hatred." The plural, as referring to both parties. (Madvig, § 50, Obs. 3.)—*Crederent.* An attraction of the mood. Properly speaking, it ought to be *credebant.* (Zumpt, § 551; Madvig, § 357, Obs. 2.)—*Imperitatum.* The frequentative, as indicating a repetition of the act. Livy alludes to the conduct of the Romans after the First Punic War, in taking advantage of the Carthaginian troubles at home with their rebellious mercenaries, to render the conditions of peace more severe.

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16-24. *Annorum ferme novem.* The genitive of quality, following immediately after the proper name. (Zumpt, § 397; § 426.)—*Pueriliter blandientem*, etc. "While boyishly coaxing his father Hamilcar (and entreating) that he might be taken with him," etc. Observe the *constructio prægnans* in *blandientem.*—*Africo bello.* The war which the Carthaginians had carried on with their own revolted mercenaries, after the close of the first Punic conflict. It was brought to a termination principally by the skill and valor of Hamilcar.—*Altaribus.* The classical writers exclusively use *altaria* in the plural, because such an altar consists, as it were, of several *aræ*, piled upon one another.—*Tactis sacris.* His hand having been laid on the offering, or, as Nepos (*Hann.*, 2) says, on the altar.—*Nam et*, etc. After *nam* supply *angebatur*, from *angebant* which precedes.—*Concessam.* Sicily was given up to the Romans by treaty, at the close of the First Punic War. The Carthaginians were also required to pay the sum of 3200 talents in ten years.—*Inter motum Africæ.* During the war which the Carthaginians carried on in Africa against their revolted mercenaries, their mercenary troops in Sardinia also raised the standard of rebellion. The Romans espoused the cause of the latter, and managed in this way to compel the Carthaginians to surrender Sardinia into their hands. They even had the effrontery to insist upon the payment of a further sum of 1200 talents as a compensation for injuries which they pretended had been done to their shipping.—*Stipendio etiam*, etc. "A war-contribution also having been imposed in addition," i. e., 1200 talents in addition to the previous 3200 talents. Observe the force of *insuper.* The old and erroneous reading was *superimposito.*

CHAPTER II.

2-15. *Sub recentem Romanam pacem.* "Immediately after the peace with the Romans." (Zumpt, § 319.) Observe that *recentem* here merely expresses more definitely the sense implied in the preposition *sub.*—*Per quinque annos . . . novem.* These varieties of construction often occur. Compare bk. xxxv., chap. xxxiv.: "*Media urbe ac per forum;*" bk. ii., chap. xlii., line 38: "*extis . . . per aves.*" Five years denote the whole interval between the close of the First Punic War and Hamilcar's crossing into Spain.—*Qui Hannibalis*, etc. The relative here has really the force of "even as." The MSS. give *qui*, which has been restored to the text. Other editions have *quæ*, referring to *anna.*—*Mors Hamilcaris.* He fell in a battle against the Vettones, a people who dwelt between the Tagus and Anas.—*Pueritia Hannibalis.* He was then about eighteen years of age.—*Medius.* "Intervening."—*Flore ætatis conciliatus.* "Endeared by his youthful beauty."—*Altam.* The conjecture of Lipsius, in place of *aliam*, the common reading.—*Profecto.* Opposed to *uti ferunt*, and indicating something

well known.—*Factionis Barcinæ opibus.* "By the influence of the Barcine party." This party derived its name from Hamilcar, who was surnamed Barca. They were opposed in the Senate by another party, less hostile to the Romans, the heads of which are here called *principes*, "the nobles."

18-26. *Consilio.* "By stratagem."—*Hospitiis regulorum.* "By (forming) connections of hospitality with the leading chieftains." The *reguli* here meant were the chiefs or heads of tribes, to whom, on account of their inferior power, the appellation of *reges* did not properly belong.—*Palam.* According to Polybius (ii., 36), in the night-time; according to Diodorus (xxv., 17), secretly; according to Appian (vi., 8), while hunting.—*Interfecti ab eo domini.* "For his master's having been slain by him." Objective genitive.—*Habitu oris.* "Expression of countenance."—*Præbuerit.* Consult note on chap. i., line 15.

27-29. *Fœdus renovaverat.* Thirteen years after the conclusion of the First Punic War, being the sixth treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. The fifth was the memorable treaty at the close of the First Punic War.—*Saguntinisque*, etc. Saguntum was a town of the Edetani, in Hispania Tarraconensis, near the sea, on an eminence on the banks of the River Pallantias, between Sucro and Tarraco, and nearly one hundred miles to the south-west of the mouth of the Iberus. When the Iberus therefore was made the boundary between the Carthaginian and Roman dominions, this city would naturally have been included in the former. According to Livy, however, it was expressly stipulated in the treaty that the independence of Saguntum should be preserved intact. Polybius, however, says nothing of this. The more accurate view probably is that Saguntum had been for some time in alliance with Rome, and therefore, though it was on the Carthaginian side of the Iberus, was by Roman custom entitled to support.

CHAPTERS III., IV.

1-8. *In Hasdrubalis locum*, etc. The words *in Hasdrubalis locum* do not agree in construction with what follows. Livy, no doubt, had intended to write *in Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin Hannibal succederet*, or something similar, but, abandoning this construction, he passes over into another which gives more of detail. In other words, we have here an *anacolouthon*, in imitation of what so often occurs in oral discourse.—*Prærogativam militarem.* "The previous choice of the soldiery." *Prærogativa* properly means the tribe or century to which it fell by lot to vote first in the Comitia. And as their vote was regarded as an omen, and generally influenced the votes of those that came after, *prærogativa* came to signify a previous

choice.—*Vixdum puberem.* "Scarcely as yet arrived at early manhood." Hannibal was then nearly twenty-two years old. Livy's language is rather singular, Hannibal being strictly *in matura juventute.*—*Barcinis.* Consult note on chap. ii., line 15.

10–21. *Missus Hannibal*, etc. A portion of the third chapter, and a small part of the fourth, immediately connected with it, have been purposely omitted.—*Juvenem.* "In all the vigor of youth."—*Eundem vigorem in vultu*, etc. "They beheld the same energy in his look and fire in his eye, (the same) expression of countenance and features."—*Ut pater in se*, etc. "That his father should be, in his case, the least powerful means for gaining the favor of the soldiery," i. e., that the memory of his great father, Hamilcar, would have less weight in conciliating their esteem than his own ability and skill.—*Habilius.* "More fitted."—*Haud facile discerneres.* "You could not easily distinguish." All the MSS. give *discerneres.* Gronovius conjectured *decerneres*, which is far inferior, though followed by many editors.—*Imperatori.* Hasdrubal.—*Alium quemquam præficere.* "To place any one else in command." Supply *militibus.*—*Malle.* Historical infinitive, for imperfect indicative. So also *confidere* and *audere.*—*Fortiter ac strenue.* "With spirit and energy."—*Agendum esset.* The subjunctive here indicates an action often repeated. (Madvig, § 359.)—*Alio duce.* "Under any other leader." Literally, "Another being leader." Ablative absolute.—*Capessenda.* "Encountering."—*Consilii.* "Of prudence."

23–28. *Patientia.* "Endurance."—*Desiderio naturali*, etc. "Was limited by the wants of nature, not by sensual desire." There is strong MS. authority in favor of *voluntate*, but still *voluptate* is decidedly the more appropriate term here.—*Vigiliarum somnique*, etc. "The times of waking and sleeping were distinguished neither by the day nor by the night," i. e., he could remain awake during the night, and sleep by day, whenever occasion required.—*Id. quod gerendis rebus*, etc. "That time (alone) which remained after the transaction of business." Literally, "Over and above things requiring to be done." The pronoun *id* here takes *temporis* understood, from what immediately precedes.—*Superesset.* The subjunctive again, denoting a repeated action.—*Arcessita.* "Was invited." He slept only when he was weary, and then he could find repose on a hard bed and in the midst of noise.—*Custodias stationesque.* "The guards and outposts." The *custodiæ* were the guards stationed at particular points along the walls; the *stationes* were the advanced posts, thrown forward in front of the gates.

30–37. *Inter æquales.* For *inter æqualium vestitum.*—*Conspiciebantur.* "Were conspicuous," i. e., for beauty and excellence.—*Idem.* "At the same time."—*Conserto prælio.* "When the battle was once joined."—*Ingentia vitia æquabant*, etc. We must remember that this

is the language of a Roman and an enemy, and must be prepared accordingly for calumny and misrepresentation. The character of Hannibal is judged with less passion, and on the whole with great impartiality, by Polybius, who expressly contradicts the charge of inhumanity. In point of severity, indeed, and the harsh treatment of foes, Hannibal's conduct forms a favorable exception to that of other Carthaginian commanders; and, as for his faithlessness, not a single instance is known. *Punica fides*, after all, was no worse than *Romana fides*.—*Nihil sancti.* "No conscientiousness."—*Jusjurandum.* "Regard for an oath."—*Indole.* "(Blended) character."—*Quæ agenda videndaque*, etc. "Which might be proper to be done and seen to," by one destined to become a great commander.

CHAPTER V.

1–12. *Ex quo die dux est declaratus.* Hannibal entered on his command in the year 221 B.C., and devoted this year and the two following to the extension of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain, and the preparation of means for his invasion of Italy. As Hannibal was nine years old at the time of his father's departure for Spain, and as Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had governed in succession for seventeen years, he must have been twenty-six years of age when he assumed the command.—*Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit.* His object was to provoke the Romans to war by besieging Saguntum.—*Quibus oppugnandis*, etc. "And since the Roman arms would undoubtedly be set in motion by (his) attacking these." The ablative of the gerundive here takes the place of a conditional clause ("if he were to attack these").—*Movebantur.* The indicative, for *moverentur*, the reference being to an act which would certainly take place, and which is supposed therefore to be, as it were, already begun and proceeding. (Madvig, § 337, Obs. 1.)—*Olcadum.* The Olcades were a people of Hispania Bætica, dwelling north of Carthago Nova, on the upper course of the Anas, and in the eastern part of the territory occupied at a later date by the Oretani.—*In parte.* "Within the territory."—*Rerum serie.* "By the course of events," i. e., by natural consequence, and in regular order.—*Jungendoque.* "And by contiguous junction," i. e., and by joining to one another contiguous lands. Supply *finitimas gentes.*

13–19. *Cartalam.* Many editions have *Carteiam.* Polybius names the place *Althæa* (Ἀλθαία). Its site is unknown. We must not confound this city, however, with Carteia, near Calpe, or *Gibraltar.* —*Quo metu.* For *cujus rei metu.*—*Stipendio imposito.* The ablative absolute is here employed to express a circumstance which does not precede, but follows the main action. (Madvig, § 431, Obs. 2.)—

Carthaginem novam. Carthago Nova, now *Carthagena*, was situated on the Mediterranean, about equidistant from Valencia on the east and Malaga on the west, and was the capital of the Carthaginian possessions in Spain. It was famed for its fine harbor.—*Stipendio præterito.* "Their back pay." The reference is literally to pay, the time for discharging which has "gone by," and which remains still due. Observe here the military meaning of *stipendium.*—*Vaccæos.* The Vaccæi were a people in the interior of Hispania Tarraconensis, to the west of the Celtiberi. Their chief town was Palantia, now *Palencia*, to the north of the Durius, or *Douro*.

21–28. *Ab Hermandica profugi.* "Those who escaped from Hermandica." Observe that *profugi*, though an adjective, has here a kind of substantive force.—*Carpetanos.* The Carpetani were a powerful people of Hispania Tarraconensis, on the rivers Anas and Tagus, in the modern *Castile* and *Estremadura*. Their capital was Toletum, now *Toledo.*—*Super ripam.* The preposition *super*, with the accusative, answers to both questions, whither? and, where? the latter in the present instance, and hence is here the same as *supra*. (Zumpt, § 320.)—*Cum prima quies*, etc. "As soon as there was the first sleep and quietness on the side of the enemy." For the force of *ab* here compare Zumpt, § 304, *b.*—*Vallòque ita producto.* "And his rampart having been extended only so far (towards the bank)." Observe the force of *ita*. (Zumpt, § 726.) Hannibal did not bring down the rampart of his new encampment to the water's edge, which he would have done if his object merely had been to render his position more secure in this quarter, but he wished to leave room for the enemy to cross the river, in order to fall upon them with more advantage.

32–37. *Appendicibus.* "The additional forces." *Appendices* here imply minor forces added, by way of completion, to greater ones.—*Si æquo dimicaretur campo.* "If the battle had been fought on level ground," i. e., in the open plain. The imperfect subjunctive is employed here (where we use the pluperfect) by a lively and rhetorical mode of expression, the past time being represented as present. The regular form would have been *dimicatum esset*. (Zumpt, § 525.)—*Id morari victoriam*, etc. "Thinking that what of the river lay between (alone) delayed their victory," i. e., that victory was only delayed by the intervention of the river.—*Ullius.* "From any one." Taken substantively.

38–48. *Et ex parte altera.* Observe the employment of *et* for *etiam*. (Zumpt, § 335.)—*Immissa.* By Hannibal.—*Quippe ubi.* "Since there."—*Instabilis.* "Not having a sure footing."—*Equo temere acto.* "His horse being merely impelled at random," i. e., without singling out any one of the foe, but merely driving right onward.—*Liber.*

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That is, having full command over.—*Stabili.* "Moving steadily."—*Verticoso amni delati.* "Carried away by the river full of whirlpools."—*In hostes.* That is, to the bank where the Carthaginian infantry were drawn up.—*Postremi.* To be construed with *colligerentur*, which last is to be taken in a reflexive sense.—*Agmine quadrato.* "With his army in battle array," i. e., in the form of a parallelogram. The *agmen quadratum* was not a square battalion, but a battalion in line, ready to meet the enemy on any side. Here, the moment they reach the opposite bank, they present a front in line to the enemy.

CHAPTER VI.

2–16. *Certamina serebantur.* "The seeds of dissension were sown," i. e., between the Saguntines and their neighbors by Hannibal.—*Quibus cum adesset*, etc. "And when the same person, who was the originator of the quarrel, sided with these," i. e., with the Turdetani. By *litis sator* is meant Hannibal.—*Certamen juris.* "A contest about right."—*P. Cornelius Scipio*, etc. Compare chap. xv. Livy here follows the annalists, who have led him into an error. The news of the beginning of the siege of Saguntum must have reached Rome in the year before, when Livius and Æmilius were consuls. That siege lasted, according to the best authorities, eight months, and Hannibal then placed his army in winter-quarters. Early in the spring he set out from New Carthage on his march to Italy, and took five months to reach that country, into which he came when Scipio and Sempronius were consuls, that is, in B.C. 218. The more correct view is taken by Livy in chapter xv., where he follows Polybius.—*Rettulissent.* From the reduplicated *retetulissent*, and hence the doubling of the *t*, when contracted. (Madvig, § 204, Obs. 1.)—*Ad inspiciendas.* "To look into."—*Quibus si videretur*, etc. For the more common *Qui, si iis videretur . . . denuntiarent.* (Zumpt, § 804.)—*Spe.* "Expectation."—*Hac legatione decreta.* The interrupted *protasis* is here resumed.

20–27. *Decernentes.* "Being in favor of decreeing." *Decernere* is often used in speaking of individuals, when it is meant to have the force of *decernere velle.*—*Intendebant.* "Were for directing." This is the earlier reading, and there can be no doubt of its superiority over the pluperfect *intenderant*, as given by some.—*Temere.* "In a hurried manner."—*In pœnam fœderis rupti.* "For punishment on account of the violated treaty."

CHAPTER VII.

1–9. [*Parant consultantque.* The former word refers to the embassy, the latter to the deliberations respecting the manner and means of

carrying on the war.]—*Ultra.* "Beyond," i. e., below.—*Oriundi a Zacyntho*, etc. There is no truth in this legend. It turns merely on an accidental resemblance between the name of Saguntum and that of the Greek island. Zacynthus lay off the western coast of Peloponnesus, opposite the promontory of Chelonatas in Elis, and to the south of the island of Cephallenia. The modern name is *Zante.*—*Mixtique.* For *admixtique.*—*Ab Ardea.* Attributive to *Rutulorum.* Consult note on bk. i., chap. ii., line 2.—*In tantas opes.* "To so great power," i. e., as they then possessed, at the time of this war with Hannibal.—*Seu maritimis*, etc. "Either by their gains from the sea or from the land." Under the former of these would be included the profits arising from an extensive commerce and rich fisheries; the latter refer to the successful cultivation of the soil.—*Multitudinis.* "Of their numbers."—*Disciplinæ sanctitate.* "By the integrity of their principles." *Disciplina* here refers to the principles that regulate both public and private life.—*Fidem socialem.* "Their faith with their allies."

11-17. *Tripertito.* "In three different quarters."—*Vergens.* "Sloping."—*Quam cetera circa.* "Than the other places round about."—*Vineas agere instituit.* "He resolved to move forward the vineæ." The *vineæ*, as before remarked (bk. ii., chap. xvii., line 2, note), were a species of sheds or mantlets, under cover of which the assailants advanced to beat down with the battering-ram (*aries*), or to undermine the walls.—*Admoveri.* "Be brought up to."—*Ut . . . ita.* "Although . . . still." (Zumpt. § 726.)—*Procul muro.* Livy and Tacitus frequently employ *procul* in this way, with the omission of *ab*, and *procul* must then be regarded as having the force of a preposition. (Zumpt, § 321.)—*Ad effectum operis.* "To the performance of their work," i. e., to the accomplishment of their object.—*Succedebat.* Used impersonally.

17-28. *Imminebat.* "Overlooked it."—*Ut.* "As was natural."—*Cetera.* Livy employs in the singular all the forms of this word, except the nominative masculine, which last indeed is found in no writer.—*Munientibus.* "For those engaged in the works." More literally, "who were working at the wall." Observe that *munire* is here applied to the Carthaginians as employed in strengthening their approaches to the city.—*Non pro mœnibus modo*, etc. "Not only did the weapons (of the townsmen) flash forth from the walls and the tower." We have given *pro* here the force assigned to it by Weissenborn and Heerwagen. Fabri, however, makes it mean "in defence of."—*Tumultuariis.* "Disorderly."—*Subit.* "He approaches."—*Adversum femur.* "On the front part of the thigh," i. e., the part turned *towards* the enemy. Accusative of nearer definition. (Zumpt, § 458.)—*Tragula.* "By a barbed javelin." This was a very formidable missile, requiring to be cut out of a wound. It was used chiefly

by the Gauls and Spaniards.—*Opera ac vineæ.* "The works and (in particular) the vineæ." Strictly speaking the *vineæ* are comprehended in the *opera*, which last is the general term.

CHAPTER VIII.

2–16. *Dum vulnus ducis curaretur.* "While the general's wound was being cured." The subjunctive is here employed with *dum*, because a design or purpose is expressed, that something may be done in the mean time. (Madvig, § 360, Obs. 2.)—*Apparatu.* "The preparation."—*Bellum.* "Hostilities."—*Accipientibus.* "Admitting of."—*Multifariam distineri.* "To be kept employed in many different quarters."—*Una continentibus ruinis*, etc. "One part (of the wall) had, by reason of continuous breaches, laid the city bare," i. e., in one part the breach in the wall was so extensive that the city was laid bare.—*Crediderant.* Observe the force of the pluperfect. They *had* believed the city to be taken until the vigorous opposition of the Saguntines convinced them of their error.—*Qua.* "Upon which fall." Supply *ruina.*

19–27. *Per occasionem partis alterius.* "By a favorable opportunity on the one side or the other." *Alter* has here the force of *alteruter.*—*Justæ acies.* "Armies drawn up in regular order." In opposition to *tumultuaria pugna.* Literally, "Armies which could justly be so called."—*Si paulum adnitatur.* "If he make a little additional effort."—*Confertim.* It is more customary with Livy to employ the adjective *confertus* with *pugnare* and other verbs.—*Varro.* "Without effect."

28–36. *Falarica.* Less correctly *Phalarica.* This was a peculiar kind of spear, of the largest size, and thrown by the aid of twisted ropes. It had an immense iron head, three feet long according to Livy. The shaft was a strong one of fir, weighted near the top by a circular mass of lead. It was sometimes, as in the present instance, made to carry flaming pitch and tow. A representation of it, from an ancient monument, is given by Alstorp (*de Hastis Veterum*, p. 178).—*Hastili abiegno*, etc. "With a shaft of fir, and otherwise round."—*Id, sicut in pilo quadratum.* "This part, four-cornered as in the (Roman) pilum."—*Longum.* The common text has *in longum.*—*Habebat.* The subject of this is *falarica*, but that of *posset* is *ferrum.* In English, however, both subjects are merely indicated by "it."—*Medium accensum.* "After having been set on fire in the middle." *Medium* in the sense of *in medio.*—*Conceptum.* "Produced."—*Nudum.* "Unprotected."—*Insequentes ictus.* "Subsequent blows," i. e., of the falarica.

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CHAPTER IX.

2–5. *Quia resisterent.* The subjunctive, as referring to what the Saguntines thought. So immediately after, *quia non vicisset.*—*Pro victo esset.* "Were in their own opinion as good as conquered." Observe again the force of the subjunctive.—*In ruinas muri.* "Back upon the breach." The Carthaginians previously had the breach in their rear, having advanced beyond it into the town.—*Inde.* The Saguntines next drive them from the breach itself; and finally chase them back in confusion to their camp.

8–15. *Ab Roma.* In place of the more regular ablative *Roma*, without the preposition. (Zumpt, § 398, Obs. 1.)—*Qui dicerent.* "To inform them." Observe that *dicere*, not *negare*, is here employed, since the latter would imply the denial of some assertion.—*Inter tot*, etc. The more common form of expression would be *inter tot tamque*, etc., the conjunction being added to make the second clause more prominent.—*Effrenatarum.* A better reading than *efferatarum.*—*Arma.* "Armed bands."—*Operæ esse.* Equivalent to *vacare.* [*Operæ esse.* This phrase is usually found with a negative. The absence of any epithet, or any substantive like *aliquid*, *nihil*, etc., the use of *esse*, not *facere*, and the parallelism with the nominative and accusative, make it probable that *operæ* is, like *curæ* in *curæ esse*, a dative case. "It is not a matter of attention" = non commodum est. Roby, Lat. Gr., ii., § 1283.]—*Apparebat.* "It was obvious."—*Ad principes factionis Barcinæ.* According to Polybius (iii., 15, 8), Hannibal sent despatches home before the siege commenced, and not to the leaders of the Barcine party, but to the Senate itself.—*Ne quid pars altera*, etc. "In order that the opposite party might not be able to do anything in favor of the Romans." The common construction is *gratificari aliquid alicui*, but here *pro Romanis* is used instead of the dative.

CHAPTER X.

2–12. *Irrita.* "Fruitless."—*Adversus senatum.* "In opposition to the rest of the Senate." The common text has *adverso senatu.*—*Auctoritatem suam.* "His weight of character."—*Egit.* "Pleaded."—*Monuisse, prædixisse se.* "(He said) that he had warned, that he had told them beforehand." Observe the asyndeton, marking earnest and animated discourse.—*Donec.* "As long as."—*Quietura Romana fœdera.* "Would any treaties with Rome continue undisturbed." Literally, "remain quiet."

12–19. *Juvenem flagrantem*, etc. Livy often changes, as here, from the *oratio obliqua* to the *oratio recta*, for the purpose of a more urgent or energetic appeal.—*Ex bellis.* The preposition is here em-

ployed to denote continuous and uninterrupted succession.—*Succinctus.* "Surrounded." Literally, "Begirt."—*Per quos.* "Through whose aid."—*Ulti.* Agreeing with *Romani* as implied in *Romanæ legiones*, this last being the same as *Romanorum legiones.*

21–24. *Bonus imperator vester.* Ironical. "That worthy commander of yours."—*Unde ne hostium*, etc. "After having been repulsed (from that quarter) from which," etc. Ruperti makes *unde* equivalent here to *a quo*, scil. *Hannibale.* Better *ab illo aditu*, i. e., the presence of the commander of the besieging army.—*Res repetuntur.* "Satisfaction is demanded." Literally, "Things are demanded back." The thing demanded was that the Saguntines should not be molested, and that reparation should be made for injuries already done.—*Publica fraus absit.* "Let any fraudulent evasion of the treaty, on the part of the state, be far away." Hannibal, on the contrary, should suffer, since he has been guilty of *privata fraus.*

25–30. *Segnius.* Supply *quo.*—*Ægates Insulas.* Three islands off the western coast of Sicily, between Drepanum and Lilybæum. The Carthaginians were defeated near these in a naval battle, which led to the peace that ended the First Punic War (242 B.C.), and to the evacuation of the town of Eryx, near Drepanum, as well as of the other cities which had hitherto held out.—*Quæ.* "Whatsoever things in fact," i. e., all that. What grammarians term an *Asyndeton summativum.*—*Quattuor et viginti annos.* The period of the First Punic War.—*Mars alter.* Ironical.—*Isti.* Intended to express contempt, and meaning the Barcine faction.

30–34. *Tarento.* When Tarentum was besieged by the Romans, after the departure of Pyrrhus, a Carthaginian fleet appeared off the harbor, and its commander offered assistance to the Tarentines. This compelled the Romans to grant the townsmen more advantageous conditions of surrender than they would otherwise have done. Hanno makes this affair to have been the occasion of further hostilities between the two nations, and the original ground of the First Punic War.—*Vicerunt ergo dii hominesque.* The gods had been outraged by this violation of good faith on the part of the Carthaginians.—*Et id de quo.* "And, as regarded that, about which."—*Unde jus stabat.* "On whose side justice stood."

34–51. *Carthagini.* "Against Carthage in reality."—*Habendum est.* "Will have to be continued."—*Scio meam levem esse*, etc. "I know that in what relates to him my authority is of little weight, on account of my enmities with his father," i. e., feelings of enmity towards his father. Observe the force of the plural in *inimicitias.*—*Eo . . . quod.* "On this account . . . because."—*Nec dedendum*, etc. "Nor

do I think that he ought merely to be given up as an atonement for the violated treaty," etc. With *dedendum* supply *illum esse censeo*. The common text has *id piaculum*, which is inferior.—*Unde nec ad nos*, etc. "Whence neither his name nor any tidings of him may be able to reach us." Becker and others give *accidere*, but all the MSS. have *accedere*.—*Statum*. "The settled condition."—*Decerno*. "Give my opinion."

CHAPTER XI.

3–8. *Hannibalis erat*. "Were on the side of Hannibal."—*Infestius*. "With a more embittered spirit."—*Flaccum Valerium*. The name of the *familia* is often put thus before that of the *gens*. This occurs, however, more frequently in later writers than in Livy. (Zumpt, § 797.)—*Saguntinos*. Brachyology, for *Saguntinorum fœdus*.—*Vetustissimæ societati*. The term *societati* is employed here merely for rhetorical embellishment. Treaties, not alliances, were concluded between Rome and Carthage in very early times. Polybius mentions one in the first year of the Roman republic (509 B.C.).

12–22. *His*. The plural, on account of the collective idea contained in *miles*.—*Stimulando*. Gronovius conjectures *stimulanda*, but Livy nowhere says *stimulare iram*. Fabri makes *in hostes stimulando* epexegetical of *ira*.—*Pro contione*. "Before an assembly of the soldiers." Observe the force of *pro* here, and compare Zumpt, § 311. The speaker is not only "before," but actually "in" the assembly, and forming part of it.—*A prœliis*. "After battles." (Zumpt, § 305.)—*Cessaverant*. Observe the force of the frequentative.—*Aliquanto atrocior*. "Considerably more violent." *Aliquanto* strengthens, as *paulo* weakens.

25–29. *Turris mobilis*. A tower made of wood, covered with iron, raw hides, or stuffed mattresses, to break the force of the blows directed against it, and placed upon wheels, by means of which it could be driven close up to the enemy's walls. It was divided into several stories or platforms, *tabulata*, the lower one of which contained the battering-ram, and those immediately above it *catapultæ*, engines throwing lances, darts, and other missiles in a horizontal direction, while the uppermost floor, which was open, had *ballistæ* mounted upon it, for throwing stones archwise.—*Agebatur*. "Was urged forward."—*Occasionem ratus*. "Having deemed this a fit opportunity."—*Dolabris*. "Pickaxes." The *dolabrum*, strictly speaking, was a hatchet and pickaxe combined. It had a long handle and double head, one end of which was furnished with a sharp cutting blade, and the other with a crooked pick.

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30 62. *Quod cæmenta*, etc. "Because the rough quarry stones had not been firmly set by lime, but (merely) filled in their interstices with clay," i. e., had not been united into one hard mass with lime. Such walls as these were commonly called *muri cæmenticii*. The interstices were commonly filled in with chippings and clay combined. The literal translation of *interlita* will be, "Were daubed between."—*Antiquæ genere.* They are now commonly called Cyclopean walls.—*Itaque latius*, etc. "It fell in ruins therefore more widely than it was struck." Some editors give *quam qua cæderetur*, i. e., *quam ea pars muri quæ cæsa fuerat.*"—*Perque patentia ruinis*, "And through the spaces lying open by reason of the falling of the wall."

34–46. *Capiunt.* "They seize upon."—*Castellum.* "A stronghold."—*Velut arcem imminentem.* "Like a citadel overhanging it."—*Ab nondum capta*, etc. "In front of the part of the city not yet taken." Compare Zumpt, § 304, *b.*—*Interiora tuendo.* "By defending in succession the inner parts."—*Cum tam procul*, etc. "Since the Romans, their only hope, were so far away, while all places around were in the power of the enemy." Observe that *circa* is here used adverbially.—*Adfectos animos.* "Their discouraged feelings."—*Oretanos.* The Oretani occupied the country lying between the sources of the Bætis and Anas, and to the south of the Carpetani. The latter have been already mentioned in chap. v.—*Acerbitate.* "By the severity."—*Conquisitoribus.* "The recruiting officers." These were persons sent out to exact the levy.—*Omiserunt mota arma.* "Laid aside the arms that had been taken up."

CHAPTER XII.

1–6. *Segnior.* "Less vigorously carried on."—*Cives.* "His countrymen." The Carthaginians are meant.—*Aliquantum.* Many MSS. have *aliquantulum.* But Livy never joins this latter with a genitive, as governing it substantively, neither does Cicero. (Hand, *Turs.*, vol. i., p. 256.)—*Strata recentibus ruinis.* "Strewed with recent ruins."

11–17. *Temptata est.* "Was tried (to be realized)."—*Aliquid moturum.* "That he will effect something." Observe the omission of *se*, which is often the case with the future infinitive active.—*Postquam movebant.* Observe here the employment of the imperfect, where we should have expected the pluperfect. A long-continued effort is indicated. (Madvig, § 338, *b.*, Obs. 2.)—*Tristes.* "Gloomy," i. e., harsh, severe.—*Ferebantur.* "Were offered." For *offerebantur.*—*Oratore.* "From an advocate."—*Sub condicionibus iis.* "Under the odium of these conditions." The simple ablative, though much more common, will not do here, as *sub* is meant to be emphatic. He means

that the Saguntines would instantly put to death the man who should be the bearer of such terms, that is, who should incur the odium of presenting them, though in the name of another.

17–28. *Postulabatur autem.* "Now it was demanded." The objectionable terms are recited.—*Cum singulis vestimentis.* "With a single suit of clothing." Not "with a single garment," as some erroneously render it. Hannibal's object in imposing these severe terms, was not merely to supply himself with the sinews of war, in the wealth of the Saguntines, but also to leave no enemy in his rear sufficiently powerful to co-operate to his injury with the Romans. (Polyb., iii., 17.)—*Vinci animos*, etc. "That the minds of men are (at length) subdued, when all things (else) are subdued," i. e., when all other means of opposing the foe have failed.—*Interpretem.* "As the proposer."—*Hospes.* The relations of hospitality sometimes existed between an individual and a whole community.—*Prætorem Saguntinum.* "The chief magistrate of Saguntum."—*Senatus.* "An audience of the Senate."

CHAPTER XIII.

4–16. *Quo nec orator*, etc. "On which I would have come neither as an ambassador of Hannibal nor as a deserter," i. e., since I would have come, etc. The subjunctive with the relative as assigning a reason or cause. With *quo* supply *itinere.*—*Ille.* Alco.—*Vestra, si periculum*, etc. "Through yours, if there is danger among you to those who tell the truth."—*Pro vetusto hospitio.* "In consideration of the ancient tie of hospitality."—*Nec ullius alterius.* Alluding to Hannibal.—*Vel ea fides sit.* "Let even this be the proof." (Zumpt, § 372.)—*Vestris viribus.* "Through your own resources."—*Postquam . . . est.* An unusual construction, since *est* is not here the historical present, which often stands after *postquam eo ventum est, ut . . . sit*, for which Livy gives a more concise one.—*Æquam.* "Fair."

16–27. *Ita.* "On these conditions." (Zumpt, § 281.)—*Audiatis.* "Be inclined to listen to." A latent wish that it may be so is implied in the mood.—*In damno.* "In the light of a loss."—*Pro.* "Really as." Observe the change of preposition.—*Ex magna parte.* Livy more usually has *magna ex parte.*—*Cum binis vestimentis.* "With two suits of clothing each." Observe the employment of the distributive numeral with *vestimenta* in the plural, as having in that number a different meaning from the singular. (Zumpt, § 119.) The reading *binis*, however, has given rise to some difficulty, since we have *singulis vestimentis* in the previous chapter. Commentators generally regard the term *binis* as an error on the part of the copyist, and Lipsius,

therefore, proposes to read *priris*, but the term is too unusual a one. It is possible that Hannibal, finding Alco so averse to the original terms, permitted Alorcus to propose less rigid conditions. Döring, however, thinks that Hannibal meant to allow the Saguntines to take a suit of clothes with them, besides that which they were wearing at the time.—***Fortuna vestra.*** "Your present condition."

CHAPTER XIV.

2–16. ***Senatui.*** The ablative would have been more usual.—***Secessione.*** "A withdrawal."—***Semet ipsi.*** Stress laid on the subject, and hence *ipsi*, not *ipsos*. (Zumpt, § 696.)—***Pavor ac trepidatio.*** "The dismay and agitation." *Trepidatio* properly denotes a state of confused hurry or alarm, a running to and fro.—***Per ruinam.*** "Through the breach." The singular here is unusual in this sense.—***Cum signum imperatori dedisset***, etc. They gave a signal that, so far as could be seen from their lofty position in the citadel, the lower part of the city was left unguarded. This had been occasioned by the thronging of the people to the forum to hear Alorcus.—***Momento cepit.*** Usually, when *momentum* is employed in this sense, we find added to it *temporis* or *horæ*, to make the meaning more definite.—***Signo dato.*** "A brief command having been given," i. e., an order passed from rank to rank.—***Quod imperium crudele***, etc. A zeugma. Supply *fuit* after crudele.

CHAPTER XV.

3–8. ***De industria.*** "Purposely."—***Vix ullum discrimen ætatis***, etc. Although Hannibal had given orders to kill only adults, yet many *impuberes* were also slain.—***Militum præda.*** The Romans usually sold the captives for the state.—***Aliquantum pecuniæ.*** "A considerable sum of money."—***Vestem.*** "Articles of raiment."

9–22. ***Quam cœptum est.*** Observe the omission of *post* before *quam*. (Zumpt, § 477.)—***Quidam scripsere.*** Among these is the Greek historian Polybius.—***Hiberna.*** He allowed the whole of the winter for his troops to rest.—***Fieri non potuit***, etc. Livy's reasoning is correct. Saguntum must have been taken towards the beginning of B.C. 218, when Scipio and Sempronius were consuls, the year in which the battle of Trebia was fought. Compare notes on chap. vi.—***Nam excessisse***, etc. "For the battle at the Trebia cannot have reached into the year," etc., i. e., cannot have belonged to or fallen in it. This would make the battle in question to have been fought, not in B.C. 218, but in B.C. 217.—***Arimini.*** Ariminum was one of the most important cities of Umbria, on the coast of the Adriatic, about nine

miles south of the Rubicon.—*Creatus.* That is, Sempronius presided at the comitia where he was elected.

CHAPTER XVI.

1–9. *Qui redierant*, etc. The ambassadors would seem from this to have spent considerable time in Carthage, since the siege of Saguntum lasted some time after their arrival, and Hannibal even undertook his expedition against the Carpetani and Orestani in the interval. —*Hostilis esse.* "Wore a hostile appearance."—*Sociorum peremptorum indigne.* "For allies undeservedly destroyed."—*De summa rerum.* "For the safety of the entire commonwealth," i. e., the very existence of the state.—*Consulerent.* "Deliberated." The verb is here employed absolutely.

9–18. *Nam.* Supply *dicebant.* A usual omission of Livy in an animated narrative.—*Acriorem.* "A more spirited."—*Tam desidem.* "So sunk in sloth." The natural exaggeration of excited feelings.—*Sardos, Corsosque*, etc. The allusion is to the wars that had taken place between the first and second Punic conflicts.—*Histros.* Histria or Istria was a peninsula at the northern extremity of the Adriatic. The inhabitants were a warlike Illyrian race, subjugated by the Romans B.C. 177.—*Et cum Gallis*, etc. "And that with the Gauls it had been a tumult more truly than a regular warfare." The Romans were accustomed to call their wars with the Gauls on the Po by the name of *tumultus*, from the suddenness of the attacks made by these warlike tribes, and the constant state of watchfulness in which they, the Romans, had to be.—*Militia durissima.* "During the hardest service."—*Recentem.* "Fresh."—*Excitos.* "Already aroused."—*Conciturum.* "Was about to summon in a body to his standard."

CHAPTER XVII.

1–9. *Nominatæ jam antea*, etc. That is, the countries in which the consuls were to act had already been marked out by the Senate, but no casting of lots for them had as yet taken place.—*Sociûm.* Livy varies, in this chapter, between *sociûm* and *sociorum* as forms of the genitive.—*Ipsis.* The consuls.—*Quattuor et viginti*, etc. Each of the six legions therefore contained 4000 infantry and 300 horse.—*Mille octingenti equites.* The cavalry were but few in number comparatively, being all from among the wealthiest men in the state.—*Celoces viginti deducti.* "Twenty swift-sailing vessels were launched." The *celoces* were vessels of a particular class, in which each rower handled a single oar on his own side, in contradistinction to those in

which each man worked a pair, and those in which more than one man labored at the same oar. The term is properly an adjective, meaning "swift," and having *naves* understood. The larger description had many oarsmen, and were sometimes fitted up with a mast and sail, but had no deck, and in consequence of their fleetness were much used by pirates.

10–14. *Vellent juberent.* "That they should will, should order."—Elsewhere Livy has *vellent juberentve*, "whether they willed, ordered." In the present case, however, we must supply *ut*. This was the ordinary form of proposals made to the Roman people, with two nearly equivalent words. Usually, in the case of direct applications, we have *velitis, jubeatis, Quirites*, where we must supply *rogo ut.—Supplicatio.* Synonymous here with *obsecratio.* Both were made at the beginning of a war to propitiate the gods.—*Eveniret, quod bellum.* That is, *bellum eveniret, quod bellum.—Ea quaterna milia*, etc. Observe the employment of *ea*, agreeing with *milia* coming after, instead of *ea*, referring back to *legiones.* (Zumpt, § 372.)

16. *Naves longæ.* "Vessels of war." So called from their length, in contradistinction to the *naves onerariæ*, or "merchant vessels," which were broader of beam. Strictly speaking, the expression *navis longa* is a generic one, and includes vessels not only of one, but of several banks of oars, because, in reality, they were all laid down upon the long principle, with a sharp keel, and lengthened line from stem to stern, instead of the short round bottoms adopted for the commercial marine.

18–29. *Ita . . . si.* "Provided that," i. e., in case it should be found that.—*Et ipse.* "Also." (Zumpt, § 698.)—*Maxime.* "In particular."—*Ea parte belli.* "In that sort of war." More literally, "On that side of the war," i. e., on the sea. Observe that *pars* in connection with *belli, virium*, etc., is frequently employed by Livy, and derives its general meaning from the context.—*Cum suo justo equitatu.* "With their regular (complement of) cavalry," i. e., 300 each, as before stated.—*Nondum versa.* "Not yet changed (in its allegiance)," i. e., which had not yet gone over to the Carthaginians, as it afterwards did when Hannibal entered Italy. This is the conjectural emendation of Gronovius, adopted by Becker. The early editions generally read, without MSS. authority, *eodem anno versa.* Many modern editors, however, prefer *eodem versa*, "turned in the same direction," i. e., as Scipio, towards the war with Hannibal. But this wants clearness. Nor is it any better if, with Heusinger and Heerwagen, we refer *versa*, taken as a neuter, to the forces just enumerated. —*In Punicum bellum.* "For the Punic war."

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CHAPTER XVIII.

1–8. *Omnia justa, fierent.* "All just formalities might be observed," i. e., all the formalities established by law or custom.—*Q. Fabium.* Fabius Cunctator.—*M. Livium, L. Æmilium.* The consuls of the previous year.—*Bœbium.* He had been sent before (chap. vi.) as an ambassador to Hannibal and to Carthage.—*Publico consilio.* "By public resolve."—*Id quod facturi videbantur.* "What they appeared likely to do."—*Ac defenderent.* "And should state, in defence (of the conduct of Hannibal)."—*Ut indicerent*, etc. Observe the change of construction, where we should expect *ad indicendum bellum.*

11–20. *Unum, quod mandatum erat.* "The one thing which had been given them in charge."—*Præceps vestra*, etc. "Even your former embassy, O Romans, was a precipitate one." They had then demanded the surrender of Hannibal; and now they made the question of peace or war to turn upon the simple fact of Hannibal's being publicly authorized to act as he had done, without allowing any justification or exculpatory statement on the part of Carthage.—*Ceterum hæc legatio.* "Your present embassy however." Observe the force of *ceterum.* Your present embassy is like the former, with this point of difference, however, etc.—*Adhuc.* "As yet," i. e., as far as you have yet spoken.—*Exprimitur.* "Is sought to be extorted."—*Ut a confessis.* "As from those who have confessed," i. e., as though we had confessed. An imitation of the Greek construction of ὡς with a participle. (Matth., *Gk. Gr.*, § 568.)—*Censeam.* "Am inclined to think." Observe the ironical employment of the subjunctive.

21–26. *Quæstio atque animadversio.* "Inquiry into the conduct of, and also inflicting of punishment upon."—*Quid nostro*, etc. The common text omits *quid.*—*Disceptatio.* "Point of discussion."—*Per fœdus.* "As far as the treaty is concerned." (Madvig, § 255, Obs. 1; Zumpt, § 301, extr.)—*Fœdus est.* "There is a treaty (let me tell you)." Observe the omission of the apodosis here after the protasis with *quoniam.* (Zumpt, § 772.) This is often done in an animated speech or narrative.—*Cum caveretur*, etc. "Though provision was made for the allies of both parties." Observe the construction of *caveo.* Thus *caveo te*, "I avoid thee;" but *caveo tibi*, "I provide for thy safety," etc. (Zumpt, § 414.)

28–33. *At enim.* "But then (it may be alleged in reply)." Compare the Greek ἀλλὰ γάρ, and consult Zumpt, § 349. Used very often in anticipating an objection on the part of another, and hence employed by Livy only in speeches, never in a running narrative.—*Excipiuntur.* "Are specially excepted," i. e., there is a special clause in their favor, by which their safety is guaranteed against any attacks

from Carthage.—*Quod C. Lutatius*, etc. "As regards the treaty which C. Lutatius, the consul, first made with you," etc. The regular construction would have been, *negastis eo fœdere teneri quod C. Lutatius . . . fecit*. The best MSS. both here and lower down have *iecit*, out of which the common text has made *icit*, but *fecit* is a more probable conjecture.—*Itaque aliud de integro*, etc. The argument of the Carthaginian speaker is not a sound one. When the stipulations of the treaty of Catulus were submitted to the Roman people, they did not meet with their approbation, and ten commissioners were despatched to examine into the state of affairs, who, when they arrived, insisted upon certain changes to the disadvantage of the Carthaginians. On the other hand, the Carthaginians had never in any way protested against the treaty concluded by Hasdrubal.

37-41. *Et quod diu parturit*, etc. Evidently borrowed from Cicero (*Phil.* ii., 46, 119).—*Sinu ex toga facto*. This would be done by catching up one of the sides of the toga, and throwing the end over the opposite shoulder, so that it would hang down behind.—*Sub hanc vocem*. "Immediately upon this speech." (Zumpt, § 319.)—*Iterum*. Referring neither to *sinu effuso* nor to *dixisset*, etc., separately, but to both combined, that is, to the repetition of the symbolical use of the toga.

CHAPTER XIX.

2-9. *Ex dignitate populi Romani*, etc. Livy has here culled from Polybius all that favors the Roman cause; while he disingenuously suppresses all that tells against his countrymen. The Greek historian allows that the Carthaginians were in the wrong if we are to look no farther back than the siege of Saguntum, but fully justified if we trace the origin of the war to the dishonorable conduct of the Romans as respected Sardinia and the 1200 talents.—*Sagunto excisa*. Observe that *Sagunto* here is the ablative of *Saguntus*, feminine, not of *Saguntum*, neuter.—*Nam si verborum disceptationis*, etc. "For if the matter fell within the limits of a verbal discussion," i. e., were a fit subject for one.—*Quid*. "In what respect."—*Diserte*. "Expressly."—*Ita . . . si*. "Only if." (Zumpt, § 726.)—*Censuisset*. "Should have sanctioned it." *Censere* is commonly said of the Senate, and *jubere* of the people; here, however, *censere* is employed, since *populus* is here equivalent to *senatus populusque*.—*Ita*. "To such a degree."

13-18. *Et si priore fœdere staretur*. "Even if the former treaty were adhered to," i. e., that of Lutatius, ratified by the Senate. Literally, "Even if it were stood by the former treaty." (Zumpt, § 452.)—*Satis cautum erat Saguntinis*, etc. "Sufficient provision had been

made for the Saguntines, by the allies of both states having been excepted," i. e., from the number of those against whom war might be carried on, or who might be incorporated with the empire of either nation.—*Additum erat.* "Had there been added to it."—*Iis*, i. e., *sociis.*—*Aut ob nulla*, etc. "Either that no one should be received into friendship on account of any services (rendered), or that those who had been received under protection should not be defended." (Zumpt, § 709.)—*Tantum ne.* "Provided only that . . . not," etc. Equivalent in reality, however, to *tantum caveretur ne.*

22–33. *Et in societatem perlicerent.* The editions have *ut in societatem*, etc., which is so inelegant and clumsy after *ut adirent* that we have not hesitated to give the conjectural emendation *et.*—*Bargusios.* The Bargusii were situated in the neighborhood of the Pyrenees, to the north-east of the Ilergetes.—*Quia tædebat imperii Punici.* As the Bargusii, from what appears in chap. xxiii., were not yet subdued by the Carthaginians, these words cannot, of course, apply to them, but belong to what follows, and furnish the ground for *erexerunt*, as regards the tribes beyond the Iberus.—*Volcianos.* Only mentioned here. They were neighbors of the Bargusii.—*Celebre.* "Having become widespread."—*Quæ verecundia est.* "What sense of shame have you?" i. e., are you not ashamed?—*Cum, qui id fecerunt*, etc. "When you, their allies, have more cruelly betrayed the Saguntines, who did this," etc., i. e., who preferred your friendship to that of the Carthaginians.—*Censeo.* Equivalent here to *suadeo.* Supply *ut* with *quæratis.*—*Insigne.* "Striking."

CHAPTER XX.

1–19. *Iis.* That is, *Gallis*, as implied in *Galliam*, which precedes.—*Bellum Italiæ inferenti.* "Intending to bring war upon Italy." Hannibal's plan is here supposed to be known to the Roman ambassadors.—*Tantus cum fremitu risus.* "So much laughter with (an accompanying) yelling," i. *e.*, so much laughter and yelling.—*Juventus.* So, in chap. xxxi., the *Juniores* form a separate party, opposed to the Senate and elders.—*Censere, ne in Italiam*, etc. "To propose (namely) that the Gauls turn the war upon themselves, in order not to let it pass through to Italy." Literally, "in order not to send it through," etc. The term *censere* here is too mild after *postulatio*, and is rightly deemed spurious by Gronovius.—*Romanorum.* "On the part of the Romans."—*Ob quæ.* For *ut ob ea.*—*Contra ea.* "That, on the contrary."—*Gentis suæ homines.* Especially the Senones. They were driven from their territory between the Roman colonies of Ariminum and Sena, on the Adriatic, in consequence of an agrarian law, passed on motion of the tribune Flaminius, in 225 B.C.—*Et*

cetera indigna pati. "And were suffering the other indignities of that kind."

20-30. *Hospitale pacatumve.* "Friendly or pacific."—*Massiliam.* The modern Marseilles. This city had long been connected with Rome by a league.—*Ibi omnia ab sociis*, etc. "There all things carefully and faithfully inquired into by their allies became known to them."—*Præoccupatos.* "Prepossessed."—*Satis mitem.* "Sufficiently tractable."—*Subinde.* "From time to time."—*Haud ita.* The Ciceronian formula is always *non ita.*—*Erectam.* "On tiptoe."—*Satis constante fama.* "The rumor being sufficiently persistent."—*Tramisisse.* "Had crossed." Taken absolutely. For *transmisisse.* (Zumpt, § 326.)

CHAPTER XXI.

1-19. *Saguntо capto.* The narrative recommences from chap. xv. —*Quæque.* The pronoun is repeated because the subjects are different.—*Causam.* "The occasion." Referring to his conduct in the case of Saguntum.—*Nihil ultra differendum.* "That there must be no further putting off."—*Et ipsos.* "Your own selves also," i. e., as well as I. Opposed to *ego* after *credo. Omnibus Hispaniæ populis.* All those, namely, on the other side of the Iberus.—*Ita enim.* And this latter course will prove the more pleasing to you, "for thus."—*Hæ gentes.* "The nations here."—*Commeatum.* "Leave of absence." A furlough.—*Futurum.* "About to be one."

20-31. *Et jam desiderantibus*, etc. "Both already longing to behold their friends, and seeing before them a longer absence for the future." *Desiderium* is properly "a longing to see the absent," and hence is figuratively employed, as here, to denote "absence" itself.—*Jam exhaustos.* "Already undergone."—*Ad edictum.* "According to command." (Zumpt, § 296, extr.)—*Gades.* Now Cadiz. An early colony of Tyre, afterwards possessed by Carthage. It was famed for the worship of Melcarth, the Tyrian Hercules, or the Sun. Many editions have *Gadis*, old form for *Gades.*—*Si cetera.* "In case his remaining projects."—*Partiens curas*, etc. "Dividing his cares at the same time between," etc.—*Gallias.* The plural indicates the various subdivisions of this country, such as *Gallia Cisalpina, Transalpina*, etc.—*Ab Sicilia.* "On the side of Sicily." An attack might naturally be expected from this quarter.

32-42. *Pro eo.* "For this purpose."—*Jaculatorum.* The Libyans and Mauri were particularly noted for their skill with the javelin.—*Futurus uterque.* "Likely to prove each."—*Pigneribus.* The reading of some of the best MSS. Compare Madvig, § 41, note *m.*—

Pedites cetratos. "Targeteers." More literally, "foot soldiers armed with the cetra." The *cetra* was a small round shield, made of the hide of a quadruped. It appears to have been identical with the targe of the modern Scottish Highlanders.—*Funditores Baleares.* "Balearic slingers." The inhabitants of the Balearic Islands (Majorca and Minorca) were famed for their skill with the sling.—*Per Africam.* In order to keep the dependent tribes in subjection.—*Conquisitoribus.* "Recruiting officers." Compare chap. xi., *sub fin.*—*Eosdem.* "At one and the same time." (Zumpt, § 127.)

CHAPTER XXII.

1–12. *Atque id eo minus.* "And the less on this account." The MSS. give *haud* before *minus*, which we have omitted with Bekker, and which had been previously condemned by Gronovius. They also read *ideo* for *id eo.* If the MS. reading be retained, the meaning will be, "And that it was therefore not less to be cared for"—the positive *curandam* being mentally supplied from the preceding *non negligendam.* But this makes the proximity of the second *haud* in the succeeding clause extremely inelegant.—*Circumitam.* Spain lying to the west of the Iberus is meant. Compare chap. xix., line 21.—*Quingentis.* This and *quinquaginta* farther on are wanting in the MSS., and are supplied from the narrative of Polybius (iii., 33).—*Libyphœnices.* Those subjects of Carthage who had sprung from marriages between the immigrant Phœnicians and native Africans. They ranked next to the Carthaginians proper, the ruling Phœnician citizens of the capital.—*Numidæ.* Between the territory of Carthage and Mauretania. Their country formed the largest portion of the modern *Algeria.*—*Mauri.* Between Numidia and the coast of the Atlantic. Their country corresponds to the modern *Fez* and *Morocco.*—*Ad mille octingenti.* Observe that *ad* is here an adverb, with the force of *circiter*, and governs no case. (Zumpt, § 296.)—*Ilergetum.* The Ilergetes were situated between the Iberus and the Pyrenees, in the modern *Catalonia.* Their capital was Ilerda, now *Lerida.*

15–18. *Qua parte belli.* Observe that *parte* here indicates the "mode" or "manner," and compare note on chap. xvii., line 23.—*Vicerant.* Scil. *Romani.*—*Credi poterat.* "It might be supposed."—*Aptæ instructœque remigio.* "Were fitted out, and manned with rowers." Observe that *remigio* is put here for *remigibus*, the abstract for the concrete.—*Triginta et duæ.* "Only thirty-two." Supply *solum.* Only a part of the fleet left to Hasdrubal was fitted out and manned.

21–33. *Etovissam urbem.* What city is meant cannot be determined; probably, however, Etobesa, which Ptolemy places in the territory of

the Edetani, to the east of the Celtiberi.—*Maritimamque oram.* The true reading here is rendered very doubtful from the corrupt state of the MSS. We have given what appears the simplest and most natural. Many editors, however, prefer *maritima ora*, which they place after *Iberum.* — *Ibi fama est*, etc. The same story is given, with some alterations, by Cicero (*De Divin.*, i., 24), on the authority of the Greek historian Silenus.—*In quiete.* "In his sleep."—*Neque.* For *neve.*—*Cura ingenii humani.* "Through the (innate) curiosity of the human mind."—*Respicere.* "To look back upon."—*Temperare.* "To restrain." (Zumpt, § 414.)—*Ferri.* "To be borne along," i. e., to move with a violent and rapid motion.—*Moles.* "Monster."—*Porro ire.* "To go on."

CHAPTER XXIII.

4–7. *Nonaginta milia peditum*, etc. Of these troops, according to Polybius (iii., 35, 51, 56, 60), there were left with Hanno 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. The same number (*tria milia supra septem milia*) were sent or returned to their homes. The army before it passed the Pyrenees had suffered a further reduction of 20,000 foot and 1000 horse. In the passage of the Alps Hannibal lost 18,000 foot and 2000 horse; so that, on descending into the plains of the Po, he had remaining 20,000 foot (viz., 12,000 Africans and 8000 Spaniards) and 6000 horse.—*Ausetanos.* Their capital was *Ausa*, now *Vique.*—*Lacetaniam.* This name is uncertain. Polybius makes no mention of the country. The MSS. all give *Aquitaniam.* Sigonius conjectured *Lacetaniam.* The chief town of the Lacetani was Solsona, still so called, in the middle of *Catalonia.*

11–22. *Ad præsidium obtinendæ regionis.* "For the defence of the region to be occupied by him."—*Iter averterunt.* "Turned away their march," i. e., separated themselves from Hannibal's army.—*Anceps.* "Hazardous," i. e., questionable policy.—*Et ipse.* "He himself also," i. e., he himself as well as others not mentioned here. Some editors, without any necessity, alter *ipse* here to *ipsos.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

1–8. *Sollicitaret.* "Might unsettle."—*Iliberri.* Many names of towns in Spain are neuter, and end thus. Compare *Illiturgi* and *Intibili* (bk. xxiii., chap. xlix.). Some have two terminations, namely, a feminine in *is* (accusative in *im*). So we have a little farther on *Iliberrim.* The town is now *Elne*, on the river *Tech*, which in ancient times had the same name as the place. Constantine restored Iliberri, and gave it the name of Helena, whence the modern appellation.—*Ad*

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arma consternati. "Roused tumultuously to arms."—*Ruscinonem.* Ruscino is now *La Tour*, in the neighborhood of *Perpignan.* Hence comes the modern name *Roussillon.*—*Aliquot populi.* In apposition with *Galli*, and added for more precise definition.

11–21. *Colloqui semet*, etc. The accusative with the infinitive depends on the notion of speaking implied in *oratores misit.* (Zumpt, § 620.)—*Lætum.* "Gladly."—*Nec cunctanter.* "And without any hesitation."—*Hospitem . . . hostem.* Observe the play upon the words. Livy is very fond of this.—*Gravanter.* Formed after the analogy of *cunctanter*, *festinanter*, etc. This is the MS. reading. The editions have commonly *gravate.*—*Cum bona pace.* "Without any opposition." Compare Hand, *Tursell.*, vol. ii., p. 157.—*Transmiserunt.* In the sense of "to allow to pass."

CHAPTER XXV.

1–7. *In Italiam.* Defined more precisely immediately after by *Romani.*—*Nihil ultra.* "Nothing farther."—*Cum . . . defecerunt.* As a particle of time *cum* takes here the indicative. (Zumpt, § 579.)—*Boii.* A powerful Gallic race between the Po and the Apennines.—*Insubribus.* In Gallia Transpadana. They were, next to the Boii, the most powerful and warlike of the Gallic tribes in Cisalpine Gaul.—*Placentiam Cremonamque.* Two powerful Roman colonies, which had been planted in the previous year in the country on the Po as a check upon the Gauls, and in the territory which had been given up by the latter to the Romans. Placentia (now *Piacenza*) was on this side of the Po, at the place where the Trebia fell into it; and Cremona, on the other side of the river, some miles farther down. These became eventually two important military stations for the protection of the Roman settlements in Cisalpine Gaul.

9–19. *Agrum.* The colonial territory.—*Agrestis multitudo.* The Latin colonists.—*Triumviri.* The colonial commissioners were generally three in number. The law fixed the quantity of land that was to be distributed, and how much was to be assigned to each person.—*Mutinam.* Now *Modena*, on the high-road from Mediolanum to Southern Italy. It was the first place which the Romans took away from the Boii, but was not made a colony until B.C. 183.—*Confugerint.* Compare note on bk. i., chap. iii., line 22.—*Legati.* The doubt in this case arose from the conflicting statements of the Annalists. Polybius mentions no embassy, but that the triumvirs, having demanded a conference, went out from Modena, and were seized by the Boii in violation of good faith. Zumpt regards the *legati* here and *triumviri* as the same persons, looked upon in different relations. If

ambassadors had been sent from Rome, they certainly would have gone at once to the enemy.

23–27. *Pigerrima eadem*, etc. "And at the same time very slow at military operations."—*Segnis.* "Inactive."—*Simulari cœptum*, etc. "It was pretended by them that proposals for peace were begun to be set on foot." More literally, "that it was begun to be treated (among themselves) concerning peace."—*Violata etiam*, etc. "The pledge of personal safety, which had been given for that occasion, having also been violated."

31–33. *Effusum agmen ducit.* "Leads his army not in close order of march," i. e., not carefully kept together. —*Plerisque incultis.* "Most of the country being uncultivated." Supply *locis.*—*Inexplorato.* "Without having (previously) explored his route," i. e., without having detached reconnoitring parties.

35–46. *Ad temptanda ea.* "For trying to get possession of it." On the form *temptare* for *tentare*, consult Zumpt, § 12.—*Ad quingentos.* Observe that *ad* has here the force of "to the number of," i. e., nearly. (Zumpt, § 296.)—*Ademere.* On the termination *ēre* for *ērunt*, consult Zumpt, § 163. It is very frequently used by the historical writers.—*Tannetum.* A small town of Gallia Cispadana, between Regium Lepidum and Parma. Now *Taneto*, a village near *Sant' Ilario.*—*Brixianorum Gallorum.* A branch of the Cenomani. On a later occasion also, when the greater part of the Cenomani were in arms against Rome (Liv., xxxii., 30), they remained faithful to the latter.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1–5. *Tumultus repens.* "Sudden disturbance." *Tumultus* was the technical word for a rising in Italy or Gaul, during which exemptions from military service were not allowed.—*Insuper . . . auctum.* A pleonasm; compare *insuper addita*, bk. ii., chap. ii., line 42.—*C. Atilium.* The *prætor peregrinus.*—*A consule.* Levied by Scipio for Spain.

9–15. *Et.* Here *et* loosely connects different facts. For a similar use of *que*, see chap. lviii., line 23, *tantaque vis*, etc.—*Sexaginta longis navibus.* The *ablativus modi* of the force with which anything is undertaken in war, as *omnibus copiis pugnare.* Observe that *cum* must be used when no adjective or numeral accompanies the noun.—*Salusiùm.* Genitive plural. (Madvig, § 257, Obs. 4.)—*Vixdum.* To be taken with *satis credens*, opposed to *animadvertit* in the following sentence. Weissenborn seems to prefer taking it with *superasse.*

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21–24. *Auxiliaribus Gallis.* Troops in the pay of the Massilienses. — *Volcarum.* The Volcæ were a powerful tribe, dwelling between the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Rhone, divided into the *Volcæ Tectosages*, near the Spanish frontier, and the *Volcæ Arecomici*, near the Rhone. — *Ceteris.* It is difficult to see what *ceteri* and *ceteros* (line 27) refer to. — *Citeriore.* "The hither bank," from Hannibal's point of view, was the western.

28–36. *Eorum ipsorum quos*, etc. "Those of the Volcæ themselves whom," etc. — *Sedes suæ tenuerant.* "Their own homes had kept back," i. e., "love of their own homes." — *Temere.* "Without design;" they were not built on purpose to transport the troops, but for use in the neighborhood. — *Galli inchoantes cavabant*, etc. "The Gauls made a beginning by hollowing," etc. The participle, in such phrases as the above, stands in place of an adverb or adverbial phrase, by which, or by a finite verb co-ordinate with the leading verb, it requires to be translated. Compare bk. ii., chap. xlvii., line 24, *incursantes issent.* Sall., i., 22, *maturantes veniunt.* — *Nihil dummodo.* "Caring for nothing else, provided that they were able to float." Usually *nihil nisi ut.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

3–8. *Equites virique.* "Cavalry and infantry;" to be taken with *obtinentes*, so as to be equivalent to the more common expression *equis virisque obtinentes.* — *Iter unius diei.* The cognate accusative is here qualified by the genitive. An adjective or pronoun is generally added to this accusative. (Madvig, § 223, *c*, Obs. 4.) — *Opus est facto.* (Madvig, § 266, Obs.) See bk. i., chap. lviii., line 20.

8–11. *Ad id.* "For this purpose." — *Duces.* "Guides." — *Inde.* From Hannibal's position. — *Supra.* Adverb, "above." — *Parvæ insulæ.* An island in the Rhone above the mouth of the Ardèche seems to be meant. Hannibal probably crossed the Rhone at Roquemaure, to the north of Avignon, above the mouth of the Durance. — *Transitum ostendere.* "Showed that a passage was practicable." — *Ibi.* At the place indicated.

14–25. *Superpositis*, etc. "On their shields, which they placed on the skins." — *Alius exercitus.* "The other part of the army." — *Ratibus junctis. Jungere ratem* is to build a raft by joining trees or pieces of timber together. — *Postero die.* The third day; the second having been spent in crossing the river. — *Prodito fumo significant.* "They signal by sending up a column of smoke." This meaning of *proditus* is not found elsewhere, and therefore some editors read *edito*, and join it with *loco.* — *Naves.* This is Madvig's reading for the common

one, *nantes.*—*Fere.* Compare the statement three lines below, *magna pars*, etc.—*Pars magna . . . nantes.* See Madvig, § 300, *a*; Zumpt, § 366.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1–12. *In ripam.* The Gauls ran from their camp to the bank where the enemy was threatening to cross.—*Et qui nitebantur . . . et qui.* Both refer to *militum*; the first *qui* to those crossing the river, the second to those still on the bank.—*Adverso.* "In front."—*Adortus.* The word *adorior* is used of a secret or unperceived and unexpected assault, as opposed to *aggressus*, an open attack.—*Et ipse.* "Hanno himself," in person, as opposed to *clamor.*—*Vim facere.* "To force a way."

20–24. *Refugientem.* Supply *rectorem.*—*Nantem.* Marked by Madvig as a doubtful reading. As the action expressed by *refugientem* commenced before that expressed by *nantem*, the latter cannot be regarded as adverbially qualifying the former. Weissenborn, to avoid an asyndeton, inserts *inde* before *nantem.*—*Ut quemque . . . rapiente.* "The very violence of the stream hurrying each one, though fearing the deep water, when ground failed it, to the other bank."—*Id.* "This method" of sending them over on a raft.—*Ante rem.* Here equivalent to *cum nondum esset facta.*—*Foret.* "Would be under the circumstances."—*Acta re.* "When it was effected, is more easy to believe."

26–42. *Secunda aqua.* "Down the stream."—*Pluribus.* "Many," without any notion of comparison.—*Altera.* "A second raft."—*Tamquam viam*, for *tamquam per viam*, the preposition being omitted before the second noun. In Cicero a second preposition is omitted only after a copulative conjunction.—*Donec agerentur.* "While they were being driven." *Donec* (a word not found in Cæsar, and only thrice in Cicero) is in the earlier writers used with an indicative mood in statements of facts; in Livy and the later historians with a subjunctive. Here the subjunctive *agerentur* is due to the causal connection the sentence is intended to express; in line 40, *donec fecisset*, the subjunctive expresses the result; but see Madvig, § 360, *c.*—*Ibi urgentes.* "Here, crowding one another, as those on the outside shrank from the water, they exhibited some confusion, till fear itself produced tranquillity when they saw water all around them."—*Pondere ipso stabiles.* Livy and Polybius thought that the elephant could not swim.—*Quærendis vadis.* Ablative of manner.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

1–14. *Dum trajiciuntur . . . miserat.* *Dum*, when used to denote what happens while something else is happening, is usually joined with a present tense, even when the leading proposition has a perfect tense, or, as in this case, a pluperfect.—*Alæ.* In Roman military language *ala* denoted the cavalry of the allies, as distinguished from the *legionarii equites*, and is here used of the Numidian troops as distinguished from the Carthaginian. — *Atrocius quam pro numero.* "Fiercer than one would expect from the number of the combatants."— *Præter multa vulnera.* "Setting aside many wounds."— *Cædes.* "The number of the slain."— *Fuga.* Not "flight," but "confusion."—*Pars Gallorum.* These Gauls were the troops mentioned in chapter xxvi. as being in the pay of the Massilienses.—*Hoc*, etc. "This skirmish, at once the beginning and the omen."—*Summæ rerum.* "The war as a whole." See, for *summa*, chap. i., line 2, of this book.—*Ut . . . ita.* These words, implying comparison, may be conveniently translated by "indeed . . . but," implying contrast; similarly, *ancipitis certaminis* is added to *haud sane incruentam* by the conjunction *que*, where we would have a contrast introduced by "but."

18–28. *Nec Scipioni*, etc. "Neither could Scipio form any determination." Scipio seems only now to have discovered Hannibal's plan, and to have thought that the army of the Carthaginians would perish in crossing the Alps.—*Et Hannibalem.* The *et* corresponds to the preceding *nec.*—*Qui primus obtulisset.* "Which had been the first to present itself." (Madvig, § 300, *b.*)—*Manus consereret.* This is only Livy's view. Hannibal's plan had always been to invade Italy, and it was now too late in the season for him to waste time and men in Southern Gaul.—*Integro bello.* "The entire war," i. e., without a single battle elsewhere; the words *nusquam ante libatis viribus* being added as an explanation.—*Censent.* Historical present in a relative clause; the relative clause here representing a principal clause.—*Magis iter immensum Alpesque.* Hendiadys for *iter per Alpes.*—*Rem.* In apposition to *iter immensum Alpesque;* "awful, by report at least, to troops who knew nothing about it by experience."—*Metuebat.* "Apprehensive (of the future danger)," while *timebat* implies fear and despondency in front of the enemy, and *horrendam* the uneasy feeling experienced in presence of unknown perils, very nearly "awe."

CHAPTER XXX.

3–11. *Varie militum animos versat.* "Attempts to work on the spirits of his soldiers by different means, namely, by reproving and ex-

horting." The *castigatio* (a stronger word than *reprehensio*) continues down to line 20.—*Gentesque et.* The conjunctions *que . . . et* connect words only, not propositions. (Madvig, § 435, *a*, Obs. 1.) This use is not Ciceronian, but is common in Livy when he wishes to add an explanation or further definition. Compare bk. i., chap. xliii., line 8, *tela hastaque et gladius*, "weapons, namely, both spear and sword."—*Duo maria.* The Atlantic and the Mediterranean.—*Carthaginiensium essent.* See Madvig, § 281.—*Quicumque obsedissent.* An exaggeration for the purpose of rousing his hearers. The Romans had asked for the surrender of Hannibal alone. See chap. vi., *in fin.*—*Velut ob noxam.* "As though they had committed a crime." *Noxa* is a legal term for a misdemeanor or *delictum*; not in Cicero.—*Ad delendum nomen Romanorum.* "To destroy the whole Roman race." So *nomen Latinum*, the Latin race.—*Orbem terrarum.* An expression more appropriate to a contemporary of Livy than to Hannibal. See below, line 31, *caput orbis terrarum.*

14–19. *Cernant.* Not the historical present, but the present used to designate a present condition as the result of past conditions (see chap. xiii., line 13, *postquam . . . est*). Rare after *postquam.*—*Inter.* "In the midst of."—*Trajectum.* *Trajicio* is, in military narratives, used with two accusatives, of the place crossed, and the things transported; hence we may have either *flumen trajectum*, as here, or *exercitus trajectus*, as in chap. lvi., line 32.—*Italiæ sit.* "Is part of Italy." The partitive genitive is rare after words not involving a partitive notion.—*Quid Alpes*, etc. The English order is *credentes Alpes esse quid aliud*, etc. This clause marks the transition from the *castigatio* to the *adhortatio.*

20–36. *Fingerent.* "They might imagine." In the original *oratio recta*, the imperative or present subjunctive would have been employed.—*Pervias paucis esse, exercitibus invias?* "Passable by small numbers, by armies impassable." The ordinary reading is *et exercitibus* without *invias.*—*Pinnis sublime elatos*, etc. "Borne proudly on pinions through the air." A poetical form of expression. See Virg., *G.*, iii., 108, *elati sublime videntur Aera per vacuum ferri.*—*Sublime.* Adverb, "through the air."—*Advenas.* Verbal substantives are often used as attributives to mark the action rather than the characteristics of the other substantive. So bk. ii., chap. i., line 14, *plebs transfuga*; bk. xxxiv., chap. iv., *exsule advena.*—*Liberis ac conjugibus.* The children are here purposely placed first, as in bk. iii., chap. xlv., *in liberos quoque . . . conjugesque.*—*Migrantium modo.* "In the fashion of emigrants;" namely, with all their worldly goods.—*Tuto.* Adverb, "safely."—*Transmisisse.* Used as a neuter verb, "to cross."—*Caput orbis terrarum.* See above, line 11.—*Ea.* "Rome, and all that was Rome's." In the mouth of a Roman, *hæc* (neut. pl.) means the whole Roman

empire. (Cic., *Attic.*, xii., 19.) *Si modo hæc stabunt.* "If the empire continues." Compare Livy, bk. xxxii., chap. xxiv., and Cic., *Cat.*, i., 8.—*Cederent.* A rhetorical command; *sperent*, an expression of a wish or prayer.—*Interjacentem Tiberi*, etc. Livy and the later historians use the dative thus of local relation where a preposition with its case might have been expected.—*Campum.* Namely, the Campus Martius.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1–22. *Corpus curare.* "To refresh themselves."—*Adversa ripa.* "Up the bank," like *adverso flumine.*—*Mediterranea Galliæ.* The adjective in the neuter plural used substantively is especially employed to designate localities, and is followed generally by a partitive genitive.—*Credens.* "Because he believed."—*Minus.* Without *tanto* corresponding to *quantum.* — *Quartis castris.* "Four days' march."—*Diversis ex Alpibus.* "From different parts of the Alps."—*Incolunt.* "Dwell." This verb is often used by Livy without an object expressed.—*Inde.* "From that time onwards." An allusion to the Allobrogian war mentioned in epitome of bk. lxi.—*Major.* "The older."—*Pellebatur.* The imperfect is used, because the matter was not yet ended.—*Ad Hannibalem rejecta.* "Referred to Hannibal." *Rejicere aliquid ad aliquem* is the legal phrase for referring a matter to some officer or constituted body. See bk. ii., chap. xxviii., line 12, where is found the common expression *ad senatum rejicere.*—*Vestis.* Used in a collective sense. "Clothing," as in chap. xv., line 8.

25–27. *Recta regione.* "In a straightforward direction." *Regione*, "in the line or direction of," is used with both adjectives and genitives, and without a preposition.—*Ad lævam.* That is, along the Isère in a north-eastern direction. From this point Livy takes Hannibal by quite a different route from that given by Polybius; the latter makes the march to be along the Isère, over the Mont du Chât and the Little St. Bernard; and most modern authorities hold this to be the route really followed by the Carthaginian army. Livy, after the above-mentioned march to the north-east, makes Hannibal turn to the south-east, and cross by Mont Cenis, a route which all French authorities and Gibbon consider the one actually taken.—*Tricastinos.* A tribe separated from the Allobroges by the Isère.—*Tricorios.* A tribe lying east of the Vocontii.

28–36. *Et ipse.* That is, the Durance itself also, as well as the Isère and Rhone.—*Difficillimus.* In the masculine gender agreeing with *annis*, instead of being in the neuter to agree with *flumen*, implied in *fluminum.* (See Madvig, § 310, Obs. 1.)—*Nova semper vada.* "Ever new fords." *Vada* and *gurgites* are objects of *præbet.*—*Et*

tum. "Moreover the fact that at that time it had been swelled."—*Incertis.* That is, the meaning or cause of which was unknown.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1–15. *Postquam movit.* *Postquam* is rarely put with the pluperfect unless to denote that an action had taken place after the lapse of some time.—*Quadrato agmine.* "In order of battle."—*Videt.* This word, by a kind of zeugma, refers both to *munimenta* and *progressos.* —*Ita.* "Thus," that is, by giving up the pursuit and returning by sea.—*Genuam.* Scipio's landing at this port has not been previously mentioned.

17–29. *Alpes.* The higher Alps. The term *campestre iter* does not apply to the route intended by Livy, but to that through the territory of the Allobroges described by Polybius.—*In majus vero.* Here *majus*, although used substantively, retains its power as a comparative, and is followed by the ablative. — *Inanimaliaque.* This is the reading of the MSS., for which Weissenborn reads *inanimaque.* *Inanimalis* is post-classical.—*Imminentes tumulos insidentes.* "Posted on elevations overhanging the road."—*Ingentem fugam stragemque.* "Vast confusion and loss."

31–43. *Transitum ea non esse.* With *ea* supply *via* or *regione.* "That there is not a passage in that direction."—*Inter confragosa omnia præruptaque.* Here *omnia* is the substantive element of the phrase, and *confragosa* and *præcipita* attributives. "In a spot where nothing but broken ground and precipices surrounded him."—*Dilabi, quemque.* *Quemque* is in apposition to *omnes*, or some similar word implied before *dilabi.* "They dispersed each to his own hut."—*Luce.* Like *nocte*, the ablative of the time "when."—*Ut vim facturus.* "As if intending to force his way."—*Simulando.* The gerund is used without any clearly implied subject, and is nearly equivalent to a verbal substantive in *-tio.* Compare bk. xxv., chap. xxxviii., *Reliquum diei expediendis armis et curatione corporum consumtum.*—*Laxatas.* "Were far apart." *Laxare aciem* or *manipulos* (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, ii., 25) is "to open out the files."—*Quam pro numero manentium.* See chap. xxix., line 7.—*Acerrimo quoque viro.* A limiting apposition to *expeditis.* *Quoque* is the ablative from *quisque.* "All his most spirited men."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1–11. *Mota.* Supply *sunt.*—*Conveniebant.* "Were assembling;" "began to assemble."—*Caput.* Collective for plural. "Above their

heads."—*Via.* "By the road below." Ablative of route.—*Imminentes . . . transire.* For a similar arrangement of participle and infinitive, see bk. xv., chap. x., *primos superasse, postremos appropinquantes viderunt.*—*Immobiles . . . defixit.* "Struck them motionless."—*Videre.* Third person plural of perfect indicative.—*Trepidationem.* "Confused hurry."—*Misceri.* "Was thrown into confusion."—*Terroris.* Genitive after *quidquid.*—*Perversis.* The reading given in the text is that of the MSS., but it seems corrupt. Madvig conjectures *transversis.*—*Juxta invia ac devia adsueti.* With the punctuation in the text *invia ac devia* are accusatives after *adsueti*—a construction found in Virgil, *Æn.*, vi., 823, *assuescite bella.* Some editors prefer to take *invia ac devia* with *decurrunt*, comparing Catullus, lxiv., 6, *vada decurrere;* some again insert by conjecture *per* before *invia.*—*Devia.* "By-roads."

12–23. *Ab iniquitate oppugnabatur.* The *iniquitas loci* is personified, and consequently takes the construction of the agent, i. e., the ablative with the preposition *ab.*—*Sibi quoque tendente.* "Each struggling for himself;" *quoque* being ablative of *quisque.*—*Infestum faciebant.* "Were disturbing."—*Repercussæ valles.* "The re-echoing valleys." *Repercussæ* is properly applicable to the sounds reflected, but is here transferred to what reflects the sounds.—*Multosque.* "Many of the baggage-train."—*In immensum altitudinis.* These phrases, consisting of an adjective used substantively in the neuter singular, and followed by a partitive genitive, seem to have been formed on the analogy of *multum diei.* They are used almost exclusively to express relations of quantity and of degree.—*Sed ruinæ maxime modo.* "In the fashion of some fall (of a building);" "as if some building fell down."—*Quæ quamquam*, etc. It might have been expected that Hannibal would send assistance; but, instead of doing so, he halted and kept back his men.

26–34. *Exutum.* Equivalent to *si exutus esset.*—*Incolumem traduxisset.* Here the pluperfect subjunctive after *periculum esse, ne* marks the result as future. Compare bk. xxii., chap. xiv., line 33, *Vereor ne servaverint.*—*Liberata.* "Had been left open."—*Montanis.* The ablative of the person is here used without the preposition *a*, to assimilate the construction to that of *loco*, the *montani* being regarded not as agents, but as instruments.—*Primo.* "In the very first engagement."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1–18. *Frequentem cultoribus.* "Crowded with inhabitants." *Frequens* is generally used of places, and *populus* here seems, like the Greek δῆμος, to mean "a district."—*Ut inter montanos.* "Consider-

ing it lay among mountaineers."—*Suis artibus.* "His own artifices," "artifices like his own." The standing Roman sneer at *Punica fides.* —*Magno natu.* "Of advanced age." *Natu* being ablative of verbal substantive.—*Ad fidem promissorum.* "For a guarantee of their promises."—*Obsidibus quos dabant*, etc. Observe the force of the imperfect. "Having received the hostages whom they offered."—*Nequaquam ut inter pacatos.* Supply *fieri solet*, or some equivalent phrase, and *sed* before *compositio.*

15–22. *Post.* Adverb. "In the rear."—*Sollicitus.* Used in place of an adverb with *circumspectans*, "looking around with anxious care." —*Parte altera.* "On the one side."—*A fronte ab tergo . . . comminus eminus.* The conjunction is left out when two single words embracing the whole idea are opposed to each other. (Madvig, § 434.)—*Petunt.* The object requires to be supplied from the context.—*In eos versa*, etc. "The fact that the infantry had to turn and fight, made it clear that," etc.—*Extrema agminis.* Neuter plural of adjective and partitive genitive. See chap. xxxi., line 3. *Accipienda fuerit. Fuerit* because the apodosis itself is dependent on *quin.* Without such dependency the conditional apodosis would be *accipienda fuit*, the participle expressing the conditional relation.

24, etc. *Agmen.* Here the body of infantry in the rear; in line 27, *agmine* seems to mean the whole column. Weissenborn suggests that these details, especially the improbable separation of the infantry and cavalry by an attack of the mountaineers, are additions by Livy himself.

CHAPTER XXXV.

5–12. *Latrocinii magis*, etc. "More like freebooters than soldiers," "more in the fashion of a raid than of an operation in war."—*Daret.* The subjunctive of repeated action. (Madvig, § 359.)—*Progressi.* "Any, having advanced before or fallen behind the main body."—*Artas præcipites vias.* Here *artas* is the attributive to the combined substantive and adjective, *præcipites vias* denoting a kind or class. (Madvig, § 300, c, Obs. 5.)—*Insuetis.* To be taken absolutely; *adeundi* is dependent on *metus.* "Those who were unaccustomed were afraid to come nearer."

14–22. *Nono die.* Polybius also gives nine days for the length of Hannibal's march from the crossing of the first pass near Chambery to the Little St. Bernard. Livy, however, does not tell whence he reckons, or where Hannibal was on the first day.—*Jugum Alpium.* Mont Genèvre.—*Invia pleraque.* See chap. xxv., line 33. *Pleraque* is used substantively.—*Initæ valles.* "The circumstance that valleys

were entered at random." This is to explain how nine days were consumed in reaching Mont Genèvre, a point so much nearer than the Little St. Bernard.—*Vergiliarum.* The Pleiades, setting on October 26th. Livy here lays on his colors too thick; from the middle of October to the battle of the Trebia, about the time of the winter solstice, is too short an interval, especially as Sempronius's army had to come from Sicily. Polybius brings Hannibal to the summit by the end of September.

23–38. *Per omnia oppleta.* See chap. xxxii., line 31.—*Pigritiaque,* etc. "When disgust and despair were conspicuous in every face."—*Promontorio.* "A projecting peak." Between the Little Mont Cenis and La Grande Croix there is a view into the valley of the Po.—*Italiam ostentat . . . mœniaque eos tum transcendere.* Either a verb of speaking can be supplied before the infinitive and accusative, or it may be dependent on *ostentat* by zeugma.—*Summum.* Adverbially used. "At the most."—*Furta.* "Stealthy attacks."—*Ab Italia.* "On the Italian side."—*Hærere adflicti vestigio suo.* "Could they, when dashed down, remain on the spot where they fell."—*Occiderent.* Madvig reads *succiderent,* "fell down the cliffs." *Occidere* in the sense of "to fall" is rare. See bk. xxiii., chap. xxiv., *ut momento levi occiderent.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1–18. *Ventum.* Supply *est.*—*Angustiorem.* "Much narrower than the rest of the pass."—*Rupès . . . saxis.* "Cliff," "rocks." See bk. xxxii., chap. iv., *saxo undique abscisso rupibus imposita est.*—*Ut ægre,* etc. "So that, with difficulty, could an unencumbered soldier, by feeling about and grasping," etc.—*Stirpes circa eminentes.* A Græcism. Livy very frequently inserts an adverb, especially *circa,* in place of a relative clause. See bk. i., chap. xvii., line 12, *multarum circa civitatum.*—*Natura locus,* etc. "The place, already precipitous by nature, had been broken off by a land-slide to the depth of nearly a thousand feet." The statement of Polybius, that the land-slide had carried away a thousand feet of the road, is more probable.—*Quæ res,* etc. "What was detaining the column."—*Digressus.* Namely, from the place where he stood.—*Haud dubia,* etc. "It seemed to admit of no doubt that he must conduct the column," etc. *Circa = quæ circa erant.*—*Intactam.* Literally, "Untouched," that is, "which had remained from the previous year unthawed."—*Molli nec præaltæ,* i. e., *nivi.*—*Nudam infra,* etc. "The bare glacier which was beneath, and streams of melting snow." *Tabes,* like *lues,* is snow melting and trodden into soft paste—"slush." (Chase.)

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19–26. *Via lubrica glacie.* "The road slippery by reason of the

ice." *Glacie* is the ablative of the cause. The MSS. rend *ut a lubrica*, "as might be expected from the slippery ice, not," etc.—*In prono.* "On a downward slope."—*Adminiculis.* "Supports," i. e., hands and knees; they had already lost their footing.—*Ad quas.* "By supporting themselves on which," etc. A different state of affairs from that described in the beginning of the chapter, where bushes, and such like, were in reach.—*Levi tantum glacie.* "Nothing but smooth ice," for they could not rise by using their limbs, and had nothing to lay hold of.—*Etiam tamen.* Perhaps corrupt. Weissenborn brackets *tamen*, and suggests for these two words, *et in tabe.*—*Jumenta.* "The baggage-animals at times cut into even the lowest layer of snow as they trod upon it; and at times broke entirely through when they slipped."—*In connitendo.* "In their struggles to rise."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1–10. *Jugo.* The place whence they commenced their unsuccessful detour.—*Muniendam.* "To make passable." The phrase is equivalent to *per rupem viam munere.*—*Arboribus.* This mention of trees does not agree with the account in chap. xxxvi., line 22, and the expression *nuda cacumina* in line 16 of the present chapter.—*Aceto.* "Vinegar," not the mixture of vinegar and water, called *posca*, carried by soldiers. Compare Plin., bk. xxiii., chap. i., 3, § 57, *acetum saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens.* It is difficult to see where such a quantity as would be required for the operation could come from, and how in such a short time the rock could be heated so thoroughly. The story is often alluded to in writers of all ages. Compare Juvenal, x., 153, *Diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.*

12–21. *Molliunt.* "Make more easy by moderate zigzags."—*Circa rupem.* "About the cliff," i. e., in the labor of cutting through it. Compare the expression, *circa rem versari.*—*Inferiora.* "The lower portions." *Muniendo fessis.* "Wearied by making the road."—*Et jam locis mollioribus.* Compare chap. lx., line 10, *ad ferociores jam gentes. Jam* denotes the gradual and progressive improvement both of the country and the people.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

In this chapter Livy expresses his own opinion respecting the number of Hannibal's troops and the route by which he crossed the Alps. The author first mentioned, L. Cincius Alimentus, had been Prætor A.U.C. 543, and afterwards Proprætor in Sicily. He wrote, in Greek,

a history of Rome from its foundation to his own time. He is quoted here by Livy as his authority for three statements: (1) that Hannibal's army when he reached Italy amounted to 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse; (2) that he lost between his passage of the Rhone and his arrival in Italy 36,000 men; (3) that he came down into the country of the Taurini. Cincius had been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and passed some time at Hannibal's headquarters, where he heard from Hannibal himself full accounts of the army and the route. No man could, therefore, have better information. Such information, so communicated, ought not to be discarded except on the strongest possible grounds; and it is little likely that a man of Cincius's high official position and practical knowledge either misunderstood or was deceived by Hannibal. It is more probable that Livy, with regard to the first statement, misrepresents or misunderstands Cincius, and describes him as saying "into Italy," instead of "set out for Italy." With regard to the second statement, Cincius agrees with Polybius, who says that Hannibal crossed the Rhone with 50,000 foot and 9000 horse, and reached Italy with 20,000 men. The third statement, that the first people on the Italian side of the Alps visited by Hannibal was that of the Taurini, was believed by many who did not think that Hannibal crossed by Mont Cenis.

1–13. *Maxime.* "In the main."—*Auctores sunt.* "Relate." This phrase is used as if it were a transitive verb, and is followed even by a neuter pronoun. Compare bk. xxiii., chap. xvi., *quod quidam auctores sunt.* (Madvig, § 229, *b*, Obs. 3.)—*Quinto decimo.* In chap. xxxv. we find nine days occupied in the ascent, two days in rest, one day in a march through the snow, four days at the cliff (chap. xxxvii.), three days in the descent; total, nineteen days. Livy seems to have deducted the days in which no advance was made.—*Qui plurimum.* "Who give the highest number."—*Maxime auctor moveret.* "Would especially influence me as an authority."—*Nisi confunderet.* "Did he not get his numbers into confusion by the addition of Gauls and Ligurians."—*Magis.* This word belongs to *veri simile.*

18–24. *E Taurinis.* A people on the upper course of the Po, extending from the Alps to Turin, called by Pliny a Ligurian, by Polybius a Gallic tribe. — *Quanam.* "At what point."—*Vulgo credere.* Supply a subject to the infinitive, "people commonly believe."—*Penino.* Ablative, signifying in what way or direction a movement takes place. The Pennine Alps extend from the Great St. Bernard to St. Gothard.—*Inde.* That is, from the passage of the Pœni.—*Cremonis jugum.* At present called Cramont, the portion of the Graian Alps extending from the Little St. Bernard towards Mont Blanc. The historian here quoted, C. Cælius Antipater, lived at the end of the sixth century of the city, and wrote a Roman history in a rough

but vigorous style. See Cicero, *De Orat.*, ii., 12.—*Salassi.* A tribe living to the east of the Graian Alps, along the *Doria Baltea.*—*Montanos.* "Who inhabited those mountains."—*Libui Galli.* In bk. v., chap. xxxv., the *Libui* are said to dwell at Brixia and Verona; they were probably a Ligurian rather than a Gallic tribe.—*Deduxerint.* The subjunctive, as expressing a milder assertion.

25–29. *Patuisse itinera.* These passes were little used till Augustus made a road through the district of the Salassi to Gaul, the remembrance of which fact has led Livy to write *ad Gallum*, instead of *e Gallia.*—*Utique.* "At all events."—*Seduni Veragri.* "The Seduni and Veragri." See Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, iii., 1, "*In Veragros Sedunosque.*" He describes them as lying between the Lake of Geneva and the Rhine on one side, and the summit of the Alps on the other.—*Ab eo*, etc. "From that deity."—*Sacratum.* "Possessing a shrine consecrated to his worship."—*Penninum.* This Gallic god is mentioned in later inscriptions, and identified with Jupiter. Probably the name of the god and the name of the mountains are not derived one from the other, but come from the same stem. (Weissenborn from Th. Mommsen.)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1–17. *Ad principia rerum.* "For his first enterprises."—*Proximæ genti.* "The nearest tribe," as in the preceding chapter.—*Armare.* Generally, "to equip;" here, "to call to arms."—*Parti alteri.* "To one party or the other as he might choose." An erroneous notion on the part of Livy, for Hannibal had already come to an understanding with the Insubres.—*Contracta ante mala.* See, on *circa*, chap. xxxvi., line 4.—*Ex.* This preposition is often used to mark the transition from one condition to another.—*Varie.* "Differently," i. e., favorably in some instances, in others unfavorably.—*Exercitu tirone.* "Army of recruits," *tiro* is here subjoined almost like an adjective to *exercitus.* See note on *advenas cultores*, chap. xxx., line 26. *Exercitus tiro* is used by Cicero, *Fam.*, vii., 3, 2.—*In novis ignominiis. In*, as in *in re subita*, marks the circumstances in which anything occurs, and therefore the cause. "On account of their late disgraceful losses." See chap. xxv. Scipio had come too late to occupy the Alpine passes through which Hannibal debouched; he therefore hastens to attack him before the *moral* of his army is restored.—*Ex stativis*, i. e., *castris.* Situated to the west of Turin.—*Unam urbem.* The Roman *Augusta Taurinorum*, now Turin.—*Junxisset.* "Induced to join."—*Voluntate.* Scil. *eorum.* "By their own free will."

22–33. *Inter se.* "One to the other."—*Sicuti* and *ita.* See chap. xxix., line 14. "Not yet indeed sufficiently well known the one

to the other, but each already imbued," etc. —*Et apud Romanos.* "Among the Romans as well as among the Carthaginians and Spaniards."—*Eo ipso.* "By the very fact that," etc.—*Inter se opinionem.* "Their mutual high opinion," etc.—*Obvius fuerat.* Equivalent to *obvius factus est.*—*Conatu . . . effectu.* Livy increased very much the number of these verbal substantives, and uses with great frequency *effectus.*—*Occupavit transire.* "Was the first to cross."—*Talem.* "Such a speech as follows."

CHAPTER XL.

2–10. *Supersedissem.* "I would have refrained from speaking." *Supersedere* is used with the ablative case as well as an object-clause. —*Apud vos.* A slight confusion of expression. The thought is, "I would have refrained from speaking to them, but as they are not here, and you are, I must address you."—*Qui vicissent.* "Seeing that they had conquered." The subjunctive gives the reason why it would have been superfluous to address them; the indicative *habui*, in line 7, states simply the fact.—*Cum quibus.* To be taken with *habui*, i. e., both my soldiers and I.—*Confessionem*, etc. "The confession he made by retreating and declining battle."—*Hispaniæ scriptus.* "Enrolled for Spain."—*Meis auspiciis.* The *legati* had the auspices of the general-in-chief. —*Voluit.* The words *Senatus populusque Romanus* always have the verb in the singular. (Madvig, § 213, *a.*) *Consulem.* "A consul for your leader."

16–22. *Viginti.* The period of twenty years was first agreed on for payment of the indemnity at the end of the First Punic War; it was afterwards reduced to ten.—*Siciliam ac Sardiniam.* See chap. i., line 21.—*Audent.* After this word and *necesse est*, supply *pugnare*, from *pugnaturi.* — *Nisi creditis.* Ironical. — *Duabus partibus.* "Two thirds." — *Cum plures perierint*, etc. "Have acquired more hope since more have perished," etc. Weissenborn reads *quia*—the subjunctive being due to a partial obliquity. Scipio ironically suggests that this fact is the reason professed by the Carthaginians for their higher hopes.

23–35. *At enim.* Used by Livy only in speeches, to introduce a supposed objection. See chap. xviii., line 28.—*Possit.* For the subjunctive, see Madvig, § 364: *qui* conveying the signification of *talis ut.*—*Effigies immo umbræ.* "Forms—nay, shadows of men." The former have some bodily substance, the latter none.—*Prægusti. Præ*, because the extremities were frost-bitten.—*Artus.* "The larger limbs."—*Pugnaturi estis.* "You are going to fight."—*Ac.* This conjunction adds a new and more extended thought. — *Ruptore.*

"Habitual breaker." See note, chap. xxx., line 26, on *advenas cultores.—Secundum deos.* "Next to the gods."—*Profligare.* "To dash down," i. e., "to break the force of."

CHAPTER XLI.

1–15. *Vestri adhortandi.* The genitives neuter singular of the possessive pronouns are used instead of the genitives of the personal pronouns, when the pronouns would be in the objective genitive. See Zumpt, § 660; Madvig, § 297, *b.—Ad famam.* "At the news."—*Qua parte.* As if, instead of *equestri*, the substantive *equitum* had preceded.—*Regressus ad naves.* The MSS. read *neque regressus*, etc., evidently corrupt. Most editors have *atque . . . ad naves erat.—Quanta maxime.* So in bk. ix., chap. ix., *quanta maxime vi*, for which *quantus maximus* is more common.—*Timendo hosti.* "This terrible enemy." The gerundives, especially those of *verba affectuum*, are often mere attributives equivalent to adjectives in *-bilis*. So *tremendus, optandus*, etc.—*Fui.* See chap. xxxix., line 28.

15–29. *Utrum*, etc. "Do I seem to have fallen in with them unexpectedly while I was trying to avoid an engagement?" After *incidisse* and *occurrere*, supply *in eum* and *ei* from the preceding *hosti.—In vestigiis occurrere*, on the analogy of *in vestigiis persequi.—Ad decernendum.* Supply *acie* or *ferro.—Per viginti annos.* "In the course of twenty years." Really twenty-three years had elapsed.—*Ægates insulas.* See chap. x., line 27.—*Duodevicenis denariis.* "For eighteen denarii apiece."—*Æmulus . . . Herculis.* Hercules was said to have crossed the Graian Alps on his return from Spain. See bk. v., chap. xxxiv.—*Vectigalis*, etc. *Vectigalia* are taxes on produce, such as corn, oil, etc.; *stipendium* is a fixed payment or tribute. The *stipendium* imposed by Lutatius Catulus and the additional one thousand talents were paid in *ten* years.—*Quem.* The relative put in the protasis.—*Agitaret.* "Haunted him."—*Leges.* "Conditions of peace;" namely, to evacuate Sicily and the islands between it and Italy, to refrain from attacking Hiero or his allies, and to restore all Roman prisoners without ransom.—*Pactus est.* The verb *paciscor* is generally followed by *ut*, etc.

30–39. *Velim.* Compare Madvig, § 350, *b*, Obs. 1.—*Ultimo.* "The greatest of human punishments." Supply *suppliciorum.—Delere.* "Wipe out," "utterly destroy." Compare *Delenda est Carthago*, so often in the mouth of Cato.—*Tutelæ*, etc. "Treated them as if they were under our protection." Possessive genitive.—*Pro his impertitis.* "In gratitude for these benefits." *Impertita* is here used as a substantive.—*Oppugnatum.* Supine.

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40–52. *Utinam esset.* The imperfect tense is used, because the wish cannot be fulfilled.—*De possessione.* "About the possession of;" while *pro Italia* is "on behalf of" or "for the protection of Italy."—*Nisi nos*, etc. More usual is *si nos non*, etc.—*Obsistat.* "Opposes."—*Quas dum.* Equivalent to *ut, eas dum.*—*Non corpus suum*, etc. "Not (merely) his own person, but (also)," etc.—*Reputet.* "Think again and again," "keep thinking."—*Romani imperii.* The adjective put before the substantive for the sake of emphasis, the usual arrangement being *imperium Romanum.* (Madvig, § 466, *a*, Obs. 1.)

CHAPTER XLII.

3–14. *Circumdato.* "Drawn up in a circle to see the spectacle."—*Victor.* "If victorious."—*Ad unum omnes.* "All to a man."—*In id.* "For this object."—*Ubi dimicarent. Ubi*, like *cum*, is used with the imperfect subjunctive in historical narrative. "But as soon as they were fighting there was such a state of feeling, not merely among those of the same condition (i. e., prisoners), but likewise among the crowd of spectators (the army), that the fortune of the conquerors was no more praised than that of those who died bravely."

CHAPTER XLIII.

1–10. *Sic.* To be taken with *adfectos.*—*Aliquot paribus.* "A few pairs."—*Contione.* "A regular meeting," after the ring was broken up.—*Habueritis.* Future perfect.—*Vicimus.* "We have conquered," i. e., "we are already conquerors."—*Ac.* This conjunction lays a greater stress than *et* on the appended clause.—*Nescio an.* The expression implies a suspicion that the thing *is.*—*Necessitates.* The plural of abstract nouns is used to denote the existence of a quality in different objects.—*Dextra lævaque*, etc. "Right and left, two seas enclose us, while we have not a single ship, not even for flight."—*Claudunt.* Used as in bk. xxii., chap. v., line 22, without expressed object.—*Habentibus.* Dative case, from influence of the preceding and following *vobis* and *integris vobis.*—*Contra.* The MSS. give *circa*, but as we have *dextra, læva*, and *a tergo*, we are led to expect *a fronte* or *contra.*

14–21. *Et.* Introduces a new notice. "Moreover."—*Victoribus.* "If you are victorious."—*Quidquid Romani.* The connection in thought is, "But it is not merely Sicily and Sardinia that we shall recover; no, whatever the Romans," etc.—*In hanc mercedem.* Compare the common expression *in spem. In*, "for," here marks the object to be gained, and the motive for exertion.—*Agite, cum diis*, etc.

Thus the MSS. Madvig reads *agite dum, dii*, etc., where *dum* is intensive, and usually written as an enclitic. *Agedum* is frequent; for *agite dum*, see bk. v., chap. lii.; bk. iii., chap. lxii.

23–39. *Consectando.* Gerundive almost equivalent to the present participle, *consectantes*. See bk. ii., chap. xxxii., line 16, *quieti . . . rem nullam sumendo.* (Madvig, § 416, Obs. 1.)—*Tempus est*, etc. The infinitive is used, as the phrase has acquired the force of an impersonal verb. (Madvig, § 389, and § 417, Obs. 2.)—*Ditia.* Neuter plural from *dives.*—*Operæ pretia.* See Præf., line 1.—*Emeritis stipendiis.* "When your term of service is completed."—*Nec existimaritis.* "And do not," etc. For mood and tense, see Madvig, § 386.—*Illa.* "That well-known and celebrated."—*Vincentes.* "Conquering," i. e., in an unbroken series of victories.—*Exercitu tirone.* See chap. xxxix., line 10.—*Ignoranti.* Ablative case. The participle sometimes, when not used as an adjective, forms its ablative in *i*.

40–52. *An.* This particle introduces the second member of an alternative question, the first being left to be inferred from the context. (Madvig, § 453.) "Am I not right in thus describing Scipio and his army, or shall I compare," etc.—*Prætorio.* "The general's tent," "headquarters."—*Semenstri.* From the Ides of March.—*Ignoraturum*, etc. "I am sure he could not tell by looking at them, of which army he is the consul."—*Facinus militare.* "Some exploit of a soldier."—*Decora.* "His glorious deeds of arms."—*Laudatis donatisque.* "Praised and rewarded." See bk. v., chap. xlvii., and bk. vii., chap. xxxvii., describing the *dona* given to P. Decius.—*Inter se.* Connected with both *ignotos* and *ignorantes*.

CHAPTER XLIV.

4–9. *Equites infrenatos.* The Numidians, who guided their horses with a wand.—*Socios.* The Libyan and Liby-Phœnician troops are included in this term, as distinguished from the Carthaginian forces, the *Pœni* proper.—*Ob patriam.* "For your fatherland." But *ob* is wanting in the best MSS. Some editors read *pro patria.*—*Infestis signis.* A common expression in Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, xxxvi., 7), who also has *infestis pilis procurrere*, where it seems to refer to the manner in which the weapon was held by the soldier when charging, "with point against the foe." See Virgil, *Æn.*, v., 582: *Convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.*—*Pugnaturi.* In the older writers the future participle stands in combination with *sum* to express relations of time; the later authors, Livy, Curtius, etc., use it to express the purpose of motion (Madvig, § 424, Obs. 5), or the circumstances in which the

person will be placed when the principal action occurs.—*Dolor, injuria, indignitas.* "Pain on account of injustice and ill-treatment."

13-20. *Sui arbitrii facit.* "Makes dependent on her will." Like *dicionis facere.* (Madvig, § 281, Obs.)—*Modum imponere.* "To prescribe."—*Quos non excedamus.* Not a sentence of design. "Which we may not pass."—*Ne transieris Iberum.* The Romans are here introduced as speaking.—*Ad Iberum est Saguntum.* As Saguntum is not on the Ebro, Madvig reads *non ad*, etc., and takes the words as a reply to the Roman command.—*Ne transieris . . . ne quid sit . . . ne moveris.* Observe the tenses and persons: the second person of the perfect subjunctive, the third person of the present subjunctive. (Madvig, § 386.) "Cross not the Ebro. Have no dealings with the Saguntines! Stir not from the spot!"—*Parum*, etc. Hannibal's answer.—*Veterrimas.* "Most ancient." Sardinia was conquered by Carthage towards the close of the sixth century B.C., and at a still earlier date her influence had superseded the yet more ancient influence of Phœnicia in Western Sicily.

21-23. *Et inde cessero.* "Well, I shall have evacuated the two provinces of Spain;—you will cross into Africa—will cross, do I say?—the two consuls of this year they have sent, one into Africa, the other into Spain!" *Cessero.* The future perfect is here used of an action the completion of which is anticipated. (Madvig, § 340, Obs. 4.)—*Illis timidis esse licet.* See Madvig, § 393; Zumpt, § 601.—*Respectum.* "A refuge."—*Sua terra.* Emphatic position of *sua.* "Their own."—*Vobis necesse est fortibus esse.* This construction is not found elsewhere with *necesse est.*—*Omnibus inter victoriam mortemve*, etc. "Everything that lies between victory and death," i. e., everything except.—*Dubitabit.* "Shall hesitate."

CHAPTER XLV.

1-7. *Utrimque.* "On either side."—*Ponte Ticinum jungere.* So again in chap. xlvii., line 8, "*Ratibus junxerat flumen.*" The usual phrase is *pontem jungere.*—*Castellum.* An outwork to protect the bridge.—*Opere occupato.* The usual construction in Livy for *in opere.*—*Sociorum.* Hannibal had now left the Taurini, and had marched into the territory of the Libici.

12-25. *Revocato.* In the singular; the phrase being equivalent to "Maharbal with his cavalry."—*Vocatis.* Scil. *militibus.*—*In spem.* See note on chap. xliii., line 21.—*Velit.* Present subjunctive, because the historic present *pronuntiat* is treated as an actual present, while *vellent* and *mallent* are in the imperfect, because it is regarded as a

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past tense.—*Potestatem facturus.* "Would give them an opportunity."—*Secum.* Here equivalent to *cum sua fortuna.*—*Bina.* "Two apiece."

28–32. *Jovem.* Here, of course, Baal.—*In spem suam quisque acceptis.* The *quisque* is to be taken strictly with *auctoribus acceptis*, and the phrase regarded as equivalent to *si deos auctores in spem suam quisque accepisset.* The ablative absolute with a perfect participle passive sometimes takes a word in apposition, as if the construction were active, and contained a perfect participle active in the nominative case. The Greek would be ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς ἕκαστος τῆς ἐλπίδος λαβόντες ἐγγυητάς. Compare bk. iv., chap. xliv., "*causa ipse pro se dicta.*" Nägelsbach, *Stilistik*, § 97, *b.*—*Auctores.* "Sureties."—*Sperata.* Participle used substantively, like *impertita* in chap. xli., line 38.—*Ad potienda.* In classical Latin *potior* is followed by a genitive or ablative; but as it originally admitted an accusative, it is used in the gerundive like a common transitive verb, governing the accusative. (Madvig, § 265, Obs. 2.)

CHAPTER XLVI.

2–11. *Super cetera.* "In addition to the other dispiriting circumstances."—*Obviis.* "Those who came in his way."—*Arbore prætorio imminente.* "A tree overhanging the general's tent."—*Procuratis.* The verb *procuro*, when connected with omens or *prodigia*, means "to expiate by due rites."—*Ad castra*, etc. The words *ex propinquo* refer to both *castra* and *copias.* "For the purpose of reconnoitring, close at hand, the camp and forces of the enemy, (and seeing) how numerous and of what kind they were."—*Et ipsi.* As in chap. xxviii., line 9, "who also in person."—*Circa loca.* "The country round about."

12–25. *Densior oriens pulvis.* "The dust rising in thicker clouds."—*Consistit . . . expediebant.* "Halted, and the men began to prepare," etc. *Agmen* as a collective takes the latter verb in the plural. *Consistit* historical present. For tense of *expediebant*, see Madvig, § 337, Obs. 1.—*Gallos.* The national name used as an adjective, as in bk. xxii., chap. xxxix., line 53. "*Pœnus imperator.*"—*Romanos*, etc. "The Roman cavalry, and the heavy cavalry of the allies." The Gallic horsemen were light cavalry.—*Numidis.* The ablative by itself is usual in military descriptions, the soldier being regarded simply as an instrument.—*Inter subsidia.* "Between, or through the intervals between, the supports;" hence, *intermixti* in line 23.—*Quia turbabant*, etc. To be joined with *labentibus*, as *ubi . . . vidissent* with *desilientibus.* Translate, "Many falling from their horses because the intermixture of the infantry was disturbing the horses; or, dismount-

ing whenever they," etc. — *Vidissent.* The iterative subjunctive. Compare chap. l., line 7.—*Ad pedes pugna iverat.* "The fight had come to those on foot," i. e., "the fight became a fight on foot."—*Donec.* Before *donec*, supply "and was progressing favorably for the Romans till the Numidians," etc.

28–37. *Intercursu . . . propulsatum.* These words are added to introduce the next paragraph, and, strictly, do not belong to *auxit.*—*Hic erit.* Madvig reads *erat;* but *erit* is equivalent to "we shall find him hereafter to be."—*Est.* "Is forever."—*Jaculatorum maxime.* "Especially of the javelin-men."—*Alius equitatus. Alius*, like ἄλλος, is often used with the species instead of the genus to which the species belongs. "The rest of the troops, namely, the cavalry."—*Cedendo.* Equivalent to *dum cedunt.*—*Cœlius.* The historian Cœlius Antipater, already mentioned in chap. xxxviii.—*Natione.* The ablative of the point of view. (Madvig, § 253.)—*Malim.* "I would rather believe," etc.—*De filio.* For *quod de filio traditur.*—*Fama obtinuit.* "Has held its ground by general report." *Fama* is in the ablative case.

CHAPTER XLVII.

4–15. *Bello gerendo Romanis.* Both nouns are in the dative.—*Vasa colligere.* "To pack up the baggage."—*Moratus.* Participle from *moror.* They had been left to guard the bridge.—*Ratem.* The raft which, when fastened to the bank, made the *pons.*—*Extrema.* "The ends."—*In secundam aquam.* "Down the stream."

16–33. *Auctor est.* "Asserts."—*In ordinem.* "So that they formed a line."—*Peritis amnis ejus.* "To those who are acquainted with that river." Livy here speaks from his own experience.—*Fecerint.* Future perfect specifying a future result. (Madvig, § 341, Obs. 4.)—*Ut jam.* "Even supposing that."—*Fuerint.* Instead of an indicative corresponding to *veri simile est*, the subjunctive is used as conveying the writer's opinion more modestly.—*Qua.* "By which way."—*Rate jungendo flumini.* "For bridging the river with pontoons."—*Ea.* Compare *qua* in line 25.—*Circa flumen.* "In the neighborhood of the river."—*Castra communivit.* Hannibal's camp was probably on the east side of the Trebia; his object being to compel Scipio to fight.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1–16. *Insequenti nocte.* Ablative of time when.—*Tumultu quam re major.* "More important through the confusion it created, than through the actual loss."—*Ad duo milia peditum.* Observe that in

expressions of number *ad* loses, sometimes, its effect on the case, and the whole phrase is treated as declinable. Bk. xxii., chap. xli., line 6, "*ad mille et septingenti cæsi.*"—*Signum defectionis.* "Was the signal for the revolt."—*Tamen.* Refers to the preceding clause, "although he was suffering from his wound."—*Tacito agmine.* "Without having given the usual signal to march."—*Loca altiora.* As opposed to the *campi patentes* near Placentia.—*Fefellit.* "Escaped Hannibal's observation."

20–36. *Loca omnia.* "All the parts."—*Dum terunt . . . emissus est.* See chap. xxix., line 1.—*Moratorum.* See chap. xlvii., line 12.—*Citra flumen.* On the side next Placentia; the east side or right bank of the Trebia.—*Revocatum.* He had been recalled on receipt of the news that Hannibal was in Italy.—*Procul inde.* About five Roman miles.—*Annius inopia.* Polybius states that his army was lavishly supplied.—*Clastidium vicum.* Clastidium lay on the west of the Trebia, which, however, was generally easy to cross; it is described as being in Gallic or Ligurian territory.—*Numerum.* Like *numerum vini*, a "quantity."—*Mittit.* Namely, "troops."—*Nummis aureis.* The gold *nummus* of Livy's time was worth about $5. Gold was first coined in Rome A.U.C. 536.—*Dasio.* The Dasii were the leaders of the national anti-Roman party in Brundisium.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1–20. *Constitisset.* "Had come to a stand."—*Novem . . . octo . . . tres.* In partitive apposition to *viginti.*—*Tenuerunt.* "Held their course."—*Æstus.* "The current."—*Consulem Romanum opperiens.* "Waiting to receive the Roman consul." Hiero would receive such a high dignitary with more than usual state: the governors of Sicily being only prætors.—*Messanam in portum.* "Into the harbor of Messana." See chap. lxi., line 37, "*Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.*"—*Præter viginti naves*, etc. "Besides the twenty ships forming the fleet to which they (the prisoners) themselves belonged."—*Lilybæum.*—The port opposite to Carthage.—*Credere.* "That they (the prisoners) believed," etc.—*Disjecti.* "Driven away from the rest."—*Dejecti.* "Driven down."

23–30. *Extemplo et circa.* "At once and in all directions," but the reading seems corrupt. Weissenborn has *extemplo a prætore et circa ad civitates.* Sauppe conjectures *et circa civitates.*—*Suos.* Not the inhabitants, but the Roman garrisons.—*Intenderent.* The imperative sentence put in the imperfect subjunctive, in *oratio obliqua*; "they must incite," etc. Some editors insert *qui* before *suos*, and translate, "to incite."—*Lilybæum.* Nominative case before the historic infini-

tive. The prætor was in Lilybæum, the seat of the Roman administration.—*Socii navales.* "The sailors."—*Cocta cibaria.* "Biscuit;" not flour or corn.—*Ut deferrent.* The complimentary final sentence after *edicto.*—*Qui . . . prospicerent.* Repeat *missi* from line 24.

32–43. *Morati.* Haenisch conjectures *moderati*, "regulated."—*Sublatis armamentis.* "With their sails and yards up."—*Erant.* "Were at once." For the plural, see Madvig, § 215, *a.*—*Demendis armamentis. Demere armamenta* means to furl the sails, take off the yards, and lower the masts, as a preparation for battle; for in battle the oars only were used.—*Et memoria circa ea loca.* "Trusting to the recollection of their exploits in that very neighborhood."—*Fretus.* This adjective retains its participial nature so far as to be construed with the ablative. (Madvig, § 268, *e.*) The allusion is to the battle off the Ægates. See chap. x., line 27.

CHAPTER L.

3–16. *Velle.* Historic infinitive: so *eludere*, etc.—*Eludere.* A fencing term, meaning to swerve so that the blow goes past the body. —*Ut . . . ita.* A comparison, where we use a contrast, "indeed," "but."—*Sicubi navis conserta esset.* "Wherever a ship came to close quarters." The subjunctive in iterative sentences is found chiefly in the later historians, and then only in the imperfect and pluperfect.—*Perforata.* "Pierced by the rostrum of the enemy."

18–33. *Secundum.* "Immediately after this engagement."—*Nondum gnaris*, etc. "Those who were in Messana not being as yet aware of it."—*Transgressusque . . . gratulatus precatusque.* The three participles are not co-ordinate; "and having, after he had gone on board the admiral's ship, congratulated," etc.—*Conata.* Participle used substantively. "Attempts."—*Quibusdam volentibus.* Perhaps the ablative absolute; the construction is generally explained as a Græcism, the case being the dative, *βουλομένῳ μοί ἐστι*; a construction found in Sallust and Tacitus.—*Profecti.* Masculine predicate of *rex regiaque classis.* (Zumpt, § 376.)

CHAPTER LI.

4–16. *Trajecit.* "Crossed."—*Cum paulo minus.* "With a little less than," etc. (Madvig, § 305.)—*Reditum*, scil. *est.*—*A consule*, etc. "Were sold by the consul and the prætor." *Veneo*, having a passive meaning, takes a passive construction.—*Ab ea parte.* "On that side." —*Stare.* "Lay at anchor."—*Depopulato.* Perfect participle: the

only part of *depopulor* used in good writers in a passive sense. *Vibo*, on the west coast of Bruttium.—*Urbem.* The said town of Vibo.

20–29. *Primo quoque tempore.* "The very first opportunity." In such phrases the superlative always precedes *quisque.*—*In naves impositum.* "Embarked on his ships." Polybius relates that he made his infantry take an oath to be at Ariminum in a certain number of days, each man finding his way as best he could.—*Mari supero.* The Adriatic.—*Quinquaginta navium classem explevit.* "He fitted up for him a fleet of fifty ships." He detached from his own fleet of 160 ships as many as raised the number under Æmilius to 50.—*Legens.* "Coasting along."—*Conjungitur.* "Unites himself." Unfortunately Livy does not tell us how this junction was effected, while Hannibal's cavalry had the command of the whole plain.

CHAPTER LII.

2–10. *Oppositum* and *declarabat* are attracted in number to *quidquid*, although, of course, they belong to *consules* as well. The participle and the substantive express the action performed on the subject considered in itself substantively. "The fact that both consuls, and whatever Roman forces there were, stood confronting Hannibal sufficiently declared," etc.—*Spem nullam aliam.* Like *quidquid virium*, a rhetorical exaggeration: there was an army in Spain, and plenty of raw material for new levies.—*Uno.* The skirmish at the Ticinus. He had been successful with his cavalry in Gaul.—*Recentis animi.* Characteristic genitive.—*Patiebatur.* "Would endure," "was for enduring."—*Per ambiguum favorem.* "By showing friendliness to both sides." (Andrews's *Dict.*) "Neutrality."

12–21. *Quid.* Object of *moverent.* "Provided they made no disturbance."—*Dictitans.* "Repeatedly asserting," in his vexation at their indecision.—*Iram.* "Provocation;" so bk. xxii., chap. i., line 14, *errore*, "by giving rise to error."—*Mixtos.* "Mixed with them."—*Deinceps.* In local sense, "successively," "district after district."—*Ad id.* "Up till then."—*Futuros.* "Who would be, as they hoped."

26–36. *Ut alia.* "Even if."—*Continendis in fide sociis.* "In keeping their allies loyal." Dative of gerundive, where the common construction is *ad continendos socios*, or, *ut contineret.*—*Primos defensos.* "The defence of the first who had needed assistance."—*Censebat.* This word, like *placebat*, is a formal expression, "gave his opinion." The question was discussed in a council of war.—*Mille peditum jaculatoribus ferme. Ferme* is to be taken with the numeral *mille*, which

belongs to *jaculatoribus*, on which the partitive genitive *peditum* is dependent.—*Sparsos.* The light Gauls and Numidians.—*Ad hoc graves.* "Laden besides with booty."—*Varia inde pugna*, etc. "When, after this, pursuing and retiring as the fortune of the battle changed, they had at last made the struggle even, yet the Romans had a greater report of victory than the report of the enemy." Madvig objects to this comparison of two *famæ*, and to the omission of *fama* before *hostium*, and conjectures *major tamen hostium cædes, penes Romanos fama victoriæ fuit.*

CHAPTER LIII.

1–15. *Ceterum*, etc. "But to no one did the victory seem greater or more complete," etc. Compare *justum prœlium.*—*Qua parte.* From here down to *Romanos*, in line 16, is in *oratio obliqua.*—*Foret.* This use of *forem* in a compound tense, instead of *essem*, is found in the historians; otherwise *forem*, in the same signification as *essem*, is used chiefly in conditional propositions, or propositions of purpose. (Madvig, § 377, Obs. 2.)—*Militibus.* The dative is never equivalent to the genitive. The dative is the person interested in the possession, hence the possession is emphatic; the genitive characterizes the possession by the possessor, hence the possessor is emphatic. (Gildersleeve, *Lat. Gram.*, § 349, Rem. 2.) "The soldiers had their courage restored and refreshed."—*Dilatam dimicationem.* "The final struggle (to be) delayed."—The perfect infinitive passive after verbs of will and desire generally omits *esse.* (Madvig, § 407, Obs. 1 and 2.)—*Aciem.* Object of *horrere* used transitively.—*Aut teri.* "Or, rather, wasted."—*Cis Iberum Hispaniam.* "Cisiberian Spain."—*Terraque in qua geniti forent.* "Their mother country."

16–22. A change to *oratio recta.*—*Ingemiscant.* Present subjunctive used rhetorically for the imperfect. See Madvig, § 347, *b*, Obs. 1.—*Dicionis.* Possessive genitive with *facio.* See Madvig, § 281, Obs.—*Prætorio.* The open place in front of the headquarters, used as a meeting-place for the soldiers.—*Tempus propinquum comitiorum.* "The approach of the time for the elections." At this period the consuls entered office on the Ides of March.

27–41. *Cerneret.* "Clearly saw."—*Haud diffidebat.* The negative *haud* is rare in model prose before a verb, except in the phrase *haud scio an.*—*Dum . . . esset*, etc. The subjunctive, as giving Hannibal's reasons for desiring a battle.—*Cessaretur.* Impersonal. *Cesso* implies blamable remissness or cowardly delay.—*Insidiis.* Dative of object for which.—*Pœnus.* The national name is introduced close to *insidiis* to suggest *Punica fides.* "He, being a Punic, began to look about for a place for an ambuscade"—*Φοινὶξ ὤν*, not *ὁ Φοινίξ.*

CHAPTER LIV.

3–15. *Inculta.* See chap. xxv., line 33.—*Equites tegendo.* The dative gerund with an accusative. Madvig on the passage remarks, "I do not know a single undoubted instance in prose where the dative of the gerund governs an accusative." For the case of *tegendo*, see again, Madvig, *Gr.*, § 415.—*Magoni ait.* Observe dative after *aio.* —*Centenos.* "A hundred from each class of troops."—*Prætorium.* "His staff," which accompanied him on his reconnoissance.—*Singulis vobis novenos.* "Nine apiece for each of you."—*Similes vestri. Similis* governs the genitive and dative. (Madvig, § 290, *f.*)—*Quem insideatis.* "For you to take post in."

17–23. *Magoni.* "For Mago's use." Dative of advantage.—*Transgressos . . . obequitare jubet.* "Orders to cross the Trebia and ride up to," etc.—*Injecto certamine.* "When a battle had been brought on."—*Ceteris ducibus.* That is, Mago and his officers.—*Instratis.* "Saddled."

25–38. *Ad tumultum.* "At," or "on the occurrence of the alarm." —*Ad destinatum*, i. e., *ad id quod ante destinaverat.—Brumæ.* Literally, "Of the shortest day."—*Ad hoc.* "In addition to this," namely, the bad state of the weather.—*Quidquid . . . appropinquabant.* "With every step they took towards the breeze of the river." So *quidquid progredior.—Ut vero*, etc. "But when, in pursuit of the retiring Numidians," etc. *Refugientes* is accusative with *Numidas.—Tum utique.* "Then certainly."—*Ut vix*, etc. "So that they scarcely had the power of holding their arms."—*Et simul*, etc. "And at the same time they were faint with fatigue and, as the day was now advancing, with hunger."

CHAPTER LV.

6–14. *Locat.* Namely, Hannibal.—*Quod virium quod roboris erat.* "Which was the strength and flower of his army."—*In cornibus.* "On the wings."—*Et ab cornibus*, etc. "And placed his elephants at intervals in each direction from the wings." They seem to have been stationed before the cavalry.—*Resistentibus subito.* "Suddenly halting."—*Receptui.* Dative of the object for which.—*Socium.* Genitive plural. (Madvig, § 37, Obs. 4.)

18–27. *Leves armaturæ.* "Bodies of light troops." The Baliares ceased their attack on the legions, and drew off at great speed to the wings.—*Equis.* Here it is the horses that are demoralized by the elephants; in the epitome of the thirteenth book we read that Lævinus

lost a battle with Pyrrhus from the consternation of his soldiers at the sight of these beasts.—*Pedestris pugna.* "The infantry battle." After the Baliarians and cavalry had crushed the Roman horse, Hannibal advanced his heavy infantry against the legions, on which, as we have seen, the slingers had made little impression.—*Contra.* "On the other hand."

31–37. *Simul latebras . . . præterlata est.* "As soon as the army had, without suspecting danger, been carried past their ambush."—*Velites.* Light troops in general, who fought in detached parties.—*Avertere et insecuti aversos.* "Forced them to turn, and then following them up," etc. (Madvig, § 424, Obs. 2.)—*Molli cute.* "Owing to the thinness of the skin."

CHAPTER LVI.

1–13. *In suos consternatos.* "Rushing in wild confusion on their own soldiers;" *in suos*, sc. *milites.*—*Media acie agi.* "To be driven from the middle of the line." *Acie* is the ablative of the place whence.—*Eoque.* "And thereby."—*In orbem.* "So as to form a circle;" or perhaps "in all directions." They had to oppose enemies on all sides.—*Media Afrorum acie.* "At the centre of the African line." The ablative without a preposition signifying in what way or direction movement is made (so *ire publica via*), being the designation of place regarded as means or manner.—*Gallicis auxiliis.* As at the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal had stationed his weakest troops in the centre.—*Interclusis flumine.* "For them cut off by the river."—*Præ imbri.* "Being hindered by the storm."—*Placentiam.* Names of towns, as the objects of motion, are in the accusative without a preposition. "They proceeded straightforward to Placentia."

15–32. *Eruptiones.* "Sallies."—*Inter cunctationem ingrediendi.* "During their hesitation to enter the river."—*Timor hostium.* Objective genitive. "Fear inspired by the enemy."—*Prope omnes.* Seven elephants are mentioned as lost in the attempt to cross the Apennines (in chap. lviii., line 30); the sole survivor carried Hannibal to the Trasimene lake. (Bk. xxii., chap. ii., line 31.)—*Reliquum ex magna parte militum.* That is, "*et ex magna parte quod militum reliquum est.*" "What was left of the army, for the most part."—*Trajicerent . . . sensere.* Observe the change of the subjects of the verbs, *trajicerent Romani; sensere Pœni.*—*Tacito agmine.* See chap. xlviii., line 13.—*Pado.* See note on *media acie*, line 8, above. "Having crossed (by) the Po."

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CHAPTER LVII.

1–16. *Romam.* A mere local designation, while *urbem Romanam* is the object of their patriotic pride and love.—*Quos alios duces*, etc. The accusative and infinitive in *oratio obliqua* represent rhetorical questions put in the indicative in *oratio recta.*—*Falleret.* "Escape detection."—*Id quod.* Weissenborn remarks that *Id quod* cannot begin a period, and that therefore we ought to place a comma only after *transgressus*, and write *id* without the capital letter.—*C. Flaminius.* This was his second consulship.

19–31. *Ut quæque*, etc. "Where the country was too rough for them."—*Emporium.* The port of Placentia.—*Plurimum.* This word is to be taken with *spei.* "As he had placed most of his hope with regard to success in the concealment of his enterprise." Hannibal had no siege-train, and avoided sieges in consequence. — *Consul.* Scipio.—*Quadrato agmine.* "In regular order of battle."—*Præsidium.* "The post;" that is, the *castellum* of line 23.

33–48. *Romanis munitum.* "Fortified by the Romans." For this dative of the agent, see Madvig, § 250, *a*; Zumpt, § 419.—*Frequentaverant*, etc. "Immigrants from the neighboring tribes around had filled or crowded the place."—*Agmina . . . acies.* "Detachments on the march rather than a regular line of battle." The reference, of course, is only to the inhabitants of Victumviæ.—*Ex altera . . . in altera.* These two expressions do not differ in meaning.—*Scribentibus.* "Historians."—*Adeo.* "To such an extent."—*Exemplum.* "A display of all licentiousness, cruelty, and inhuman insolence exhibited towards the wretched inhabitants."

CHAPTER LVIII.

2–12. *Prima ac dubia.* "At the first doubtful signs of spring."—*Adjuncturus.* "For the purpose of uniting." (Madvig, § 424, Obs. 5.)—*Aut vi aut voluntate.* "By exerting force or persuading them to join him voluntarily."—*Ut Alpium*, etc. "As to surpass even the storms of the Alps in foulness."—*Aut arma*, etc. "Either their arms had to be dropped, or, if they struggled against it, they were dashed to the ground, whirled round by the eddy (of the wind)."—*Vertice.* The *vortex.* The diversity of meanings of *vertex* leads the grammarians to consider the two forms of it as two distinct words. An eddy, the summit of a mountain, the human head, can be all called *vertices.* (Quinctilian, viii., 2.)—*Nec reciprocare animam sineret.* "And did not permit respiration."—*Ingenti.* Much more than *magnus*, "prodigious," "monstrous."

18-27. *Explicare nec statuere.* "To unfold their tents, or erect the poles."—*Perscindente vento.* "The wind tearing into ribbons," namely, the canvas or skins forming the tents.—*Aqua.* "The rain."—*Strage.* "Prostrate mass."—*Agitando*, etc. "By shaking their limbs." Supply *cœperunt*, from *cœptus est*, before *movere et recipere.*

Polybius does not mention this expedition, in which Hannibal sought to annex Etruria before the Romans could raise a new army.—As a piece of composition, this description of a *tormento* in the Apennines is worthy of careful study, both for the skill with which the climax is worked up, and for the arrangement of the words and clauses.

CHAPTER LIX.

1-16. *Ad Placentiam.* *Ad* with the name of the town implies "to the neighborhood of."—*Ad decem milia.* "About ten miles."—*Vincerent.* Supply *Romani* as subject, from *res Romana.*—*Confertos recepit.* "Drew back into close order."—*Romanus.* "The Roman general."

20-34. *Ipse.* "In person."—*Mediis castris.* "From the centre of the camp," i. e., by the central gate. Hannibal's camp is supposed to be arranged like a Roman one with four gates.—*Magis.* Separated from *sæva* to produce emphasis.—*Accensum.* "Commenced." Literally, "Kindled."—*Dimidium ejus.* "Half as many." *Ejus.* "Of that number."—*Pro numero.* See chap. xxix., line 7. *Numero.* The number of the slain.—*Sempronius.* Sempronius alone; for the army passed the winter at Placentia. See chap. lxiii.—*Ferme.* "For the most part."—*Ratam.* "Kept unbroken."—*Cum iis pacem.* "The treaty of peace with them," i. e., the Ligurians.

CHAPTER LX.

1-15. *Dum . . . geruntur.* Madvig, § 336, Obs. 2.—*Emporiis.* A colony of Massilia.—*Lacetani.* Perhaps an error for *Laletani;* the former were in the interior.—*Romanæ dicionis fecit.* See note on chap. liii., line 20.—*Ad maritimos. Ad* is equivalent to *apud*, "among."—*In mediterraneis ac montanis.* "In the interior and the mountains." See chap. xxxi., "*Mediterraneæ Galliæ.*"—*Ad ferociores jam gentes.* Compare chap. xxxviii., line 21. *Jam* is to be taken with the comparative, and marks a distinction from the tribes previously alluded to.—*Societas.* "An offensive alliance."—*Ad præsidium.* Equivalent to *ut præsideret.*—*Obviam eundum.* "That he must meet the enemy."

"That might be used against the consul."—*Privatus.* "Not having entered on his office."

25–39. *Non cum senatu*, etc. From these words down to *sumpturum*, in line 39, the sentiments of the senators are expressed in *oratio obliqua.*—*Consulem ante inauspicato factum.* "Having been on a previous occasion made consul without due auspices."—*Ex ipsa acie.* The recall reached Flaminius on the eve of battle; he refused to read it till the affair was over, and then pointed to the issue of the fight as a proof of his being duly created.—*In Capitolium*, etc. The passage gives a summary of the ceremonies which the consul on taking office had to go through. He left his house clad in the *prætexta*, and proceeded to the Capitol, where, in the temple of Jupiter, he made solemn vows for the state; he then held a meeting of the Senate, in which the time for the *feriæ Latinæ* was appointed.—*Optimi maximi.* A white bull was offered to *Jupiter Opt. Max.*—*In monte.* "On the Alban mount," where the temple of Jupiter Latiaris stood.—*Auspicato profectus.* This is in reference to a second visit to the Capitol, whither the consul again proceeded after taking the auspices, to vow certain gifts in case of success, and assume the *paludamentum*, or purple military cloak of a commander. He then marched away, preceded by his lictors, in full pomp and circumstance.—*Profectus.* "Having marched from his house."—*Clam.* "Without any one knowing it."—*Furtim.* "Like a thief."—*Solum vertisset.* "Changed his country." A technical term for going into exile: Cic., *Pro domo;* chap. xxx., "*vertendi, hoc est, mutandi soli causa.*"—*Magis pro majestate.* "In a manner more befitting the majesty," etc. *Magis* is used because the words *pro majestate* contain an adverbial conception.—*Videlicet.* Ironically, "forsooth."—*Apud penates suos.* "At the altars of his *penates.*"

40–52. *Retrahendumque.* "Brought back," in case of his not obeying the recall.—*Procul.* "At a distance," i. e., among those who stood at a distance from the sacrifice.—*Quid trepidaretur.* After *ignaros.* "Who knew not why there was any alarm."—*Terroris.* "Terrible occurrence."—*A. C. Atilio prætore.* These were Scipio's legions. Scipio had returned to Rome.—*Exercitus duci est cœptus.* An anacoluthon for *consul exercitum ducere cœpit.*

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BOOK XXII.

CHAPTER I.

1–16. *Cum Hannibal.* The so-called *cum inversum* with the indicative connects an event with circumstances previously mentioned. (Madvig, § 358, Obs. 1.)—*Ex hibernis.* His winter-quarters were on the Po, whither he had gone from Liguria.—*Nequidquam.* To be taken with *intolerandis frigoribus.* "In vain through the intolerable cold." Ablative of cause why the attempt was made "in vain."—*Ante.* See bk. xxi., chap. lviii., for this previous movement.—*Moratus cum periculo.* "Having stayed there with immense danger;" or, "his stay being attended with danger," etc.—*Pro eo ut*, etc. "Instead of themselves carrying off and driving away plunder from the lands of others."—*Suas.* Emphatic position. "Their own."—*Utriusque partis exercituum.* "The armies of either party."—*Viderent.* Subjunctive after *postquam* is rare in *oratio recta.* Here it indicates causal as well as temporal relation.—*Ipsorum inter se fraude.* "By their treachery to each other."—*Tegumenta.* Polybius more accurately says false hair. "Wigs."—*Errore.* "By producing mistakes as to his identity."—*Maturius.* "Sooner than he otherwise would."

18–24. *De re publica retulisse.* "Made a motion about (the state of) the republic." See Cæsar, *Bell. Civil.*, i., 1.—*Duos se.* From these words down to *posse* is in *oratio obliqua*, and hence the question, *Quod enim*, etc., is in the accusative and infinitive. (Madvig, § 405.)—*Id.* Namely, the right of taking auspices.—*In monte.* "The Alban mount." See bk. xxi., chap. lxiii., line 33.—*A domo.* The magistrates by their creation obtained the *auspicium*, but it was the rule that they should take the auspices for the first time on the day of their entrance upon office, and in Rome itself; so that they might take to the scene of their duties this right, as derived from the tutelary gods of their households and their country.—*Nec privatum.* Opposed to *magistratus* in line 21. "The auspices did not follow a man who had no official character."

27–42. *Militibus.* Namely, Roman soldiers.—*Equiti.* In the field the posts were visited by an *eques;* "a knight," not a trooper.—*Solis orbem minui visum.* A partial eclipse of the sun took place.—*Cælo.* "From heaven."—*Prænestæ.* Ablative case.—*Aquas Cæretes.* "The medicinal springs at Cære."—*Fontem Herculis.* One of the springs at Cære.—*Attenuatas.* See bk. xxi., chap. lxii., line 15.—*Ita scriptam.* "With the inscription."—*Appia via.* "In the Appian Way." When the road denotes place only, the preposition *in* is more usually employed.—*Minoribus dictu.* "Too small to be mentioned."

42 11. *Expiati.* Namely, by the omen.—*Procuratur.* "Be expiated."—*Lecta.* The regular book.—*Cui ea res dira.* "Pleasing to the gods."—*Cerealia.* Ablative case.—*Præferatur.* Supply *decemviri* as subject, and translate, "prescribed." These Sibylline books seem to have contained only formulæ of expiation, which were read aloud by the decemvirs.

52 64. *Paulo quinquagiata.* See bk. xxi., chap. lxii., line 21.—*Quintus.* Namely, *pecuniæ.*—*Quis et.* "Nay, even."—*Feroniæ.* The goddess of freedmen.—*Decembri.* Livy enumerates in this chapter the various ceremonies which took place during the year.—*Saturnalia.* The *Saturnalia* had long been in existence, and the passage must therefore mean that new ceremonies were introduced, or a more solemn proclamation to observe them made.

CHAPTER II.

1–18. *Dilecto.* The dative case.—*Arretium.* Livy thus makes Flaminius march from Ariminum to Arretium; Polybius sends Flaminius direct from Rome to Etruria, and Servilius to Ariminum, to cover the two great routes leading to Rome which we know as the Cassian and Flaminian roads.—*Solito magis.* "More than usual." *Solito*, ablative neuter.—*Necubi.* With a subjunctive of purpose, *necubi* is equivalent to *ut nusquam.*—*Gallos.* Whom he had enrolled during the winter.—*Equites.* Heavy cavalry.—*Cogere agmen.* "Bring up the rear."—*Mollis.* In bk. x., chap. xxviii., Livy describes the Gauls as being physically and morally indisposed for long exertion.—*Dilaberentur.* Imperfect. "Should attempt to straggle or halt."—*Qua.* Namely, *via.*—*Præaltas.* "Abrupt," not deepening gradually.—*Hausti paene*, etc. "Although almost swallowed up in the mud . . . yet," etc.

20–28. *Aut.* Madvig and Weissenborn insert *nec* before *aut.*—*Ubi procubuissent.* Compare bk. i., chap. xxxii., *id ubi dixisset.* The construction is analogous to that of *cum* with the iterative subjunctive.—*Maximeque omnium.* "Most of all."—*Obtinentibus.* "Covering."—*In sicco.* "In a dry spot."—*Itinere toto.* "Along the whole route." (Madvig, § 273, *c.*)—*Aqua.* Ablative after *exstaret.*

30 35. *Oculis.* Ablative of the part affected.—*Elephanto vectus . . . tamen.* "Although riding on the elephant . . . yet."—*Capitur.* "Receives an injury." The eye affected was the right, and the sight was permanently impaired. The notion that he became blind of one eye seems derived from Juvenal's line, *Cum Gætula ducem portaret bellua luscum.*

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CHAPTER III.

3–12. *Certum . . . habuit.* "Ascertained."—*Copias ad commeatus.* "Facilities for providing supplies."—*In rem.* "Of use."—*Summa.* Is to be taken with *cura.*—*Inquirendo exsequebatur.* "He thoroughly investigated."—*Italicæ.* Genitive dependent on *in primis.*—*Fæsulas inter.* Prepositions of more than two syllables follow relative pronouns only in the earlier writers; Livy sometimes, and Tacitus often, employ this inversion with substantives in imitation of the poets. —*Frumenti ac pecoris.* Genitive after *opulentus* as an adjective of fulness, which, however, still retains a trace of its participial nature, and therefore admits of *copia* in the ablative.

13–16. *Consul ferox.* "The consul was," etc.—*Ab.* "In consequence of."—*Non modo.* For *non modo non.* If the predicate is common to both clauses, but stands with the latter, the *non* after *non modo* is often omitted, the negation in *ne . . . quidem* being referred to the whole.—*Civilibus.* In his agrarian law for dividing the *ager Gallicus Picenus.*—*Bellicis.* His victory over the Gauls.

19–36. *Læva.* "On the left hand."—*Fæsulas petens.* This is scarcely reconcilable with *læva*, and Weissenborn suggests *a Fæsulis Senam petens.* Polybius describes him as retiring from near Fæsulæ.—*Medio agro.* Ablative of the way. See bk. xxi., chap. xxxviii., line 20.—*Prædatum.* Absolutely used, "for booty."—*Ferri agique.* "Carried off and driven away;" like *rapere et agere* in chap. i., line 6.—*Suum dedecus.* "A disgrace to him personally."—*Ceteris omnibus.* "All the others in the council of war;" namely, the Legati, Tribunes, and Primipili.—*Collegam.* From here down to *cohibendum* are remarks made in the council. The other consul was in Ariminum.—*Auxiliis levium armorum.* "Light-armed auxiliaries." Genitive of quality.—*Signum.* The signal for marching was given by the trumpet; for battle, by a purple or scarlet flag on the *prætorium*, or general's tent.—*Moverimus . . . acciverint.* Generally taken as future perfects. Observe the asyndeton in this speech.

38–48. *Signa convelli.* "To pluck up the standards and decamp." (Andrews's *Dict.*)—*Omni vi*, etc. "Although the standard-bearer tried with all his might to pluck it up."—*Num litteras*, etc. "Have you a letter too prohibiting me," etc. Some editions have *qui vetent.* "to prohibit."—*Primoribus.* The same persons as the *ceteri* in line 27.—*In vulgus.* "In general."—*Milite.* "The private soldier." We must remember that Flaminius was dear to them as a Plebeian, an enemy of the Patricians, and the proposer of an agrarian law. So great was the enthusiasm among the populace that the army was accompanied by crowds, carrying chains and handcuffs for the prisoners they hoped to buy cheap.

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CHAPTER IV.

The traveller from Cortona has on his left and in front of him a ridge of hills bending down towards the lake of Trasimene, called by Livy "*montes Cortonenses*," and now named the Gualandra. These hills he approaches at Ossaja, where the road begins to rise a little, but does not pass into the roots of the mountains until the sixty-seventh milestone from Florence. The ascent thence is not steep but perpetual, and continues for twenty minutes. The lake is soon seen below on the right, with Borghetto, a round tower, close to the water; and the undulating hills, covered with wood, among which the road winds, sink by degrees into the marshes near the tower. Lower than the road, down to the right, amid these woody hillocks, Hannibal placed his horse; above the road to the left is a ruin called the tower of Hannibal. The traveller soon finds himself in a vale enclosed to the left and in front by the Gualandra hills, bending round in a segment larger than a semicircle, and running down at each end to the lake, which forms the chord of the arc. A small stream called the Sanguinetto flows from the Gualandra into the lake, and an open spot between it and the hills is still pointed out as the principal scene of slaughter.—(Hobhouse.)

3–10. *Hosti.* Dative. See bk. xxi., chap. liii., line 4. — *Pervenerant.* Hannibal and his army.—*Nata.* "Destined by nature for," etc.—*Subit.* "Comes close under the hills."—*Ubi . . . consideret.* "To encamp in person, with," etc. A sentence of design, and therefore with the verb in the subjunctive. Livy's account of the scene differs widely from that given by Polybius, who places the field of battle not between the lake and the mountains, but in a narrow pass with mountains on both sides and the lake in the rear.

15–28. *Inexplorato.* "Without reconnoitring." See Madvig, § 429, Obs. 1, for this use of the ablative of the participle. —*Ex adverso.* "In front of him."—*Ab tergo ac super caput insidiæ.* "The ambuscades in his rear and overhead escaped his notice." — *Clausum habuit.* "When he had the army shut in," etc. See Madvig, § 427. —*Campo . . . montibus.* Ablative of the place where, without preposition. See Madvig, § 273. Compare bk. i., chap. xxxiv., *carpento sedenti.*—*Inter se conspecta.* "Mutually visible;" visible to each other, not to the Romans.—*Clamore prius.* The word *prius* belongs to *sensit*, not to *orto.* "The Romans perceived by the shouts from all sides that they were surrounded, before that they clearly saw (the surrounding enemy)."—*Expediri arma.* The soldier had to bring in front his shield, suspended on the march behind his left shoulder; put on his helmet, which hung by a strap behind his right shoulder; lay down the stakes he carried to form palisades with, and grasp his *pilum.*

CHAPTER V.

1–6. *Ut in re trepida.* "Considering the confusion."—*Vertente se quoque.* "As each turned at the varied shouts;" *quoque* is ablative of *quisque.*—*Nec enim . . . periculi esse. Oratio obliqua* without the introductory word of saying.

11–17. *Tantum aberat ut.* In this phrase *abest* is impersonal. (Madvig, § 440, Obs. 1.)—*Signa* denotes the maniple; *ordines*, the century; *locum*, the place in the ranks.—*Ad gemitus.* "At the groans," i. e., on hearing, etc.—*Vulnerum.* "On account of, or caused by the wounds." A very free use of the genitive; or, *vulnerum* may be the abstract for the concrete, "wounded."—*Strepentium paventiumque.* "Of the shouting assailants and the terror-stricken defenders."

20–30. *Impetus capti*, not *facti;* because a special exertion is meant. "Charges were hurriedly and desperately made."—*Claudebat.* The imperfect, as the tense of continuance, between the perfects *capti* and *apparuit.* "Were still confining them."—*De integro.* "Afresh."—*Non illa ordinata.* "Not that well-known duly arranged."—*Principes, hastati, triarii.* The army was formed in three lines, the *hastati* in the first, the *principes* in the second, the *triarii* in the third line. Livy puts the *principes* first, because that was their position when a battle was recommenced after the defeat of the first line of *hastati.*—*Cohorte.* A tenth part of a legion, consisting of three *manipuli.*—*Eum motum terræ.* The story of the earthquake "that reeled unheededly away" is from Cælius Antipater. As the names of the cities overthrown by it are not given, we have no means of judging whether the line of the shock was likely to pass through the Trasimene lake.

CHAPTER VI.

3–16. *Robora virorum.* "Picked troops."—*Insuber.* One of the Gallic tribe which Flaminius had conquered in his first consulship.—*Ducario.* "His name was Ducarius." In the expression . . . *nomen est*, the name itself may stand either in the nominative in apposition to *nomen*, or in the dative by attraction, as is more often the case. Here supply *ei.*—*Manibus.* "To the *Manes.*"—*Infesto. Infestus* implies hostile attack, *infensus* hostile disposition.—*Triarii.* "Some triarii."

18–33. *Per omnia arta*, etc. Compare bk. xxi., chap. xxxii., line 31: "*per confragosa omnia.*" "Through nothing but defiles and precipices."—*Fuere quos . . . impulerit.* The characteristic relative; for the mood, see Madvig, § 365.—*Capessere.* Infinitive after *impulerit*, a poetical

construction; the ordinary prose form being *ad* with the gerundive.—*Ac* is used, not *et*, because stress is to be laid on the following phrase.—*Sine spe.* "Hopeless."—*Cum incalescente sole dispulsa*, etc. "When the scattering of the mist by the increasing heat of the sun," etc.—*Perditas res.* "The utter ruin and foul overthrow of the Roman army." *Fœde* is to be taken with *stratam.*

37–40. *Extrema* belongs to *fames.* Nägelsbach (*Stilistik*, § 23, 4) takes it with *cetera*, and translates, "in addition to their other afflictions."—*Punica religione.* The usual sneer at Punic faith. See bk. xxi., chap. iv., line 34.—*Atque.* Like *ac* in line 23. Hannibal at once stated that his subordinate Maharbal had exceeded his commission in making such a promise.

CHAPTER VII.

2–15. *Inter paucas memorata.* "Especially memorable." *Inter paucas* does not refer to the number of the Roman defeats, but to the degree in which this one was remarkable.—*Multiplex.* "Many times the number given above."—*Haustum ex vano.* "Drawn from an untrustworthy source."—*Scribentium.* "Historians."—*Fabium.* Fabius Pictor. See bk. i., chap. xliv., line 10.—*Potissimum auctorem habui.* "I have regarded as the best authority."—*Dimissis.* Before *captivorum* supply *iis*, the antecedent to the relative clause *qui . . . essent.*—*Flaminii corpus.* Hannibal, in his care for his dead opponents, exhibits a marked contrast to Nero in his treatment of Hasdrubal's corpse. After the battle of Cannæ, the body of Æmilius was, according to some accounts, duly buried by the Carthaginians.—*Magna cum cura. Cum* is added to the ablative of manner when reference is made to something accompanying the action. (Madvig, § 257.)

19–25. *Repens* is to be joined with *adlata*, and translated as if an adverb. "Unexpectedly reported."—*Curiam.* The edifice in which the magistrates were assembled.—*Domos.* "Home." See bk. xxi., chap. lxi., line 30.—*Alius . . . impleti referunt.* A partitive expression involving a notion of plurality is often joined with a plural predicate. Cicero alone avoids the construction.

28–46. *Quot casus exercitus victi.* Namely, death, wounds, imprisonment, flight.—*Meruerant.* "Had served."—*Deinceps.* An adverb, used as an adjective to *diebus*, co-ordinate with *postero.* "Following days."—*Major multitudo.* The women were more numerous, as most of the men were with the army.—*Circumfundebantur.* The imperfect of continuance.—*Cerneres.* The ideal second person.—*Gaudia.* The plural of abstract nouns denotes a repetition of the thing, or, as here,

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its existence in different objects.—*Resisti posset.* "Resistance could be made."

CHAPTER VIII.

1–13. *Repens.* See previous chapter, line 19.—*Ducere . . . æstimare.* Historic infinitives.—*Quamvis levis causa.* "A sickness however slight."—*Quam valido.* For *quam in valido.* The preposition is generally, in Cicero always, repeated after disjunctive conjunctions.—*Inciderit.* The future perfect from the speaker's point of view. Madvig reads *incideret.*—*Non rerum,* etc. "Not by the magnitude of the events, but by the weakness of its powers."—*Magnitudine.* The ablative of measure. The preposition *ex* and *ab* are generally used in the earlier writers.

16–25. *Dictatorem dicendum.* "To the appointment of a dictator." Preposition *ad* is omitted. A dictator was appointed, on the order of the Senate or people, by one of the consuls; and during his continuance in office, other magistracies, except the tribuneship of the people, were subordinate to him, and the consuls were not allowed to display any ensigns of authority before him. As the office was held for six months, and as Fabius laid it down in autumn, this creation must have been made in April. The battle at Lake Trasimene must, therefore, have been fought in early spring, although, from the confusion in the Roman calendar, Ovid, in his Fasti, gives as the date the 23d of June. M. Minucius had been consul four years before he became *magister equitum.*—*Dimicandum esse.* Infinitive in *oratio obliqua,* after a word of saying implied in *negotium dat.*

CHAPTER IX.

1–7. *Recto itinere.* Hannibal after the battle marched eastward, till he reached the road which had been built by his unfortunate opponent, Flaminius, during his censorship, and followed it through Umbria.—*Perpopulato.* Perfect participle in a passive sense.—*Moles.* "The size and strength, and the difficulty of storming the city."—*Romanæ urbis.* Emphatic position.—*Copia . . . præda.* The former is "provisions;" the latter, "plunder to be carried off."

10–19. *Aliquot dies.* This time was occupied in arming the troops in Roman fashion.—*Hibernis itineribus,* etc. Ablatives after *adfectus.*—*Ad eventum.* "With reference to the event."—*Levi.* "With light loss."—*Facili.* "With small exertion."—*Satis quieti datum.* "When he had satisfied the longing for repose of soldiers who delighted in," etc. *Gaudentibus* sc. *militibus* may either be a second dative after *datum,*

or, as Fabri takes it, an ablative absolute of the reason why the halt was so short.—*Marsos, Marrucinos, Pelignos.* Names of the peoples put for names of the territories.—*Apuliæ.* Dative after *proximam.*—*Prœliis actis.* After the analogy of *bellum agere.*

23–38. *Dictator.* Livy and the other historians call him so, in spite of the statement in the previous chapter.—*Iterum.* Fabius had been dictator four years before, for holding the *comitia* for the election of consuls.—*Inscitia.* "Inexperience."—*Quæque,* etc. "And that the gods themselves must be consulted as to what means of expiating," etc.—*Adire libros.* This expression, like *adire oracula,* means "to approach for the purpose of consulting."—*Quod ejus belli,* etc. "That, as the vow which had been made to Mars on account of this war had not been rightly performed, it must be performed afresh," etc.—*Faciundum esse.* Infinitive in *oratio obliqua* after *rettulerunt.*—*Erycinæ.* A Phœnician goddess identified with Venus, whose temple was at Mt. Eryx, in Sicily. She is mentioned in connection with Æneas, in Virgil, *Æn.,* v., 759.—*Bellatum esset . . . permansisset.* The pluperfect in *oratio obliqua* representing the future perfect in *oratio recta:* see the formula in chap. x., line 9.—*Ex collegii sententia,* etc. "That all these things be rightly done according to the directions of the college of Pontifices."

CHAPTER X.

2–4. *Consulente collegio prætorum.* This seems an erroneous reading, as Æmilius alone was commissioned. Weissenborn approves Lipsius's reading, *consulente collegium prætore; collegium* being the college of Pontiffs, in whose name the *pontifex maximus* replies.—*Injussu.* "Without the command."

6–22. *Velitis jubeatis.* With these words the form of proposing a law in the comitia began; and ended with *hæc vos, Quirites, rogo.* The mood, therefore, here is the subjunctive of indirect interrogation.—*Populus Romanus Quiritium.* The legal style and title was either the above, or *Populus Romanus Quirites,* with *et* omitted, or *Pop. Rom. Quiritesque.*—*Duellis.* Livy uses this archaic form of *bellum* only in ancient formulas.—*Duit.* Old present subjunctive of *do.* Observe the alliteration here.—*Profana.* "Not yet dedicated to any god."—*Fieri.* "To be offered." Zumpt regards the clause from *id fieri* as in apposition to *donum.* Weissenborn makes it dependent on *jusserit.*—*Jusserit.* Singular, as *senatus populusque* are regarded as constituting one idea.—*Lege.* "Rites."—*Facito.* The future or second imperative, third person singular. This imperative looks forward to contingent fulfilment, and occurs in laws and the like.—*Faxit.* Old perfect subjunctive of *facio.* The performance is assumed to have

taken place, while *faciet* would denote simple futurity.—*Neque.* Here equivalent to *et ne.*—*Rumpet.* "Injure."—*Clepsit.* Perfect subjunctive from *clepo.*—*Cui cleptum erit.* "From whom it shall have been stolen."—*Atro die.* A day on which some calamity had befallen the state, and on which sacrifices were forbidden.—*Anteidea.* Old form of *antea.*—*Ac.* An equivalent to *quam.*—*Faxitur.* Perfect subjunctive passive. These forms, occurring in old laws, and in Plautus, seem to arise from adding *s* to the stem, as in the Greek future. See Roby's *Grammar*, § 619; Madvig, § 115; Zumpt, § 161.—*Solutus liber.* The conjunction *et* is omitted, as in *Patres conscripti* and other old phrases.

23–36. *Æris.* Supply *assium.* In the dictatorship of Fabius, the *as* had been reduced to an ounce in weight, but in religious affairs the original pound *as* was meant.—*Bubus Jovi.* Supply *fieri*, with which verb the ablative of the thing offered is most common.—*Iere.* Plural predicate, with collective noun as subject.—*Agrestium.* Supply *ii* antecedent to *quos contingebat cura.*—*In aliqua fortuna sua.* "In concern for any prosperity of their own;" as opposed to *publica cura*, "anxiety for the state." The gods here named are the twelve *Dii majores* or *consentes*, and are all genuine Italian deities with the exception of Apollo, whose worship was early introduced; he seems here to be in the place of *Dianus* or *Janus.*—*Cujus . . . esset.* In *oratio obliqua*, as being a quotation from the books of fate.

CHAPTER XI.

2–21. *Rettulit.* "Made a motion." He brought the question before them by asking each, *Quid de . . . censes?*—*Scriberet.* "Enrol."—*E re publica.* "For the interest of the state."—*Duceret.* Subjunctive, as dependent on the subjunctive *ageret.* "As he thought."—*Tibur.* Accusative of the place to which the troops had to proceed, for the purpose of being embodied.—*Qua.* "Through which." Ablative of the way.—*Ne cujus.* After *ne* and *si*, *quis* has the meaning of *aliquis.*—*Flaminia.* The celebrated Flaminian Way from Rome to Ariminum, built by the late consul during his censorship.—*Viatorem.* An official attached to a magistrate, "an apparitor."—*Dictatorem.* Not *se*, because the respect was due to him only in the character of dictator.

23–32. *Vetustate.* The last dictator, *rei gerundæ causa*, not merely for holding the *comitia*, had been appointed in the First Punic War, after the defeat of Drepana, thirty-two years before Fabius's appointment.—*Cosanum.* A harbor on the coast of Etruria.—*Ad urbem Romanam.* Namely, those which were in reserve in the dock-yards at

the city.—*Quibus liberi essent.* "Those, that is, who had children," and therefore a stake in the country.—*In verba jurarerant.* "Took the oath" to proceed to the rendezvous. See chap. xxxviii., line 5.

CHAPTER XII.

6–19. *Summa cum cura.* See chap. iii., line 9, and note there.—*Commissurus.* "Determined not to put himself in the power of fortune." (Madvig, § 424, Obs. 5.) In the older writers, the future participle is generally used with some part of the verb *sum*, and expresses relations of time only.—*Quo primum die.* "Immediately on the day when," etc.—*Eduxeret.* "Drew out his forces."—*Debellatum et concessum esse.* The perfect infinitive passive used impersonally. "That the war was over, and that there was clearly a withdrawal of all claims to valor or glory."—*Esset . . . quæsissent.* Subjunctive with *quod;* as giving Hannibal's reasons in the form of an indirect quotation from his thoughts.

21–33. *Extemplo.* "From the very first."—*Modo . . . modo.* These words are to be taken with *abibat* and *subsistebat.* The imperfect implies repetition of the action.—*Occultus.* "In secret."—*Usus necessario.* Here only *pabulum et ligna* had to be sought, for provisions were carried by the troops.—*In subitos tumultus.* "Against sudden attacks."—*Universo periculo.* That is, in a general battle on which everything was staked.

39–45. *Nihil aliud quam.* "Nothing else than the fact that he was subordinate to the dictator."—*Morœ.* Dative after *habuit.*—*Pro.* "Instead of."—*Premendoque.* "And, by disparaging his superior, sought to raise himself."

CHAPTER XIII.

1–17. *Ex Hirpinis.* "From the territory of the Hirpini." This tribe is mentioned as distinct from the Samnites; the confederation of the Samnite tribes being broken up by the successes of the Romans. *Samnium* lies north of the Hirpini. This detour and the story of the Capuan equites are omitted by Polybius.—*De industria.* "Purposely."—*In æquum certamen.* "A battle on level ground;" so *in æquum* in chap. xii., line 26.—*Copiam fore.* "There would be an opportunity for gaining possession of Capua."—*Res major quam auctores.* "The matter was too great to be undertaken on the assurances of these men." Literally, "greater than the vouchers."—*Alternis.* Adverbially, "by turns."—*Etiam atque etiam.* The words *etiam atque etiam* are to be taken with *monitos.*—*Principum.* "Of the senators." The

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aristocracy in the Italian towns was, as a body, in favor of Rome; if, therefore, any of its members could be gained, the movement would assume a national character.

18–34. *Duci.* "The guide."—*Edoctus. Doceo* in the active voice admits two accusatives; in the passive, an accusative of the thing: here the accusative is the clause (*se*) *exitum interclusurum.*—*Prolatione.* "The pronunciation of Latin names."—*Circumspexisset.* "Saw on all sides."—*Esset.* Subjunctive in indirect question.—*Alia regione.* "In another direction."—*Ad.* "For."—*Aquas.* "The hot springs."—*Fide.* Ablative of separation, "from their allegiance."—*Videlicet.* "Plainly," without any notion of irony.

CHAPTER XIV.

1–7. *Castra.* Hannibal's camp.—*Fabio ducente.* "When Fabius was leading his army."—*Solito.* "Than usual." Compare chap. ii., line 7.—*Prohibendam populationibus.* The usual construction with *prohibere* is to put the hostile person or thing in the accusative. (Zumpt, § 469.)

11–51. Speech of Minucius. Livy puts into the mouth of the magister equitum the sentiments of the influential party who undervalued Fabius, and clamored for a quick and decisive engagement.—*Ut rem fruendam oculis.* "As a thing pleasant to be looked at."—*Alterius.* Here *alter=alius quis.*—*Pro.* An interjection. "Alas!" "This is, perhaps, not an imitation of a natural sound, but a word" (Roby, *Gram.*, § 999).—*Ut præter quam.* "That coast of theirs along which they thought it a disgrace for Punic ships to cruise."—*Qui modo*, etc. "We, who just now, in our indignation that Saguntum was stormed, were invoking," etc. Observe the gerund nearly equivalent to a present participle active.—*Romanæ.* Emphatic position.—*Strepunt aures.* "Our ears ring."—*Invocantium.* To be joined with *sociorum*; "invoking us oftener than the aid of the gods."—*Æstivos saltus.* The woody highlands, to which the cattle are driven in summer.—*Devias.* "Sequestered paths."—*Gallorum.* "In the possession of the Gauls."—*Hannibali.* "For Hannibal," etc.—*Cum esset.* "Although Janiculum was a high enough spot for him to sit down in and look abroad at the enemy."—*Qua nunc busta sunt.* When a preceding word is explained by a substantive with *esse*, the relative takes the gender and number of the explanatory substantive.—*Debellari posse.* "That the war can be concluded."—*Armari oportet deducendas.* Weissenborn, after Heerwagen, reads *armari oportet et descendas . . . et vir cum viro congrediaris.* If this reading is adopted, observe the change of construction: *oportet*, signifying "duty," takes the accusative with the

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infinitive; signifying "it is necessary," the subjunctive without *ut*. (Madvig, § 373, Obs. 1.)

54, 55. *Militaris suffragii esset.* Compare for this use of the genitive with the verb *sum* the frequent *dicionis esse.*—*Ferebant.* "The soldiers affirmed."—*Ducem.* This reading is a conjecture by Gronovius, "as their leader."

CHAPTER XV.

2–17. *Prius ab illis invictum.* A preferable reading is *ab aliis.*—*Reliquum æstatis.* See note on bk. xxi., chap. xxxiii., line 21.—*Ab spe*, etc. "The hope of the battle which he had sought for with all his power."—*Summa ope.* Ablative of manner, qualifying *petiti.*—*Circumspectaret.* "Was looking about for."—*Præsentis copiæ.* "Affording supplies for the present, not for the whole year."—*Arbusta.* In free apposition with *regio.*—*Sciret.* Namely, Fabius.—*Intraverat.* Sc. Hannibal.—*Dirempta.* "Cut in two by the River Vulturnus."

20 35. *Qui ex turba*, etc. "Who being one of the crowd of young men."—*Vagos.* "Roaming."—*Occupatus certamine.* "Seized with a longing for an engagement."—*Exciderunt.* Namely, *animo.* Compare Virg., *Æn.*, i., 26.—*Quantum tuto posset*, etc. "Having advanced as far as he safely could."—*Ipsum cum fatigatione equorum.* "The commander himself with his tired horses and men." The abstract *fatigatio* is used for the concrete *fatigati.*—*Summa*, etc. "The supreme command of the cavalry."—*Avertisset hostes.* "Had compelled the enemy to turn."—*Omni parte virium.* Not only were his men and horses exhausted, but also inferior in number.

41–44. *Appiæ.* Supply *viæ.* *Limes* here means the same as the usual *agger.* "By the embankment of the Appian Way."—*In viam.* Polybius states that the road was occupied by 4000 men, while the dictator with the bulk of his forces took post on the hills to the right.—*Duo milia.* Supply *passuum.* "Two miles."

CHAPTER XVI.

3–9. *Æquiore loco.* "In a more advantageous position."—*Carptim.* "Piecemeal." Adverb, from *carpere*, "to pluck at." Repeated attacks on different sides were made to cut off stragglers or detached bodies of troops.—*Ex voluntate.* "In accordance with the wish."

10–26. *Videri.* Historic infinitive.—*Tantum sociorum.* "So many wealthy allies."—*Subveheret* is in the singular, as the various places

named are considered as forming one idea.—*Suis artibus*, defined in bk. xxi., chap. xxxiv., line 3, by *fraude et insidiis.—Necubi . . . adgrederetur.* To be taken with *superandum.* "Callicula had to be crossed in order that the Romans might not attack," etc.—*Oculorum.* The objective genitive. "A trick for their eyes."—*Hasdrubali.* According to Polybius, this officer was at the head of his baggage-train.—*Accensis cornibus.* "Their horns set on fire." By hypallage for "the fagots on their horns set on fire." Compare Samson's stratagem, Judges xv., 4.—*Super saltus.* "Over the passes occupied by the enemy."

CHAPTER XVII.

5–26. *In adversos montes.* "Up the mountains," by the sides of the pass.—*Ad vivum.* "To the quick."—*Silvis*, etc. "As though the woods had been purposely set on fire, all the bushes around burst into flame."—*Præsidio.* "Their post."—*Tutissimum iter.* Polybius assigns as the reason of their ascending to the heights their belief that Hannibal was crossing there.—*Levi armaturæ.* "The light-armed troops."—*Neutros incipientes tenuit.* "Kept them so that neither began." A kind of prolepsis.—*Hostium.* Genitive after *quibusdam.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

3–13. *Munimentis.* Like *castris tenere;* the ablative of place being regarded as manner or means.—*Campestrem*, etc. "An enemy accustomed to the plains, heavily armed, and in regular order of battle."—*Elusit.* See note on bk. xxi., chap. l., line 3.

22–35. *Jugis.* Like *via.* The ablative of the way.—*Agens cum magistro.* "Endeavoring to move the master of the horse."—*Ut . . . imitetur.* These words are dependent on *agens*, while *ne censeret* is the subjunctive representing the direct imperative. "He must not hold the opinion."—*Proficere.* Infinitive in *oratio obliqua;* a word of saying being implied in *agens.—Hæc prænonito.* As *moneo* admits in the active an accusative of the person, and also a neuter pronoun in the accusative denoting the advice given, it admits the latter as an object in the passive.

CHAPTER XIX.

The chapters from the nineteenth to the twenty-second inclusive contain the accounts of the struggle in Spain, continued from bk. xxi., chap. lxi.

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16–22. *Propior ei.* "Nearer the enemy."—*Ad quem capiendum si . . . quia*, etc. "And since, if an advance to take it were made openly by day, the enemy," etc.—*Contempta.* "Contemptible."—*Dijecissent.* A common military term. "Dislodged."—*Exiguum spatii.* Accusative of extent.

30–43. *Dimicatum auctores sunt.* As *auctor sum* is equivalent to a transitive verb, it takes the construction of a transitive verb. Livy probably follows the history of Fabius Pictor, who depreciated the actions of Minucius. Polybius mentions an attack on Hannibal's camp which was saved by the arrival of Hasdrubal and his foragers.—*Boviani.* The locative. "At Bovianum."—*Unde erat.* The indicative is commonly used by the historians in relative definitions, although they are parts of a quotation. (Madvig, § 369, Obs. 2.)—*Toto Samnio.* The ablative without a preposition, as *totus* is joined with it. (Madvig, § 273, c.) This account of Numerius Decimius is to explain how he came to be in command. The allied troops were under Roman officers when joined to the army, but came up from their districts under their own leaders.—*Quinque admodum.* "About five thousand."—*Vanioribus.* Livy uses the comparative, because in his opinion the *fama victoriæ* was *vana.*

CHAPTER XXV.

2–16. *Contione.* In the popular assemblies convened by the tribunes of the plebs.—*Ut vera*, etc. "Granting that," etc.—*Id enim negat.* "Says that this is not to be borne." As in the common *sed enim*, an ellipsis is to be supplied; "he must speak, for this is not to be borne."—*Ac sedulo.* "Ay, and that designedly."—*Ducendo bello.* "In protracting the war."—*Quorum neutra provincia.* "Neither of whose provinces." A better reading is *quarum.*

20–28. *Quo jam tamquam*, etc. "Out of which, as if from a trans-Iberian district, they had withdrawn before the Carthaginians." *Pœnis* is the dative, *quo* the ablative of separation.—*Legionibus.* Ablative of means after *tutante.*—*Tandem ut.* "At length, as soon as," etc.—*Ut obsidione.* "As though freed from a blockade."—*Si antiquus*, etc. An unreal condition in *oratio obliqua.* "If the Roman people had retained their ancient spirit, he would have brought in," etc.

Minucius's words in direct speech would be, *Si antiquus animus plebi Romanæ esset, audacter retulissem.* See Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, i., 34: *si quid opus esset, etc.*

34–41. *In actione minime popularis.* Hypothetically, "since if he had gone to plead his cause before the people he would have been by no means well received." (Weissenborn.)—*Dictum suum.* "His order."—*Bono imperatore.* "If the general is good."

51–54. *Auctoritas.* "Weight," "influential support."—*Patrem lanium*, etc. "His father had been a butcher, had in person peddled his goods, and had employed," etc.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1–18. *Ex eo genere.* To be taken with *pecunia relicta.* "The money made by this sort of trade and left to him by his father."—*Proclamando.* "By bawling." Cicero expressly contrasts a *proclamator* with an *orator.*—*Honores.* The smaller offices, such as those of the *tresviri capitales; decemviri stlitibus judicandis*, etc.—*Dictatoria.* "Against the dictator."—*Acceperunt latum.* "Took it to have been passed." This chapter contains a studied contrast between Fabius as proud and unbending, and Varro as vain and courting popularity; and probably does great injustice to the latter. "We are not told that he was ever tribune, and it is without example in Roman history that a mere demagogue, of no family, with no other merits, military or civil, should be raised to such nobility. Even after his defeat at Cannæ, he was employed in various important offices." (Arnold.) After Cannæ, his conduct at Canusium was that of a brave general and a good citizen. He rallied the wreck of his army, and had that supreme courage, which the unfortunate Paulus confessed he had not, the courage to meet a disappointed people, and to bear whatever obloquy or punishment popular feeling and party animosity were likely to heap on him. "The fate of P. Claudius and L. Junius might have warned him of the dangers which threatened a defeated general; he was personally hateful to the prevailing party at Rome; and if the memory of Flaminius was persecuted, notwithstanding his glorious death, what could he look for, a fugitive general from that field where his colleague and all his soldiers had perished?" Nothing can speak more clearly in favor of the man whom historians have so vilified than the resolution of the Senate, composed as it was of bitter political enemies, which thanked him with such noble simplicity, "because he had not despaired of the republic."

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CHAPTER XXVII.

3–19. *Hannibale victo.* Ablative of cause.—*Gloriari.* Historic infinitive.—*Parem.* "Match for."—*Tremere*, etc. An allusion to L. Papirius Cursor, and his magister equitum Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. Fabius attacked the Samnites during the dictator's absence, against his express commands, and gained a brilliant victory. Papirius ordered his execution, and, turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of the soldiers, the Senate, and M. Fabius, the father of the culprit, was only induced by the supplications of the people to spare his life. See bk. viii., chaps. xxx.–xxxv. — *Deorum hominumque.* The judgment of the gods was shown by their having given him the victory; of the people, by their giving him equal powers.—*Alterius.* Possessive genitive with *esse.*

24–32. *Sibi communicatum cum.* The dative is found with *communicare* only when a second personal object with *cum* occurs.—*Qua posset.* Supply *non cedere.* Translate, "He would never willingly give up that part of the *imperium* which he could retain, namely," etc.—*Consilio.* Adverbially joined with *gerendarum.*—*Exercitum.* Supply *sed.*—*Socium.* Genitive plural.—*Se separari.* See Zumpt, § 610.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

3–15. *Agerentur.* "Were being done."—*Nam.* Supply *cogitabat.* —*Liberam.* "Free from all control."—*Quem.* Here equivalent to *et hunc.* "And whoever should seize this," etc.—*Occupasset.* Pluperfect subjunctive, expressing more clearly the action that precedes.—*Non modo.* For *non modo non.* See chap. iii., line 13.

19–41. *Ducenos.* "Two hundred apiece."—*Deposcere.* Historic infinitive.—*Dimittit.* "He detaches."—*Laborantibus suis.* "When his men were hard pressed in different places."—*Inferiore loco.* "From lower ground."—*Justa*, as opposed to *tumultuaria; recta*, "face to face," as opposed to *ex insidiis.*—*Prospere* qualifies *gesta*, from which it is separated for the sake of emphasis.—*Eum tumultum*, etc. "Such confusion and terror by their attacks on both flanks and on the rear."

CHAPTER XXIX.

2–12. *Ita est.* "Yes, it is so." (Nägelsbach, § 197.)—*Imperio.* Ablative of measure or reference.—*Hosti.* "From the enemy."—*Demissa* is to be taken with *ad auxilium.*

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14–21. *Suos.* Their fellow-soldiers. Here, the troops of Minucius. —*Pœnus . . . Hannibale.* The rule that the ablative absolute cannot be used when the idea which forms its subject occurs as the subject in the main proposition is not violated here; *Pœnus* denotes Hannibal as the representative of his nation, the ablative absolute as simply a person. (Madvig, § 428, Obs. 1.)

25–35. *Audivi.* He quotes Hesiod, *Works and Days*, line 293.—*Extremi.* Here, "the lowest."—*Arma, dextera.* An asyndeton. "Arms and right hands."—*Patronos salutabitis.* "Will salute them as your *patroni*." The verb in the second person future represents a positive imperative.

CHAPTER XXX.

1–13. *Ut colligantur vasa.* "That the baggage be packed up."—*Omnes qui circa erant.* The legates and tribunes.—*Tribunal.* On the left of the prætorium.—*Ejus.* Sc. of Fabius.—*Agmen.* The troops of Minucius.—*Oneratus . . . honoratus.* "Which was rather onerous than an honor." For a similar play upon words, see bk. i., chap. lviii., "*hostis pro hospite;*" bk. iii., chap. lx., "*spreti aut non sperati.*" Generally in speeches.

14–18. *Antiquo*, to vote against a new law; *abrogo*, to vote for the repeal of an old one. In this case the latter is added to correct the former.—*Servato ac servatori.* "To the preserved and the preserver."—*Magisterium.* "The mastership." Weissenborn reads, *magistrum equitum hos ordinibus suis quemque tenere*, and translates, "Order me as master of the horse to retain these, each in his proper rank."

22–30. *Perlata.* Supply *eo*, "thither."—*Maximum.* The cognomen of Quintus Fabius.—*Gloria.* "His glory."—*Sentire.* Namely, Hannibal.—*Biennio.* The length of time within which is put in the ablative with or without *in*. The second year was not yet ended.—*Eam famam.* Madvig omits *eam*. "In *oratio recta* in place of *eam* we should have *illam*." (Weissenborn.)

CHAPTER XXXI.

2–24. *Centum viginti.* This number is supplied by the editors from the statement of Polybius.—*Utrimque.* "From both islands."—*Meninge.* The islands Meninx and Cercina were situated in the *Syrtis Minor*, and were of importance on account of their harbors.—*Juxta . . . ac si.* "Just as if."—*Insulis cultorum egentibus.* Ablative of place where without preposition. (Madvig, § 273.)—*Ad mille.* In

these expressions of number *ad* loses its effect on the case, and the phrase is declinable.—*Hominum.* The genitive is less frequent with *mille*, which is, in the singular, generally an undeclinable adjective.—*Amisso.* Refers in sense to the words *ad mille hominum* as well as *quæstore*, but is attracted in form to the nearest word.—*Pedibus.* "By land."—*Freto.* Ablative of the road by which. (Madvig, § 274.)—*Exercitus.* "The armies," i. e., of Fabius and Minucius.—*Ab se.* "From him," i. e., the dictator Fabius.

25–34. *Omnium prope.* "Of almost all writers."—*Fabium dictatorem.* "That Fabius as dictator."—*Cælius.* The historian Cœlius Antipater.—*Eum primum.* "That he was the first who was made dictator."—*Fugit.* "Escapes the notice of."—*Uni consuli.* "The consul alone."—*Quam moram*, etc. "And since the state could not wait so long," i. e., till the consul had returned.—*Moram.* A cognate accusative, like *ire iter.*—*Augentes*, etc. "His descendants adding to the style and title on his bust," by dropping the *pro* in *pro dictatore.* The *imago* of any member of a Roman family who had filled a curule office, that is, the ædileship, prætorship, or consulship, was preserved by his descendants in the *atrium* of their house, and carried in funeral processions, and the family was said to have the "*jus imaginum.*"—*Obtinuisse.* "Had easily brought about." The clause from *res gestas* down to *obtinuisse* is dependent on *fugit; quam moram . . . esset* being a statement on the part of Livy.

CHAPTER XXXII.

3–11. *Fabii artibus.* "On Fabius's system."—*Locis.* The ablative of the place where without a preposition, as is usual when *locus* is accompanied by an attribute.—*Opportuni.* "At the right time and the right place."—*Carpentes.* "Plucking at," i. e., "harassing."—*In casum.* "To the uncertain chance of a general engagement."—*Non veniebant.* "They would not come." Imperfect of endeavor.—*Nisi cum fugæ specie*, etc. "Unless he had feared that his departure would look like a flight." Madvig reads *ei fuisset* in place of *timuisset.*

15–28. *Constitisset.* "Had come to a stand-still."—*Ad Gereonium.* "Before Gereonium."—*Neapolitani.* This circumstance is not mentioned by Polybius. The Neapolitans represent the feelings of the Greek commercial cities, who dreaded above all things the supremacy of Carthage.—*Geratur.* Supply *bellum*, from the preceding *bello.*—*Ad subsidium fortunæ.* "For their assistance in times of need."—*In ære.* "In their persons," as well as their gold. Naples, by the terms of its agreement with Rome, had to furnish only ships and sailors.—*Patres Romanos populumque.* "The Senate and people of

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2–15. *Præerat.* Here used absolutely. "Was in command."—*Ad urbem.* "Having set out for the city."—*Pro ingenio.* "In accordance with the disposition."—*Ferocius quam consultius.* "With more bravery than prudence." This attraction of the second comparative into the form of the first is in the main post-Ciceronian.—*Crederet.* The potential subjunctive. It was to be expected that he would keep all his men in camp, with such an enemy as Minucius in front of him.—*Propius hostem.* "Nearer the enemy." The adverb

propius generally has this construction; Livy rarely, and Cicero never using it with the dative. With the adjective *propior*, however, the dative is the more common, Cicero never using the accusative.—*Conspectum.* "Visible." Cf. note on bk. ii., chap. lv., line 12.—*Intentum.* Supply *se.*

16–22. *Propior ei.* "Nearer the enemy."—*Ad quem capiendum si . . . quia*, etc. "And since, if an advance to take it were made openly by day, the enemy," etc.—*Contempta.* "Contemptible."—*Dijecissent.* A common military term. "Dislodged."—*Exiguum spatii.* Accusative of extent.

30–43. *Dimicatum auctores sunt.* As *auctor sum* is equivalent to a transitive verb, it takes the construction of a transitive verb. Livy probably follows the history of Fabius Pictor, who depreciated the actions of Minucius. Polybius mentions an attack on Hannibal's camp which was saved by the arrival of Hasdrubal and his foragers.—*Boviani.* The locative. "At Bovianum."—*Unde erat.* The indicative is commonly used by the historians in relative definitions, although they are parts of a quotation. (Madvig, § 369, Obs. 2.)—*Toto Samnio.* The ablative without a preposition, as *totus* is joined with it. (Madvig, § 273, *c.*) This account of Numerius Decimius is to explain how he came to be in command. The allied troops were under Roman officers when joined to the army, but came up from their districts under their own leaders.—*Quinque admodum.* "About five thousand."—*Vanioribus.* Livy uses the comparative, because in his opinion the *fama victoriæ* was *vana.*

CHAPTER XXV.

2–16. *Contione.* In the popular assemblies convened by the tribunes of the plebs.—*Ut vera*, etc. "Granting that," etc.—*Id enim negat.* "Says that this is not to be borne." As in the common *sed enim*, an ellipsis is to be supplied; "he must speak, for this is not to be borne."—*Ac sedulo.* "Ay, and that designedly."—*Ducendo bello.* "In protracting the war."—*Quorum neutra provincia.* "Neither of whose provinces." A better reading is *quarum.*

20–28. *Quo jam tamquam*, etc. "Out of which, as if from a trans-Iberian district, they had withdrawn before the Carthaginians." *Pœnis* is the dative, *quo* the ablative of separation.—*Legionibus.* Ablative of means after *tutante.*—*Tandem ut.* "At length, as soon as," etc.—*Ut obsidione.* "As though freed from a blockade."—*Si antiquus*, etc. An unreal condition in *oratio obliqua.* "If the Roman people had retained their ancient spirit, he would have brought in," etc.

Minucius's words in direct speech would be, *Si antiquus animus plebi Romanæ esset, audaciter retulissem.* See Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, i., 34: *si quid opus esset*, etc.

34–41. *In actione minime popularis.* Hypothetically, "since if he had gone to plead his cause before the people he would have been by no means well received." (Weissenborn.)—*Dictum suum.* "His order."—*Bono imperatore.* "If the general is good."

51–54. *Auctoritas.* "Weight," "influential support."—*Patrem lanium*, etc. "His father had been a butcher, had in person peddled his goods, and had employed," etc.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1–18. *Ex eo genere.* To be taken with *pecunia relicta.* "The money made by this sort of trade and left to him by his father."—*Proclamando.* "By bawling." Cicero expressly contrasts a *proclamator* with an *orator.*—*Honores.* The smaller offices, such as those of the *tresviri capitales; decemviri stlitibus judicandis*, etc.—*Dictatoria.* "Against the dictator."—*Acceperunt latum.* "Took it to have been passed." This chapter contains a studied contrast between Fabius as prond and unbending, and Varro as vain and courting popularity; and probably does great injustice to the latter. "We are not told that he was ever tribune, and it is without example in Roman history that a mere demagogue, of no family, with no other merits, military or civil, should be raised to such nobility. Even after his defeat at Cannæ, he was employed in various important offices." (Arnold.) After Cannæ, his conduct at Canusium was that of a brave general and a good citizen. He rallied the wreck of his army, and had that supreme courage, which the unfortunate Paulus confessed he had not, the courage to meet a disappointed people, and to bear whatever obloquy or punishment popular feeling and party animosity were likely to heap on him. "The fate of P. Claudius and L. Junius might have warned him of the dangers which threatened a defeated general; he was personally hateful to the prevailing party at Rome; and if the memory of Flaminius was persecuted, notwithstanding his glorious death, what could he look for, a fugitive general from that field where his colleague and all his soldiers had perished?" Nothing can speak more clearly in favor of the man whom historians have so vilified than the resolution of the Senate, composed as it was of bitter political enemies, which thanked him with such noble simplicity, "because he had not despaired of the republic."

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CHAPTER XXVII.

3–19. *Hannibale victo.* Ablative of cause.—*Gloriari.* Historic infinitive.—*Parem.* "Match for."—*Tremere*, etc. An allusion to L. Papirius Cursor, and his magister equitum Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. Fabius attacked the Samnites during the dictator's absence, against his express commands, and gained a brilliant victory. Papirius ordered his execution, and, turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of the soldiers, the Senate, and M. Fabius, the father of the culprit, was only induced by the supplications of the people to spare his life. See bk. viii., chaps. xxx.–xxxv. — *Deorum hominumque.* The judgment of the gods was shown by their having given him the victory; of the people, by their giving him equal powers.—*Alterius.* Possessive genitive with *esse.*

24–32. *Sibi communicatum cum.* The dative is found with *communicare* only when a second personal object with *cum* occurs.—*Qua posset.* Supply *non cedere.* Translate, "He would never willingly give up that part of the *imperium* which he could retain, namely," etc.—*Consilio.* Adverbially joined with *gerendarum.*—*Exercitum.* Supply *sed.*—*Socium.* Genitive plural.—*Se separari.* See Zumpt, § 610.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

3–15. *Agerentur.* "Were being done."—*Nam.* Supply *cogitabat.*—*Liberam.* "Free from all control."—*Quem.* Here equivalent to *et hunc.* "And whoever should seize this," etc.—*Occupasset.* Pluperfect subjunctive, expressing more clearly the action that precedes.—*Non modo.* For *non modo non.* See chap. iii., line 13.

19–41. *Ducenos.* "Two hundred apiece."—*Deposcere.* Historic infinitive.—*Dimittit.* "He detaches."—*Laborantibus suis.* "When his men were hard pressed in different places."—*Inferiore loco.* "From lower ground."—*Justa*, as opposed to *tumultuaria; recta*, "face to face," as opposed to *ex insidiis.*—*Prospere* qualifies *gesta*, from which it is separated for the sake of emphasis.—*Eum tumultum*, etc. "Such confusion and terror by their attacks on both flanks and on the rear."

CHAPTER XXIX.

2–12. *Ita est.* "Yes, it is so." (Nägelsbach, § 197.)—*Imperio.* Ablative of measure or reference.—*Hosti.* "From the enemy."—*Demissa* is to be taken with *ad auxilium.*

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14–21. *Suos.* Their fellow-soldiers. Here, the troops of Minucius. —*Pœnus . . . Hannibale.* The rule that the ablative absolute cannot be used when the idea which forms its subject occurs as the subject in the main proposition is not violated here; *Pœnus* denotes Hannibal as the representative of his nation, the ablative absolute as simply a person. (Madvig, § 428, Obs. 1.)

25–35. *Audivi.* He quotes Hesiod, *Works and Days*, line 293.—*Extremi.* Here, "the lowest." — *Arma, dextercæ.* An asyndeton. "Arms and right hands."—*Patronos salutabitis.* "Will salute them as your *patroni*." The verb in the second person future represents a positive imperative.

CHAPTER XXX.

1–13. *Ut colligantur vasa.* "That the baggage be packed up."—*Omnes qui circa erant.* The legates and tribunes.—*Tribunal.* On the left of the prætorium.—*Ejus.* Sc. of Fabius.—*Agmen.* The troops of Minucius.—*Oneratus . . . honoratus.* "Which was rather onerous than an honor." For a similar play upon words, see bk. i., chap. lviii., "*hostis pro hospite;*" bk. iii., chap. lx., "*spreti aut non sperati.*" Generally in speeches.

14–18. *Antiquo,* to vote against a new law; *abrogo.* to vote for the repeal of an old one. In this case the latter is added to correct the former.—*Servato ac servatori.* "To the preserved and the preserver." —*Magisterium.* "The mastership." Weissenborn reads, *magistrum equitum hos ordinibus suis quemque tenere,* and translates, "Order me as master of the horse to retain these, each in his proper rank."

22–30. *Perlata.* Supply *eo,* "thither."—*Maximum.* The cognomen of Quintus Fabius.—*Gloria.* "His glory."—*Sentire.* Namely, Hannibal.—*Biennio.* The length of time within which is put in the ablative with or without *in.* The second year was not yet ended.—*Eam famam.* Madvig omits *eam.* "In *oratio recta* in place of *eam* we should have *illam.*" (Weissenborn.)

CHAPTER XXXI.

2–24. *Centum viginti.* This number is supplied by the editors from the statement of Polybius.—*Utrinque.* "From both islands."—*Meninge.* The islands Meninx and Cercina were situated in the *Syrtis Minor,* and were of importance on account of their harbors.—*Juxta . . . ac si.* "Just as if."—*Insulis cultorum egentibus.* Ablative of place where without preposition. (Madvig, § 273.)—*Ad mille.* In

these expressions of number *ad* loses its effect on the case, and the phrase is declinable.—*Hominum.* The genitive is less frequent with *mille*, which is, in the singular, generally an undeclinable adjective.—*Amisso.* Refers in sense to the words *ad mille hominum* as well as *quæstore*, but is attracted in form to the nearest word.—*Pedibus.* "By land."—*Freto.* Ablative of the road by which. (Madvig, § 274.)—*Exercitus.* "The armies," i. e., of Fabius and Minucius.—*Ab se.* "From him," i. e., the dictator Fabius.

25–34. *Omnium prope.* "Of almost all writers."—*Fabium dictatorem.* "That Fabius as dictator."—*Cœlius.* The historian Cœlius Antipater.—*Eum primum.* "That he was the first who was made dictator."—*Fugit.* "Escapes the notice of."—*Uni consuli.* "The consul alone."—*Quam moram*, etc. "And since the state could not wait so long," i. e., till the consul had returned.—*Moram.* A cognate accusative, like *ire iter.*—*Augentes*, etc. "His descendants adding to the style and title on his bust," by dropping the *pro* in *pro dictatore.* The *imago* of any member of a Roman family who had filled a curule office, that is, the ædileship, prætorship, or consulship, was preserved by his descendants in the *atrium* of their house, and carried in funeral processions, and the family was said to have the "*jus imaginum.*"—*Obtinuisse.* "Had easily brought about." The clause from *res gestas* down to *obtinuisse* is dependent on *fugit; quam moram . . . esset* being a statement on the part of Livy.

CHAPTER XXXII.

3–11. *Fabii artibus.* "On Fabius's system."—*Locis.* The ablative of the place where without a preposition, as is usual when *locus* is accompanied by an attribute.—*Opportuni.* "At the right time and the right place."—*Carpentes.* "Plucking at," i. e., "harassing."—*In casum.* "To the uncertain chance of a general engagement."—*Non veniebant.* "They would not come." Imperfect of endeavor.—*Nisi cum fugæ specie*, etc. "Unless he had feared that his departure would look like a flight." Madvig reads *ei fuisset* in place of *timuisset.*

15–28. *Constitisset.* "Had come to a stand-still."—*Ad Gereonium.* "Before Gereonium."—*Neapolitani.* This circumstance is not mentioned by Polybius. The Neapolitans represent the feelings of the Greek commercial cities, who dreaded above all things the supremacy of Carthage.—*Geratur.* Supply *bellum*, from the preceding *bello.*—*Ad subsidium fortunæ.* "For their assistance in times of need."—*In sese.* "In their persons," as well as their gold. Naples, by the terms of its agreement with Rome, had to furnish only ships and sailors.—*Patres Romanos populumque.* "The Senate and people of

Rome." *Romanæ* refers to both nouns, and the two nouns, forming one idea, have *facturum* in the singular, as usual.—*Dignosque*, etc. "Deign to receive an offering more valuable through the good-will of those who willingly were making it than in real intrinsic value."—*Judicaverint*, perfect subjunctive, representing the future perfect indicative in *oratio recta*, assumes the point of view of the speaker; *duxissent*, pluperfect subjunctive, the point of view of the writer.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

2–6. *Fefellerat.* "Had escaped detection."—*Quod in campo Martio conjurassent.* "For conspiring in the Campus Martius." The passage is apparently corrupt, some statement of the object of the conspiracy being lost. Madvig reads, *in campo Martio, quod*, etc. Zonaras describes the affair as an insurrection. Ussing suggests that the crime of the slaves was an attempt to obtain their liberty by mixing with the crowds of soldiers and taking the military oath.—*Æris gravis.* The reward was paid in *asses librales*, which were worth ten times as much as the ordinary *as* of later times.

8–16. *Demetrius.* Demetrius, a native of Pharus or Pharia, an island on the Illyrian coast, betrayed Corcyra to the Romans in the First Illyrian War, and was rewarded for his treachery by grants of some districts taken from the possessions of Queen Teuta. But, thinking the Romans were sufficiently occupied with the Gauls, who invaded Italy in B.C. 225, he commenced to make piratical descents on the Greek coasts, and attempted to seize some towns under Roman protection. Æmilius Paulus was sent against him in B.C. 219, and Demetrius took refuge with Philip.—*Ex propinquo.* "From near at hand." Compare bk. xxi., chap. xxxii., line 21.—*Quæ gererentur.* "What was being done."—*Pineum.* Pineus was the son of Agron, the king of Illyria, whose widow, Teuta, had been rendered tributary to Rome in the First Illyrian War.—*Dies.* "The day of payment."—*Proferre.* "To put off."—*Terrarum.* Genitive after *usquam.*

17–22. *In religionem.* "Into their feeling of religious obligation."—*Per.* "On account of."—*Locatam.* "Been contracted for," "let out by contract to be built."—*In arce.* "On the Capitol;" there was already a temple to Concord in the Comitium.

23–31. *Ex senatus consulto.* "In accordance with a resolution of the Senate."—*Consulibus.* This is the reading of the best MSS., but the dative of the agent is here very likely to lead to misunderstanding, and therefore the reading *a consulibus* seems preferable.—*Rescriptum.* "An answer was sent."—*Abscedi.* Infinitive passive used imper-

sonally.—*Vitio.* "With a defect," i. e., illegally. It is more natural to suppose that the ever-ready device of a fault in the auspices was here employed than that M'. Atilius was held to be disqualified for nominating a dictator because he had been created consul by a pro-dictator. There was evidently a contest between the aristocratic and senatorial party, and the liberal and plebeian party, as to which should appoint the returning officer at the ensuing *comitia.* A dictator was nominated by the consul, and he might be either a plebeian or a patrician; an *interrex* was elected, not by the Senate, but by the patrician members of the Senate, and was in all cases a patrician, no plebeian being eligible. In the present case the majority in the Senate was liberal, and carried the resolution that a dictator be appointed; the patrician minority, under the plea of faulty auspices, annulled the nomination, and pushed in their *interrex.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

5–12. *Patrum.* "The patricians."—*Quem sui generis.* "Whom, a man of its own sort, endeared to the Commons by his attacks on the nobles, and by those arts which win popularity, conspicuous through the odium he had excited against another (Fabius) after having shaken his influence and dictatorial power."—*Et extrahere ad consulatum.* "To drag up even to the consulship."—*Se insectando,* etc. "By attacking them, should be accustomed to raise themselves to an equality with them."

16–21. *Prohibuissent.* Subjunctive in *oratio obliqua.*—*Perficere.* Infinitive after *prohibere* is the regular construction.—*Nobilibus.* "Noble" includes both patrician and plebeian families having the *jus imaginum.* Compare note on chap. xxxi., line 32.—*Universis.* "If united."—*Pugnari.* Namely, *prospere.* "With four legions, if united, it was clear that it was possible for a successful battle to be fought."

26–37. *Id fœdus.* "A covenant to this end."—*Id est.* This phrase is regularly used in *oratio obliqua* without suffering any change of mood or tense.—*Novum.* A plebeian, none of whose ancestors had held a curule office, was a *novus homo.*—*Apparere.* Infinitive in *oratio obliqua,* representing a rhetorical question.—*Ambos . . . morando. Ambos* is to be taken with *morando.* With the gerundive in the ablative a subject is sometimes found as with a finite verb. Bk. ii., chap. xxxviii., line 25: "*instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere.*" "The consuls had sought to effect this by remaining, both of them, with the army."—*Expugnatum esse,* sc. *a consulibus.* "They violently obtained."—*Vitiosus,* etc. "That the dictator be declared by

means of the augurs illegally elected."—*Liberum.* Namely, *consulatum.* "The people will keep it free to dispose of as they like, and will give it," etc.

CHAPTER XXXV.

2–7. *Petentibus.* "Being candidates for election."—*Nobilibus jam,* etc. "Already noble, but of plebeian families." *Jam* is to be taken with *nobilibus.*—*Unus.* "Alone." The aristocratic party scattered their votes so that they could not elect any one of their five candidates. As there were three patrician candidates, there must have been a split among the patrician nobles.—*Rogando collegæ.* "For proposing his colleague."

9–13. *L. Æmilium Paulum.* He had been consul two years before, and, although there was a law that no one could be elected consul a second time till ten years were elapsed, he was eligible in virtue of a plebiscite that, as long as there was war in Italy, any consular could be chosen. Æmilius and Livius had been impeached for unfair distribution of the booty taken in the Illyrian War. Livius was found guilty, Æmilius came off, as Livy says, "scorched."—*Par.* "An antagonist," "a match for."

16–22. *Juri dicundo.* The dative of the gerundive is used with *sors* analogously with its use with *comitia,* or the names of dignities and officers.—*Urbana.* The *prætor urbanus* had jurisdiction between citizens, the *prætor peregrinus* between citizens and foreigners.—*In Siciliam.* "For Sicily."—*Absentes.* "In their absence." Claudius and Postumius had been already consuls.—*Novus.* "New to him," "which he had not previously filled."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1–8. *Multiplicati.* "Increased many fold."—*Quantæ . . . sint.* These words are dependent on the following clause, *adeo . . . variant auctores.* "Authors state with such great variations . . . how many," etc.—*Alii.* Supply *affirmant* from *affirmare.*—*Gererent.* Namely, the consuls.

9–16. *Milibus.* The distributive numeral, which might, according to analogy, be *milleni,* is not in use, and the cardinal is used for it. "A thousand foot-soldiers and a hundred horsemen being added to each."—*Pedites* for *peditum numerum.* The words from *septem* down to *Cannas est* are probably an interpolation.—*Illud discrepat.* "There is no difference of opinion about this point, namely," etc.—*Majore*

conatu. This expression sufficiently indicates that the Senate had now determined to abandon the Fabian policy for bolder measures, and confirms the statement of Polybius that after the loss of their great magazines at Cannæ the Senate had ordered the consuls to deliver battle. The Senate had despatched a larger force than Rome had ever sent into the field before; they had great confidence in the military skill and experience of Paulus, and they were goaded on by the taunts of the Plebeian party that they studiously prolonged the war for their own selfish interests.

21–28. *Novis prodigiis.* "By the occurrence of more prodigies." The prodigies were not new in the sense of belonging to a new description of prodigies.— *Cædiis.* Cædiæ was in Campania, near Sinuessæ.—*Lapidibus pluvisse.* The ablative as after a verb of abundance; the cognate accusative is rarer. See note on bk. xxi., chap. lxii., line 14.—*Id quidem*, etc. And the circumstance that it had repeatedly happened."— *Pœsto.* The ancient Posidonia in Lucania, celebrated in ancient times for its roses, which flowered twice a year; at present best known for its ruined temples.—*Neapolitanis.* See the account given in chapter xxxii.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

3–11. *Cædem . . . adlatam.* "That the news of the slaughter."— *Ut nulla*, etc. "That he could not have been more moved by any calamity touching himself personally or," etc.— *Sciat.* Present subjunctive, from the standpoint of the speaker.—*Se misisse.* "That he had sent." The reflexive *se* is used, as if Hiero himself, and not his ambassadors, were speaking.

14–25. *Ducentum*, like *modium* in line 17, is the genitive plural.— *Adferre sese.* "That they bring." *Sese*, here the ambassadors, speaking of themselves, the action being one in which they are agents. Hence we have the plural *subvecturos* in line 19.—*Acciperent . . . advexisse.* Here the tenses are changed from the present to past time, and describe from the standpoint of the narrator.—*Milite.* "Foot-soldiers."—*Auxilia.* "Light-armed auxiliaries."—*Mille.* Here again a substantive with a partitive genitive.—*Pugnaces missili telo.* "Who are accustomed to fight with missiles."

28–32. *Et hostes.* "The enemy as well." Hiero recommends an invasion of Africa, not merely such predatory attacks as those described in chapter xxxi.—*Minus laxamenti.* These words imply that Hannibal was receiving some reinforcements from Carthage.— *Uno tenore.* "Uninterruptedly."

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35–43. *Gratia rei accepta.* "Accepting the duty of gratitude for the offer." The good-will displayed by the offer thus made bound them *habere et referre gratiam* quite as much as if they had accepted what Hiero's ambassadors offered.—*Templum.* The statue was placed in the cella of the temple.—*Volentem propitiamque.* "Kind and propitious."—*Firmam ac stabilem . . .* "Unshaken by events, and (what is more) unchanging in herself." The number of the ships has been dropped from the MSS.; some editors supply the omission with *centum viginti*, as in chap. xxxi., line 2.—*Quæ.* That is, *quæ naves.*—*E re publica.* "If he deemed it to the interest of the state."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

2–12. *Dum venirent.* The subjunctive is used because design is involved. "They delayed long enough for the allies to come up."—*Milites tum.* The soldiers up to this time had only taken officially the military oath *sacramentum*; but had been accustomed, when enrolled in their centuries, to take among themselves a further oath. This latter oath was now made a public one, administered by the tribunes.—*Ad decuriatum aut centuriatum.* "To be mustered into their decuries or centuries." The former word does not occur elsewhere; the latter not in this sense, but in that of "the rank of a centurion." Hence Weissenborn proposes to omit *ad*, or write *ad decuriandum*, etc.—*Ergo.* "On account of," "through." An archaism preserved in laws and solemn acts.—*Sumendi.* "Taking from where it is kept;" *petendi*, "bringing it from where it had fallen."

19–32. *Perfecturum.* "Would finish it."—*Verior quam gratior.* See Madvig, § 307.—*Quis dux.* "Any leader."—*Jam nunc.* "Could already, while still in the garb of peace," that is, while still in Rome.—*Qua*, sc. *die.* The ablative of the time when.—*Quæ consilia*, etc. "Plans which circumstances rather determined for men, than men for circumstances."—*Dent.* The present tense, as expressing a general fact true for all time, while *quæ gesta essent* are the particular actions of the consuls. So in line 30, *sit* is universally true, *fuisse* true in the instance mentioned.—*Ad id locorum.* "Up to this time." For the genitive, see Madvig, § 285 *b*.—*Id.* "This, namely, that he would prefer."—*Id perseveraret.* The common construction with this verb is either *in* with the ablative, or an infinitive; but almost all intransitive verbs can take an accusative of the neuter pronoun denoting the object in reference to which the action of the verb is done.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

1–13. *Id quod mallem.* Refers to the following clause, with which *id* is in apposition.—*Duo boni . . . mali.* "If you both were good . . . if you both were bad."—*Indicente.* "Even if I did not speak."—*Fide vestra.* "Conscientiously."—*Claudet.* Future from *claudo, claudĕre,* a by-form of *claudeo.* "If the state shall limp on the other side." *Nescio an.* "I am inclined to think."—*Cum illo.* "With the latter;" *cum hoc,* "with the former."

18–25. *Consul demum.* "Not before he was consul."—*Furere.* This word denotes "to suffer from violent paroxysms," while *insanit,* in line 21, is "to be in a chronic state of madness."—*Ad exercitum.* "With the army."—*Priusquam videat.* Not simply "before he sees," but "although he has not yet seen."—*Si hic pugnaverit.* "Should succeed in fighting at once."

27–29. *Adversus unum.* "In the presence of one," i. e., Paulus, as distinguished from the Senate and people.—*Excesserim.* Potential subjunctive.—*Una ratio belli gerendi.* "The only plan for carrying on the war." *Ratio* here is simply "plan;" lower down *ratio* is "the reasons for adopting the plan." The words as they stand are not very clear; and perhaps *eadem* is an interpolation.

37–48. *Tempus diesque.* "Circumstances and the lapse of time."—*Terra . . . mari.* "By land nor by sea." Ablative of place.—*In diem rapto.* "On what is plundered for each day."—*Quem Iberum trajecit.* "Which he led across the Ebro."—*Dubitas.* The rhetorical question denotes a negative opinion on the part of the speaker; *ergo* denotes necessary consequence, and draws the conclusion of the argument. "There can, therefore, be no doubt."—*Qui senescat.* "Seeing that he grows weaker," etc.—*Mœnibus . . . !* An aposiopesis. —*Ne adversus te.* etc. "But not even in your presence (who will not misjudge me) will *I* boast." The position of the word *ego* is emphatic.

56–66. *Falsa.* "Unmerited."—*Laborare.* "Is eclipsed." Cf. Virgil, *Georgics,* ii., 478, "*lunæque labores.*"—*Malo metuat. Volo, nolo,* and *malo* take the subjunctive without *ut* only in short unambiguous expressions; otherwise, the construction is the accusative and infinitive. —*Nec ego moneo.* Fabius here alludes to the last sentence but one in the remarks of Æmilius.—*Tuæ potestatis.* etc. "Be master of yourself and all that concerns you."—*Occasioni.* "Favorable opportunity."

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CHAPTER XL.

2–12. *Magis fatentis.* "Rather confessing that they were true than allowing that they were easy of execution."—*Virium, auctoritatis.* Gen. after *quid.* "What power, what influence . . ."—*Se . . . effugisse.* This gives his reason for preferring death at the hands of the enemy.—*Caderet.* "Should happen." Equivalent to *accideret.*—*Ab hoc.* "Immediately after."—*Turba.* The ablative of cause with *conspectior.* "Through its disorderly crowd."—*Dignitates.* "Men of rank." Madvig reads *dignitas.*

16–27. *In veteribus,* sc. *castris.* Near Larinum.—*Consulum.* The partitive genitive in place of an apposition marks the class to which a person belongs.—*Ætatem excusantem.* "Pleading the excuse of age."—*Superabat.* "Was remaining."—*Quidquam reliqui erat.* The adjective used substantively and put as a partitive genitive gives greater prominence to the idea of a certain measure or kind. "No residue existed."—*Urbes munitas.* The consuls gave the same orders that Fabius gave when he assumed command (see chap. xi.), namely, that the country people should destroy their crops and houses, and retire into the fortified towns.—*Parata fuerit.* The apodosis of a conditional sentence dependent on *ut;* without *ut* it would be *parata fuit.*

CHAPTER XLI.

1–7. *Consulis.* "The one consul," namely, Varro.—*Ac procursu.* The conjunction *ac* adds a further definition of *tumultuario; procursu* and *jussu* are ablatives of cause after *orto,* which is the attribute to *prœlio.*—*Ex prœparato.* "After due preparation." This adverbial use of the neuter ablative of an adjective or participle with *ex* is not uncommon in Livy; compare *ex tuto, ex æquo,* etc.—*Ad mille.* "About a thousand." *Ad* having no effect on the case, the predicate *cæsi* is in the nominative.—*Non plus.* "No more than;" *quam,* as usual after *plus,* being omitted.

10–18. *Alternis.* "By turns," or, "on alternate days."—*Varrone,* etc. "While Varro was," etc.—*Pati . . . credere.* Historic infinitives.—*Inescatam.* "Had had a bait thrown it."—*Duas partes,* etc. "That there were in the army two thirds of raw soldiers," sc. that two thirds of the army consisted of raw soldiers.

20–28. *Ferentes secum educit.* As *educit* does not occur in the MSS., some editors read *ferente . . . milite.*—*Fortunæ.* See the next chapter, lines 18–20.—*Læva.* "On the left hand."—*Medium agmen.* If this reading is retained, the words are in apposition to *impedimenta.*

Madvig reads *mediam*, agreeing with *convallem*, "through the valley between them," and omits *agmen*. — *Occupatum*. "Occupied with plundering the camp, left, as it were, deserted by the flight of its proprietors."—*Ut fides fieret*, etc. "That a belief might be produced that he had wished, by a pretended semblance of a camp, to keep the consuls in their places until he himself should get a long start by his flight." For *dum* with the subjunctive, see chap. xxxviii., line 2.—*In locis*. "In the places they occupied."

CHAPTER XLII.

1–8. *Subductæ stationes*. "The withdrawal of the advanced posts."—*Prætoria*. Each consul had his *prætorium* in his own quarter of the camp.—*Nuntiantium*. Supply *militum*.—*Ut relinquerint*. The perfect, from the point of view of the speaker.—*Quoque*. "And in order that," for *et ut eo*.—*Juberent*. "The consuls should order."

11–19. *Providendum*, etc. "That foresight and caution must be used."—*Præfectum*. This officer was the first of the decurions in a *turma*.—*Mittit*. "Paulus sends." Yet as he had commanded the day before, Varro had the *imperium* on this day.—*Cum cura*. See Madvig, § 257, Obs. 2.—*Insidias profecto esse*. "That without doubt there is an ambush."—*Cara*. "All their valuables."

20–26. *Varro signum dat*. Because he has the *imperium*; how, then, does Paulus come to take the auspices? The *auspicium* always went with the *imperium*.—*Pulli quoque . . . non*. The negative and the predicate here form one conception, "were unfavorable;" otherwise we should have *ne pulli quidem*.—*Auspicio*. "While he was taking the auspices." Others consider it an instrumental ablative, or a dative. It was considered an unfavorable sign if the chickens refused to come out of the coop, and eat the pulse thrown them by the *pullarius*, or if they flew away or cried; if they ate greedily the sign was favorable.—*Porta*. Ablative of way, regarded as manner or means, and therefore used without a preposition. "Carrying out by the gate."

28–38. *Claudius*. P. Claudius Pulcher was defeated by Adherbal at Drepana in Sicily, and lost ninety-three ships out of his fleet of one hundred and twenty-three. When the chickens, on his taking the auspices before the battle, refused to eat, he ordered them to be thrown overboard, saying, "If they will not eat, let them drink."—*Religionem incussit*. "Caused some religious scruples."—*Imminentem*. "Suspended over the Romans," i. e., by Fate.—*Forte*. "By a dispensation of Providence."—*Imperii potentes*. "Gave them power to

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rule," "made them masters of their authority."—*Cum*, etc. "Although the attempts to court popularity on the part of one of the consuls had, by wrong indulgence, weakened among the soldiers his own authority first (then that of his colleague)."

CHAPTER XLIII.

2–4. *Ad ultimum evectos.* "Hurried on to extremities," i. e., "to the extreme measure of marching out from their camp."—*Nequidquam, detecta fraude.* The stratagem was discovered, and therefore his absence from camp was to no purpose.—*Plures.* "Many days."

9–17. *Exposcentium*, like *nuntiantium*, chap. xlii., line 5. Supply *militum*.—*Querentiumque.* "Complaining of the high price of grain." *Queror*, properly an intransitive verb, assumes the meaning and construction of a transitive. (Madvig, § 223, *c.*)—*De transitione.* This is a repetition of the account in chapter xl., *in fin.*; and the following report of Hannibal's intended flight, a repetition from chap. xxxii., line 10.—*Maturiora.* The harvest in Apulia begins in the middle of May. According to Livy, Hannibal is still before Gereonium; Polybius states that he had left there before the appearance of the new consuls, and seized the large magazines which the Romans had established at Cannæ, thus compelling them to risk a battle.

22–34. *Ultra castra.* "Beyond the camp;" *trans montes*, "across the mountains."—*Majoris partis sententia.* Ablative of cause.—*Volturno.* The east-south-east wind: the sirocco.—*Cum aciem dirigerent . . . pugnaturi.* A frequent construction. "When they formed their line of battle, seeing that they could form it so as to fight with their backs to the wind," etc.—*Pugnaturi.* This use of the future participle to denote purpose is contrary to the use of the earlier writers, Cæsar, Cicero, etc., who denote by it only relations of time.

CHAPTER XLIV.

3–7. *Bina.* The distributive numerals are used instead of the cardinals, with plural substantives which denote a compound object (*pluralia tantum*).—*Utrisque.* "Both the Roman camps."—*Ex sua cujusque opportunitate.* "According as each found an opportunity."

9–25. *Trans Aufidum.* On the left bank, the larger camp being on the right.—*Spem nactus.* "Cherishing a hope that the consuls would offer battle in a place formed by nature for cavalry engagements."—*Hic.* Varro.—*Usu.* "By prescription." According to the Twelve

Tables, undisturbed possession and uninterrupted enjoyment for two years gave a good title.—*Ille.* Æmilius Paulus.—*Se exsortem*, etc. "That he, innocent of all blame, would be sharer," etc.—*Lingua.* Supply *esset* or *vigeret* from *vigerent.*—*Videret.* "Let him (Varro) see that those," etc.

CHAPTER XLV.

"Hannibal's camp, according to the statement in chapter xliii., was in the neighborhood of Cannæ, and probably, therefore, on the right bank of the Aufidus, or Aufidius. In this position he offers battle, which Paulus declines. The Romans, for some undiscovered reason, cross the river to the left bank; Hannibal follows them, and takes up his position to the south of them. We can thus explain how the fugitives from the battle took refuge in Canusium and Venusia; while, if the battle had taken place on the right bank of the Aufidus, the Carthaginians would have cut the Romans off from the above-named towns." (Weissenborn.)

2–15. *Ad multum diei.* "Till late in the day."—*Ex minoribus castris*, etc. "The watering-parties of the Romans from the small camp."—*In stationem*, etc. "They charged up to the post in front of the rampart."—*Tumultuario auxilio.* "By a body of irregular auxiliaries;" *auxilio* for the more usual *auxiliis.*—*Ea modo*, etc. "So that this cause alone kept the Romans from crossing," etc.—*Fuerit*, not *esset*, because it is to be connected strictly with *tenuerit.*

16–19. *Sors ejus diei imperii.* "Whose turn to command it was that day." *Imperii* is the genitive dependent on *sors; ejus diei* being dependent on *sors imperii.*—*Signum.* "The signal for battle," a scarlet flag on the *prætorium.*—*Quia magis*, etc. "Because he was in a position to disapprove of the plan, rather than to refuse assistance in executing it."

23–30. *In dextro cornu.* Opposite Cannæ the river makes such bends that the Romans could stand facing south-east, with their wing on the river.—*Pedites.* Qualified by *Romanos* preceding *equites.*—*Intra.* Equivalent to *quæ intra erant.* See bk. i., chap. lviii., line 2, "*Tuta circa videbantur.*"—*Acies facta.* "Were made the first line." When the predicate is a participle combined with *esse*, or with *esse* understood, it takes the gender of the substantive nearest it.—*Cornua tenuerunt.* "Commanded the wings."—*Media pugna tuenda.* "The conduct of the battle in the centre."

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CHAPTER XLVI.

3–18. *Gallos Hispanosque.* These were Hannibal's heavy cavalry, surpassing in number the heavy Roman cavalry opposed to them.—*Peditibus.* The instrumental ablative.—*Afrorum utraque*, etc. "So that both flanks consisted of Africans."—*Crederes.* The imperfect subjunctive as the potential of the past, with the ideal second person.—*Scuta.* The *scutum* covered the whole body, but was narrow.—*Punctim.* "Pointwise;" *cæsim*, "edgewise."—*Prætextis purpura.* "Bordered with purple." The Roman soldiers had scarlet and black plumes a foot and a half high.

22–27. *Hasdrubal.* The commander of the baggage train and commissariat parties. Hannibal with Mago took command of the centre, because here the decisive manœuvres were to be executed, and because the arrangement of his forces was such as to require at that point a general of consummate skill, ready for any emergency.—*Locatis.* Supply *iis.* It is a dative, like *utrique parti*, dependent on *obliquus erat.*—*Volturnus.* The sirocco blows most violently in May and June.—*Adversus.* "Blowing straight against the Romans."

CHAPTER XLVII.

1–9. *Quia nullo circa*, etc. "Because, with no space around left for wheeling, on the one side the river, on the other the line of infantry shut them in, as they pushed straight onwards."—*Nitentes.* Supply *viros.* Madvig puts a full stop after *claudebant*, and begins a fresh sentence with *In directum.*—*Confertis turba.* "Wedged together by the mass."

14–24. *Sub equestris finem.* "On the conclusion of the cavalry combat."—*Parumper.* So Polybius, ἐπὶ βραχύ. Madvig reads *par, dum.*—*Æqua.* Madvig reads *obliqua.* The emphasis is on *densa*, which here means *confertis ordinibus.*—*Cuneum.* Not exactly. The centre of the Gauls and Spaniards formed a crescent outwards.—*Insistere.* Historic infinitive. "The Romans pressed on."—*Per præceps*, etc. "Through the headlong column of terror-stricken fugitives."—*Subsidia.* Not the reserves, but the strong bodies placed on the flanks of the *media acies*, and therefore farther back than the prominent part of the crescent.

24–33. *Qui cuneus*, etc. "And when the repulse of this crescent had at first made the front even, and then caused a hollow in the centre," etc.—*Afri circa.* "The Africans around had already formed wings," i. e., they had wheeled right and left so as to flank the *sinus.*

—*Romanis.* The Romans had advanced *densa acie,* with *hastati principes* and *triarii* all close together; and seem, as the line of Gauls gave way, to have in their eagerness extended themselves into a wedge.—*Cornua.* The extremities of the wings.—*Defuncti.* "Having fruitlessly finished one engagement."—*Et . . . integram. Integram* is added to show that this new engagement was not affected by the former struggle: it was a fresh and independent fight.—*Recentibus.* "Fresh in spirits."—*Vegetis.* "Fresh in body."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

4–13. *Quingenti,* etc. This stratagem is not mentioned by Polybius.—*Numidæ.* In bk. xxv., chap. xi., the Numidians are described as unarmed except with javelins.—*In mediam aciem.* The centre, where the infantry was stationed.—*Et dum,* etc. Livy conceives the pretended desertion of the Numidians to have taken place at the beginning of the battle.—*Scutis.* The shields of the Roman infantry, not their own *parmæ.*—*Aversam,* etc. "The rear of the Roman line."

16–18. *Pertinax in mala jam spe.* "Maintained with the obstinacy of despair." The words *in mala spe* express the condition of *pertinax.* —*Ea parte.* "On that wing." Hasdrubal, after routing the right wing of the Romans, had passed over to the Carthaginian right wing, where Maharbal was in command. Being victorious here, too, he sends in pursuit the Numidians who had been diverting the attention of the enemy, and falls with his Spanish and Gallic troopers on the rear of the Roman infantry, already suffering from the flank attack of the African infantry. *Præest* is used here absolutely. "Held the command."

CHAPTER XLIX.

1–10. *Parte altera.* The two wings being utterly defeated, the centre was the only part now left. Paulus at first commanded the right. —*Equitibus Romanis.* His mounted body-guard. Compare bk. ii., chap. xx., line 14, "*Delecta manus præsidii causa.*"—*Deficiebant.* "Began to fail."—*Quam mallem,* etc. Ironical. "How I should prefer he handed them over in chains." Plutarch gives Hannibal's words: "I should prefer this to having them handed over in chains."

11–15. *Quale.* The verb is omitted. "Such as one might expect when the victory of the enemy was no longer doubtful."—*Dubia victoria.* Ablative absolute.—*Cum victi.* "Seeing that the conquered," etc.—*Paucos superantes.* "A few survivors."

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18–22. *Prætervehens.* "Riding past." The passive *prætervehor* is usually employed in this sense; but as there is no present participle passive, the present participle active is used to supply its place. —*Quem unum.* "Whom alone the gods ought to look on with favor, as guiltless," etc. See *Respicio*, II. B., Andrews's *Dictionary*.—*Tollere ac protegere.* "Support and shield you."—*Ne feceris.* "Do not make;" cf. *ne transieris Iberum*, bk. xxi., chap. xliv., line 17. (Madvig, § 386.)—*Sine hoc.* "Without such an occurrence."

25–33. *Macte.* This word is by some regarded as an adverb, by others as a vocative of an old adjective from the same stem as *magnus*. "Increase in virtue = Heaven speed thee in thy high career." (Gildersleeve, *Lat. Gram.*, § 324.)—*Cave absumas*, for *cave ne absumas*. (Madvig, § 375, Obs. 1.)—*Advenit.* Present indicative, describing the action as certain and near at hand.—*Et vixisse adhuc.* "That I both have lived up to this time," etc.—*E consulatu.* "When my consulship is expired." In late imperial Latin we find *e consule, ex quæstore*, and the like; from which use we derive our practice of prefixing *ex* in ex-consul, ex-president, etc.—*Alieno crimine.* "By a charge against another."—*Exigentes.* Read *agentes;* the *ex* is apparently a repetition of the last letters of *hæc*.

41–50. *Venusiam.* Venusia, a Latin colony in Apulia.—*Tanta pars.* "An equal number." Gronovius reads *æqua*.—*Consulares, prætorii, ædilicii* are in apposition to *tribuni*.—*Milites in legionibus.* "Private soldiers in the ranks of the legions." The battle was fought on the second of Quintilis, or August, according to the calendar, which was then six weeks or more ahead of the true time.

CHAPTER L.

1–7. *Alliensi cladi.* The defeat on the banks of the Allia led to the capture of the city by the Gauls.—*Illis . . . strage.* Ablatives of reference. "In respect of."—*Ad Alliam . . . ad Cannas.* "At the Allia . . . at Cannæ."—*Alterius morientis . . . fuit.* "Belonged to the other consul, who lay dying." A rather affected expression for "shared the fate of the other," etc.

9–15. *Binis.* For this use of the distributive numeral, see note on chapter xliv., line 3.—*In majoribus.* On the right bank of the Aufidus.—*Dum premeret.* As *dum*, meaning "in the time that," takes the present indicative even when qualifying past actions, and as this indicative is generally retained even in clauses dependent on subjunctives or infinitives, it is better to take *premeret* in this *oratio obliqua* as representing *premat* in the *oratio recta*, in which *dum* is used with the

subjunctive when a design is expressed. (While, i. e., that something may be done in the mean time.)—*Ex lætitia* qualifies *epulis;* "the revelry arising from their delight" at the victory.—*Aspernari.* The historic infinitive.—*Cur . . . venire.* The rhetorical question in the indicative in *oratio recta* is put in the infinitive in *oratio obliqua.*

22–30. *Exquiri pretia.* "Your ransoms ascertained by enemies who ask whether you are a Roman citizen."—*Latinus socius.* Here *Latinus* may be an adjective qualifying *socius*, or there may be an asyndeton as in *patres conscripti.* In either case the expression denotes all who were not citizens of Rome. Livy has sometimes *Romani sociique*, at other times *socii Latini nominis*, or *socii ex Latino nomine*, or *socii ac nomen Latinum.*—*Tua.* "Of you a Roman citizen;" *alteri*, "to the other, the Latin ally."—*Non tu.* The singular is used as more emphatic than the plural; and the verb is to be supplied from *mavultis* in line 21.—*Antequam opprimit.* The subjunctive is more common in a case like this, where the occurrence denoted is something to be prevented.—*Via fit.* Compare chap. v., line 8.

34–39. *Hæc ubi | dicta de|dit, strin|git gladi|um cune|oque.* An hexameter line.—*Quod patebat.* They marched up the left bank of the Aufidus till they were opposite to the other camp, and thus had their sword-arms next to the plain.—*Quod ingenium.* This is the reading of Gronovius and Drakenborch, and requires an object of *dabat* to be supplied. Others read *quem* referring to *impetu;* Weissenborn has *quos* referring to *animos.* "Which either the character of each man or the position in which he chanced to be." Observe the chiasmus, *ingenium* corresponding to *imperium*, and *fors* to *consilium.*

CHAPTER LI.

3–8. *Bello.* The word *bellum* is purposely used to mark the thought that the war was ended as well as the battle gained.—*Diei quod reliquum esset.* These words are, like *noctis insequentis*, dependent on *quietem.* "The repose of the remainder of the day and the ensuing night." Weissenborn prefers to take *diei quod reliquum esset* and *noctis quietem* as dependent on *sumeret*, the latter expression being used instead of *noctem insequentem;* "the remainder of the day for enjoyment and rejoicing, the ensuing night for repose."—*Epulaberis.* "Will banquet." Cœlius Antipater in plainer language writes, *Curabo tibi cena sit cocta;* Cato, *Tibi cena parata erit.*

10–13. *Hannibali.* Hannibal was decidedly averse to siege operations, as he was destitute of the necessary machines. His plan seems to have been to raise all Italy against Rome before attacking the city

itself, which he knew was strongly fortified, and would be stoutly defended.—*Temporis opus esse.* Zumpt considers this reading doubtful; but the genitive of the thing needed is found also in bk. xxiii., chap. xxi., "*Quanti argenti opus fuit.*"

18–32. *Fœdam.* To be connected with *hostibus.* "Horrible even to enemies."—*Stricta.* The pain roused them from their stupor.—*Quos sibi*, etc. "Who, it was clear, had made," etc.—*Superjecta humo.* "With soil cast over them."—*Exspirasset*, namely, the Roman.

CHAPTER LII.

2–9. *Ducit.* Used absolutely. "Marches."—*Brachio.* "A line of earthworks."—*Ab omnibus.* "By them (the Romans), who were all worn out by toil, watching, wounds."—*Maturior spe.* "Sooner than he expected."—*Pacti*, etc. "Having covenanted that the ransom should be, for Roman polls, three hundred *nummi*, etc.; with the condition that they delivered up their arms and horses."—*Trecenis nummis.* Ablative of price, dependent on *pacti.*—*Quadrigati.* So called because they bore the impress of a *quadriga.* They were worth about one sixth of a dollar.—*Singulis vestimentis.* "With one suit of clothes apiece."

14–25. *Ad quatuor milia*, etc. "About four thousand foot-soldiers."—*Quibus satis*, etc. Supply *iis* before *quibus.*—*Ad vescendum facto.* "Manufactured for eating," i. e., silver table-ware.—*Octo milia.* Polybius makes the Punic loss only 5700 men.—*Consulem.* See chap. vii., line 14, where Hannibal seeks to pay due honor to the corpse of Flaminius.

27, 28. *Busa.* An Oscan name.—*Tectis acceptos.* The ablative without a preposition, the local designation being regarded as manner or instrument.—*Viatico.* Travelling-money, to carry them home.

CHAPTER LIII.

2. *De legione.* *De* is used because the tribune is regarded as part of the legion.

8–12. *Summa imperii.* "The chief command."—*Inter paucos.* "With a few others."—*Summa rerum.* "The condition of the state."—*Nequidquam perditam spem.* "That they in vain cherished any hope, for hope was already lost."—*Conploratam.* Equivalent to the more usual *conclamatam*; "that the state was past remedy, and that

all was over with it."—*Quorum principem.* Supply *esse.* In *oratio obliqua*, relative clauses are put in the infinitive with the accusative, when the relative is a mere form connecting two sentences, equivalent to a demonstrative with a co-ordinating conjunction.

15–21. *Præterquam* for *præterquam quod.* "Besides that it was," etc. — *Torpidos defixisset.* "Struck stupid." — *Negat consilii esse.* "Says it is not a matter for deliberation," or "for a council of war." —*Consilium* is opposed to the private meeting held *inter paucos.*— *Fatalis.* This Scipio was the future conqueror of Carthage, and the son of the Scipio who was wounded at the Ticinus.—*Nulla verius*, etc. "No camp was more truly the camp of the enemy than where such things were thought of."

23–28. *Concilium.* "A regular and formal meeting." — *Adlatum erat.* "The report had been brought."—*Ex mei animi sententia.* A formula used in solemn asseverations, with the omission of *juro*, and *ita me dii ament.* "On my word and honor I swear, so may the gods help me, I shall not desert."—*Si sciens fallo.* "If I break my oath, wittingly." — *Adficias.* The second person of the subjunctive with a definite subject is rare. Weissenborn reads *adficiat*, and *optimus maximus.—Cernerent.* The imperfect, as *jurant*, the historical present, is regarded as a past tense.

CHAPTER LIV.

1–11. *Canusii.* The locative. "At Canusium." — *Sparsi fuga.* These were fugitives from the field of battle.—*Togas.* The *toga*, so often used by Cicero as meaning the garb of peace, was worn in the field by the officers and the cavalry.—*Singulos . . . quinos vicenos . . . denos.* Observe the distributive numerals. The pay of the cavalry was three times that of the infantry; but here the former received clothes as well as twenty-five *nummi.—Populus Venusinus.* "The state of Venusia." It was a Latin colony.

13–18. *Et jam*, "and now," i. e., when other fugitives had come in.—*Nuntium mittunt.* "Sent a messenger to inform him."—*Defensuri.* "Likely to defend themselves."

23–38. *Occidione occisum.* "Utterly destroyed." — *Salva urbe.* "During her whole existence."—*Succumbam.* Weissenborn remarks that Livy rather likes to dwell on such scenes, but does not do so here, as he had already painted a similar one in chapter vii.—*Edissertando.* A rare and archaic word; not used elsewhere by Livy.— *Nec ulla.* "There was not any camp," etc.—*Compares.* "You may

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compare." Ideal second person subjunctive. The sentence is a conditional one, *si* being omitted in the protasis; the apodosis is *nulla ex parte*, etc.—*Carthaginiensium.* Genitive after *cladem.*—*Nulla ex parte comparanda.* The use of the gerundive signifying possibility with a negative particle or phrase is not found in model prose.

CHAPTER LV.

6–9. *Quod . . . restaret.* Subjunctive, because it expresses the views of the prætors, not of the narrator.—*Venturum.* Supply *esse.* The infinitive in place of *quin* and the subjunctive is common in Livy after *dubitare* meaning "to doubt."—*Nondum palam facto.* The ablative of the passive participle has, very rarely in Cicero, but very often in Livy, a sentence for its subject; here we must supply as its subject *qui vivi, qui mortui essent.* This usage passes into a purely adverbial one.

10–24. *Censuit.* From this word to the end of the chapter is in *oratio obliqua.*—*Ex fuga.* "After the flight."—*Et si quid*, etc. "And if the gods in pity had left any of the Roman people."—*Hæc explorandæ.* "The preceding."—*Illud.* "The following."—*Publico.* Ablative of separation. "From public places."—*Rerum omnium*, etc. A precaution necessary to prevent the spread of exaggerated rumors. *Exspectent.* Note the change of subject. Before and after this sentence the subject is *patres.* *Quisque*, as involving a notion of plurality, is used with a plural verb by all writers except Cicero.

CHAPTER LVI.

1, 2. *In sententiam pedibus issent.* "Had all voted for this resolution." The members of the Senate favorable to a proposition went to one side of the House; those unfavorable, to the other.—*Summota foro.* "Had been cleared out from the forum." *Summovere* is the word used of the lictors, etc., clearing the way.

8–12. *Ad decem milia.* According to the statements in chapter liv., there were ten thousand men at Canusium, and four thousand five hundred at Venusia; and therefore *decem* here ought to be *quindecim*, as Heusinger reads.—*Sedere.* In bk. xviii., chap. i., we are told that after the capture of the Roman camp Hannibal moved with all speed into Samnium.—*Nundinantem.* "Holding an open market." A contemptuous expression in allusion to the mercantile character of the Carthaginians. We may compare Ennius's line, *Non casponantes bellum sed belligerantes.*

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14–20. *Sacrum Cereris.* As the battle took place, according to the unreformed calendar, *ante diem quartum Nonas Sextiles*, August the second, this cannot be the well-known feast of Ceres celebrated on the nineteenth of April (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv., 619), but one mentioned by Cicero (*Legg.* 2, 9, 21).—*Expers fuerat.* "Not a single matron had escaped the necessity of putting on mourning." The usual time of mourning in the case of parents or children was ten months.

27, 28. *Provinciamque aliam.* "Other portions of the province." The Roman province of Sicily then was the western portion of the island.—*Classe.* As Otacilius had already (chap. xxxvii., line 41) a fleet of one hundred and forty-five vessels, *classis* must here mean "another fleet."

CHAPTER LVII.

4–6. *Scribendumque consuli.* "A letter must be written to the consul."—*Primo quoque tempore.* "At the very earliest opportunity."—*Per commodum.* "Consistently with the welfare."

7–13. *Territi.* Supply *sunt.*—*Ad portam Collinam.* In the Campus Sceleratus, on the right of the road. According to Plutarch this spot was inside the city.—*Quos nunc.* "One of those whom they now call," etc. *Quos* refers to *scriba*, not to *pontificis.* The term *pontifex minor* was of late introduction. When the real pontiffs began to neglect their official duties, and to leave the principal business to be done by their secretaries, it became customary to designate these latter by the words *pontifices minores;* they formed a collegium; their number is uncertain, but Cicero mentions three.

20–25. *Fabius Pictor.* The historian mentioned in chapter vii.—*Suppliciis.* Archaic for *supplicationibus.*—*Fatalibus libris.* These *fatales libri* seem to be different from the *libri* mentioned in line 18. The *libri* consulted by the decemvirs, in obedience to which Fabius went to Delphi, were the Sibylline books; in these, human sacrifices, especially of Greeks, are less likely to have been prescribed than in some Etruscan ritual. For the bloody human sacrifices of the Etruscans, compare bk. v., chap. xiv., and bk. vii., chap. xv.—*Sub terra.* Qualify *locum.* "Into a subterraneous place."—*Jam ante.* In the Gallic war, ten years before. The rite was kept up as late as Pliny's time. (Plin., xxviii., 2, 3, § 12.)

27–34. *Quos habebat scriptos.* "Whom he had under his command, enrolled for the fleet."—*Legione classica.* "The legion attached to the fleet;" not, as in Tacitus, "a legion of marines."—*M. Junius Pera.* The last dictator *rei gerendæ causa.*—*Ab annis*, i. e., "over seventeen years of age."

37–41. *Mittunt.* "They send officers to receive," etc.—*Ex formula.* According to the list of the contingents furnished by the allied states. These contingents were raised and mustered by the allied states, and handed over to Roman generals.—*Vellentne militare.* To serve in the army was the duty of the Roman citizens, who had only to answer to their names when the lists were read. The slaves who now volunteered are called *volones.* The loss of men since the battle of the Ticinus has been estimated as 120,000 killed or taken prisoners.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1–7. *Secundum.* "Immediately after."—*Ad Trebiam Trasumennumque.* See chap. vii., line 11.—*Nunquam alias antea.* A pleonasm. Cf. bk. i., chap. xxviii., line 14.

10–18. *Patres.* "His forefathers."—*Cedatur.* Impersonal.—*Felicitati et virtuti.* "His good-fortune and courage."—*Quingenos.* Compare chap. lii., line 7.—*Quo pepigerant.* As *pepigi* (from *pango*) supplies the perfect of *paciscor*, it takes the construction of the latter verb, the ablative of price.—*Quamcumque.* For another example of this use of *quicumque* as an indefinite pronoun without a relative signification, see bk. i., chap. iii., line 12, "*quacumque matre genitus.*" In classical prose it is always joined with a verb, except in such phrases as *quacunque ratione.* See Zumpt, § 706.

21–24. *Carthalo.* There was another Carthaginian of high rank who bore this name, and commanded the cavalry. He is mentioned above, in chap. xv., line 30. Here the words *nobilis Carthaginiensis* are added to distinguish the ambassador from the general.—*Minime Romani ingenii.* For Cicero's opinion on this trick, see *De Officiis*, bk. iii., chap. xxxii., "*Fraus astringit, non dissolvit perjurium.*"

CHAPTER LIX.

1, 2. *Senatus datus.* "An audience of the Senate was granted." Cf. bk. xxi., chap. xii., line 28.—*Patres conscripti.* For the sake of emphasis the vocative is placed first, instead of occupying its more usual position after a few introductory words.

5–16. *Nisi nobis*, etc. "Unless we have undue confidence in the strength of our case." *Causa* is distinguished from *condicio.* Bk. xxv., chap. xl.: "*Dispar ut causa eorum ita condicio erat.*"—*Negligendi.* Equivalent to *qui minus negligendi sunt.*—*Romanum militem.* Collective. "Some Roman soldiers."—*Tunc demum.* "Then, and not till then."

19–27. *Patres vestros.* "Your predecessors." The Senate was already becoming a close corporation, and a seat in it was almost hereditary in some families.—*Asperrimos illos.* See Zumpt, § 744, for this use of *illos.* "So severe in respect to terms of peace."—*Atqui.* This introduces the minor proposition, "Those battles were not so bloody as that at Cannæ." The conclusion, "Therefore we ought to be ransomed," is not expressed in terms.—*Nec supersumus.* "Nor do any of us survive except those for whose slaughter."—*De nostris.* "Of us, the prisoners." In opposition to *illi quidem* in line 30.—*Ne in acie quidem refugerunt.* A pregnant construction, equivalent to *Qui ne in acie quidem fuerunt et inde fugerunt.*—*Præsidium.* This fact is not mentioned in chapter l.

30–33. *Velim extulisse.* This use of the infinitive perfect, instead of the infinitive present, to express the result of an action, after *velle, melius esse,* and the like, is not common in model prose.—*Qui plerique.* "Most of whom."—*Prætulerint, gloriati sint.* The perfect subjunctive here is equivalent to a hypothetical future.

39–53. *Nec majore pretio.* "At no higher price," that is, "just as cheaply."—*Nam si.* The number of heads and the price given can be compared, but not the persons, "for if I were to compare the persons," etc.—*Nullo merito.* "Without our having deserved it."—*Vos.* This word is bracketed as spurious by Weissenborn, who considers it to have arisen from the *hos-* in the following word *hospitum.*—*Si videatis.* An ideal conditional sentence. "If you were to see . . . the sight would move."—*Intueri.* The doors of the temple in which the Senate assembled remained open.—*Vestibulo.* See note on bk. ii., chap. xlviii., line 42.—*Ita suspensi.* "Are in such suspense."

55–64. *Mitis.* "If Hannibal, instead of being cruel and avaricious, were to be as liberal as Pyrrhus, and set us free unransomed."—*Indigni ut redimeremur.* The more usual construction after *dignus* or *indignus* is the relative *qui.*—*Redeam.* A rhetorical question in the subjunctive, implying a negative opinion on the part of the speaker. Observe the change from the plural to the singular, as in chap. l., line 25.—*Suum quisque.* Each man may think as he likes; for my part, I consider death a less evil than the disgrace of being repulsed by you.—*Ne a vobis . . . abeamus.* A clause added to explain what he means by *famæ periculum.*—*Neque enim.* "For, of course, men will not believe."—*Pretio.* Dative case. "Spared the expense." "Begrudged the price."

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CHAPTER LX.

3–7. *Tendebant.* Namely, the kindred of the prisoners who formed the *turba.*—*Sibi.* "To them," i. e., the suppliants.—*Necessitas.* "The pressure of necessity," as they feared to lose their protectors.—*Submotis arbitris.* "When all spectators had been made to withdraw," from the doors or elsewhere. Weissenborn, however, considers *arbitri* to mean the delegates from the captives.—*Consuli.* The manner in which the Senate was consulted was that the senators were separately asked to state their opinions: they could preface their votes by speeches.

8–13. *De publico.* "From the public treasury."—*Prædibusque ac prædiis.* "By sureties and their property." A common legal term. The law required the sureties to be citizens holding their property in full quiritarian ownership. *Præs* is a surety for one who owes money to the state, and his goods are styled *prædia*, which Gaius, ii., 61, defines as *res obligatæ populo.* Hence *prædibus cavere* (*Dig.*, x., 3, § 6) or *prædibus prædiisque cavere* (Cic. in *Verr.*, ii. (1), 54, § 142) is "to give security."—*T. Manlius Torquatus.* He had been twice consul, in B.C. 235 and B.C. 224, and censor in B.C. 231. His first consulship is memorable from the fact that the temple of Janus was closed in that year for the first time since Numa's reign. In the year after the battle of Cannæ he commanded with success in Sardinia against the Carthaginians and the revolted natives whom he had reduced in his first consulship. In B.C. 210 he refused the consulship, and died B.C. 202. The sternness and brutal severity of the family was proverbial. L. Manlius, dictator in B.C. 363, obtained the name *Imperiosus* from his tyranny and cruelty; and his son, T. Manlius, gave rise to the expression *Manliana imperia*, by the execution of his son for engaging, contrary to orders, in single combat with a Latin, before the great battle (B.C. 340) near Mt. Vesuvius which established the supremacy of Rome.—*Priscæ severitatis.* The descriptive genitive is generally subjoined to an indefinite appellative noun; and the omission here of some word like *vir* is quite exceptional. See Madvig, § 287, Obs. 3; Zumpt, § 426.—*Interrogatus sententiam.* "Having been asked for his opinion."

17–38. *Quid enim aliud.* For the ellipsis of some part of *facere* in phrases like the present, equivalent to "merely," see Zumpt, § 771, and Madvig, § 479, *d*, Obs. 5.—*Præferri.* Supply *se.* The clause is dependent on *æquum censuerint.*—*Cujusque.* "Of each of the combatants."—*P. Sempronius.* See the account in chap. l., line 20. *Et ipsis*—that is, as well as the Romans.—*Possent.* A general statement true for all time, as the words *per confertos* compared with *plerisque regressis* show.—*Monere adhortari.* An asyndeton as in bk.

xxi., chap. x., line 8, "*monuisse prædixisse.*"—*Pervenire posse.* Infinitive after word of saying implied in *adhortari.*

39–44. *P. Decius.* The story is told in bk. vii., chap. xxxiv. He volunteered to seize a hill in front, and divert the attack of the enemy till the army could escape. Cato tells the story, but calls the tribune Q. Cædicius.—*Duceret.* The potential of the past.—*Vos.* "You, the captives." Manlius speaks here as if they were before him.

54–62. *Deminuti capite.* The *capitis deminutio maxima*, which is further described by the following words, *abalienati jure civium*, involved loss of citizenship and freedom.—*Non audistis.* "You did not listen to."—*Quam ego ignaviam.* The conduct which he stigmatizes as cowardice merely is rather treason.—*Conati sunt.* Here nearly equivalent to the imperfect of endeavor. "They were for attempting."—*Strictis gladiis.* Compare chap. l., line 34.—*Inertes.* Accusative case.

67–75. *Sexcenti.* The party from the smaller camp.—*Qui auderent.* "To dare."—*Duarum legionum.* A little over eight thousand men. —*Dixerint.* Supply *se.*—*Nisi quis.* "Unless one can believe them to have been loyal who," etc.—*Aut non invidere.* The idea is, they showed themselves devoid of all soldier-like loyalty when they opposed their comrades; they will for the future exhibit the same want of loyalty from envy and shame.

80–91. *Ad erumpendum.* From these words down to *victi sunt* Manlius is evidently giving some supposed reply of a defender of the prisoners and their conduct; Weissenborn, therefore, after Wex, inserts in his text before *ad* the words *At enim*, the usual formula with which a speaker introduces the supposed arguments of an opponent. —*Vallum armis.* The latter word is a conjecture of Gronovius for the manuscript reading *arma.* If we retain *arma*, then *obsessi* is for *obsessi sunt*, and we must supply *tutata sunt* with *arma.*—*Se ipsi.* See Zumpt, § 696.—*Orto sole.* This is the rebutter to the supposed reply. —*Vobis.* Ethical dative.—*Decuerat.* Compare chap. xxii., line 62.—*Et vos redimam.* A rhetorical question implying a negative opinion on the part of the speaker.—Compare the speech here assigned to Manlius with Horace, iii., ode 5, 12. The similarity is too great to be accidental, and Livy's display of rhetoric, like Horace's ode, may have been intended to influence opinion about the recovery of the soldiers of Crassus and Antony, who had been so long the prisoners of the Parthians. If this supposition is well founded, the date of this book cannot be later than B.C. 20, when the prisoners were restored.

CHAPTER LXI.

1–15. *Postquam dixit.* "After Manlius had spoken."—*Jam inde antiquitus.* Compare bk. i., chap. ii., line 11, "*Jam inde ab initio.*"—*Qua.* "By paying which."—*Armandos.* "And furnishing them with arms." The citizens supplied their own weapons.—*Non redissi.* Compare bk. ii., chap. v., line 1, "*reddi censuerant;*" but in this chapter, line 27, we have also "*censuisse redimendos.*"—*Fletibus, questibus.* An asyndeton. Compare bk. xxi., chap. xxviii., line 5, "*nautarum militum.*"—*Prosecuti sunt.* Supply a subject, "crowds," "the people."—*Quod fallaci reditu exsolvisset.* If *fallaci* had not been introduced, the subjunctive would be the ordinary subjunctive of *oratio obliqua;* as the sentence stands we may compare it with bk. vi., chap. ii., "*Quod . . . crederent;*" and Cic., *Off.*, i., 13, "*Rediit paullo post quod se oblitum nescio quid diceret.*" See Madvig, § 357, *a*, Obs. 2.

20–37. *Decem primos.* "Ten of high rank;" after the analogy of the *decem primi* in the senates of the colonies and municipalities. Cic., *De Off.*, iii., 18, calls them *nobilissimi.*—*Ita admissos ne.* "Admitted on condition that an audience of the Senate should not be granted."—*Cognato.* Probably the L. Scribonius mentioned in bk. xxiii., chap. xxi.—*Relatum.* This is the first instance of a *relatio* by a tribune of the people.—*Novos . . . veteres.* "The later . . . the earlier."—*Ex itinere.* "After having begun their journey."—*Paucis sententiis.* "By a majority of few votes." By a small majority.—*Notis.* This is the technical word for a condemnation pronounced by the censor. Compare bk. xxxix., chap. xlii., "*Ut censores motis e senatu adscriberent notas.*" The *ignominia* is the result of the *nota.* Cicero writes *omnibus ignominiis notatos*, an expression less forcible than that here employed by Livy.—*Publico.* "Public places."—*Discrepare.* Used impersonally. Compare bk. xxxviii., chap. lvi., "*Inter scriptores rerum discrepat.*"—*Quid veri sit.* Livy, in bk. xxiv., chap. xviii., adopts the latter version, which, according to Cicero (*De Off.*, iii., 18), was given by Acilius, a contemporary of Cato the Censor, who wrote a history of the Punic wars in Greek.

40–55. *Est quod fides.* The MSS. are here defective, and these words are supplied by conjecture. Drakenborch has "*est quod qui.*"—*Atellani, Calatini.* The defection of Capua, strangely enough, is not mentioned here, but deferred till the next book, although it was the revolt of Capua which drew with it its dependent or allied towns Atella and Calatia.—*Pentros.* Their chief town was Bovianum.—*Brutii omnes.* Except the towns of Petelia and Consentia.—*Uxentini.* On the east of the gulf of Tarentum.—*Galli.* In bk. xxi., chap. lv., line 15, we are told that at the time of the battle on the Trebia all the Gauls except the Cenomani had revolted.—*Romam adventum.*

The verbal substantive here takes the construction of the verb. So *domum reditio, Romam reditus*, etc.—*Omnibus ordinibus.* This includes, of course, the Senate, who had ordered the battle.—*Ductor.* "General."—*Supplicii.* Hanno, who surrendered Messane B.C. 264, Hanno, who was defeated off the Ægates B.C. 241, and Hasdrubal, who was defeated by Metellus B.C. 250, were put to death by crucifixion on their return to Carthage.

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GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

Aborigines. A name given to the first inhabitants of Latium. (Gr. 'Αβοριγῖνες.)

Ægātes Insulæ. Three small islands off the west coast of Sicily, near Lilybæum. Near them the consul Catalus Lutatius defeated the Carthaginian fleet, 241 B.C., and ended the First Punic War.

Æqui. A people of northeastern Latium.

Æquicoli. A tribe of the Æqui, more to the north in the Sabine territory.

Africa. In an extended sense, Africa; in a narrower sense, Carthage and her proper territory.

Alba Longa. The legendary mother city of Rome, in Latium, southeast of Rome.

Albula. The old name of the Tiber.

Algidus. A range of hills in Latium; part of the same group as the Alban mount.

Allia. A small river, eleven miles north of Rome, flowing through a plain near Crustumerium. Here the Gauls defeated the Romans, B.C. 388.

Allifæ. On the river Vulturnus, in Samnium.

Allobroges (Allobrox). A Gallic tribe between the Rhone and the Isère, in Gallia Narbonensis.

Amiternum. A very ancient Sabine town, the birthplace of the historian Sallust.

Anio (genitive, *Anienis*). This well-known tributary of the Tiber, rising in the Apennines, forms the division between southern Samnium and Latium. It joins the Tiber about three miles from Rome. It is celebrated for its beautiful scenery and the cataract at Tibur (Tivoli).

Antemnæ. A town of the Sabines, at the junction of the Anio.

Antium. A Latin coast town, south of Rome.

Apiolæ. A town of Latium.

Apulia. A country of southeastern Italy, between the Apennines and the Adriatic, bounded on the north by the Frentani, on the south by Lucania and Calabria, on the west by Samnium, and on the east by the sea.

Arbocala. The chief town of the Vaccæi, a tribe in Hispania Tarraconensis.

Ardea. The capital of the Rutuli, six leagues south of Rome.

Argiletum. A part of Rome between the Circus Maximus and Mount Aventine. It is derived from *argilla*, "clay;" hence is equivalent to the Potter's Field, and the *Ceramicus* in Athens.

Aricia. A town in Latium, at the foot of the Alban Mount, on the Appian way.

Ariminum. A coast town of Umbria, where the Flaminian road from Rome ended and the Æmilian way to Placentia began.

Arpi. An Apulian town, called in earlier times Argyripa, and supposed to have been founded by Diomedes of Argos.

Arretium. A city of Etruria.

Atanagrum. The capital of the Ilergetes, near Ilerda.

Atella. A town of the Osci, in Campania, near Aversa.

Aufidus. A rapid river in Apulia.

Aurunci. This is another form of the name *Ausones*, given (perhaps by the Greeks) to the inhabitants of middle and southern Italy.

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Ausetani. A nation of northeastern Spain.

Aventinus. The highest of the seven hills of Rome; it extends from the Palatine to the Cœlian Hill. It was first inclosed by King Ancus.

Baleares or *Baliares.* (1.) In the plural, feminine gender, the Balearic Isles, off the east coast of Spain, now Majorca and Minorca. In the latter was founded by Hannibal's brother the town called after him *Portus Magonis*, now Port Mahon. (2.) In the plural, masculine gender, the inhabitants of these isles, famed for their skill in slinging.

Bargusii. A Spanish tribe near Ilerda.

Beneventum. A town of the Hirpini, in Samnium, originally (from its unhealthiness) called Maleventum. It became a Roman colony B.C. 268.

Bvii. A tribe of Cisalpine Gaul, between the Po and the Apennines.

Bovianum. The chief town of the Pentri, in Samnium.

Brundisium. A town and harbor in Calabria, through which passed the chief traffic to and from Greece.

Bruttii. The inhabitants of Bruttium, in the south end of Italy.

Cœlius. The southeastern hill of Rome, south of the Esquiline and east of the Palatine.

Cæmina. A Sabine town, northeast of Rome.

Cære. A town of Etruria, famed for its hot springs, *Aquæ Cæretes.* Anciently called *Agylla.*

Calatia. A town of Campania, between Capua and Beneventum.

Cales. A town of Campania, northwest of Capua, celebrated for its wine.

Callicula. A mountain east of Cales, near Casilinum.

Cameria. A town of Latium.

Campania. A very fertile district of Italy, south of Latium, on the Tuscan Sea.

Cannæ. A town of Apulia, on the river Aufidus.

Canusium. A town of Apulia, southwest of Cannæ.

Capena. A town of Etruria.

Capitolinus (mons). A hill of Rome, northwest of the Palatine, on which stood the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Capua. The chief town of Campania.

Carpetani. A tribe in Hispania Tarraconensis.

Carthago. Carthage, the celebrated city founded by Phœnician emigrants in Africa. The Phœnician name was Karthadam, meaning "the new city."

Carthago Nova. Cartagena, founded by the Carthaginians, after the First Punic War, in Hispania Tarraconensis. The harbor is excellent. A Spanish proverb says, "There are four harbors in the Mediterranean Sea—June, July, August, and Cartagena."

Casilinum. A town in Campania, the present Capua, three miles west of the old Capua, commanding the bridge over the Vulturnus.

Casinum. A town of Latium, east of Aquinium; now Monte Casino.

Castulo. A town on the borders of Hispania Tarraconensis and Hispania Bætica.

Celtibĕri. A people in central Spain, sprung from the Celts and native Iberians.

Circeii. A town on the sea-coast of Latium.

Clastidium. A town on the Po, near Placentia.

Clusium. One of the oldest towns of Etruria, the residence of Porsenna.

Collatia. A town of Latium, near the Anio.

Cora. A town of the Volsci, in Latium.

Corbio. A town of the Æqui.

Corcyra. An island in the Ionian Sea, over against Epirus; now Corfu.

Corioli. A town in Latium.

Corniculum. A town of Latium, north of Tibur.

Corsica. An island in the Mediterranean Sea, north of Sardinia.

Cosa. A town of Etruria, not far from the sea. The port was

called Portus Cosanus or Portus Herculis.

Cremĕra. A small river near Veii.

Cremona. The present Cremona, on the north bank of the river Po.

Crotona. A Greek town on the east coast of Bruttium.

Crustumerium. A town northeast of Fidenæ, originally Sabine, later belonging to the Tuscans.

Cumæ. An ancient colony of the Chalcidians, in Campania. From this settlement of Dorian Greeks the Romans obtained the Latin alphabet and the Sibylline books.

Cures. Anciently the chief town of the Sabines, northeast of Rome.

Delphi. A city of Phocis in northern Greece, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, renowned for the oracle of Apollo.

Druentia. The modern Durance, flowing into the Rhone near Avenio, now Avignon.

Ebūsus. An island off the Spanish coast, now Iviça.

Ecetra. A city of the Volscians.

Emporia. A town in Hispania Tarraconensis, near the Pyrenees.

Eryx. A town near a mountain of the same name on the northwest coast of Sicily, celebrated for its temple of Venus. The worship of Venus Erycina seems to have been of Phœnician origin.

Esquiliæ. The eastern hill of Rome, north of the Cœlian, south of the Viminal hill.

Etruria. A country of Italy, north of Latium; now Tuscany.

Fæsulæ, now Fiesole. A city of Etruria.

Falerii. A town in Etruria near Mount Soracte.

Falernus ager. A district of Campania, at the foot of Mons Massicus, celebrated for its wine.

Ferentinum. An ancient town of Latium, near which was the grove used for the meetings of the Latins.

Ficana. A small town of Latium, on the road to Ostia.

Ficulea. A small town of the Sabines, near Fidenæ.

Fidenæ. A town of Latium, on the Tiber.

Formiæ. A town of Latium, on the borders of Campania; now Mola di Gaeta.

Frentani. A people of Samnium, on the Adriatic Sea.

Gabii. An ancient city of Latium, eleven miles from Prœneste.

Gades. A celebrated colony of the Phœnicians in Hispania Bætica, founded (about) B.C. 1180, and classed by Strabo with Alexandria and Patavium as one of the three cities next to Rome in wealth and population.

Galliæ. The provinces of *Gallia citerior* or *Cisalpina*, and *Gallia ulterior* or *Transalpina.* The river Rubicon was the boundary between the former and Italy. The latter name was applied to the whole country between the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees.

Genua. A city of Liguria; now Genoa.

Gereonium. A town of Apulia.

Hadria. A town of Picenum.

Heraclēa. A city in Lucania, on the Gulf of Tarentum.

Herculis Columnæ. The Pillars of Hercules; that is, the two mountains Calpe (Gibraltar) in Europe and Abyla in Africa.

Hermandica. A town of the Vaccæi, a Spanish tribe.

Hernĭci. A people of Latium between the Æqui and Volsci.

Hibērus. The Ebro, a river in Spain rising in the Cantabrian Mountains and flowing into the Mediterranean Sea. After the First Punic War it formed the boundary between the Roman and Carthaginian territories.

Hirpīni. A people of Lower Italy between Apulia, Lucania, and Campania.

Histri. The inhabitants of Histria, bordering on Illyria.

Iberus. See *Hiberus.*

Ilergavonenses. A people of Hispania Tarraconensis, on the Ebro.

Ilergetes. A people of Hispania Tarraconensis, south of the Ebro.
Iliberri. A Gallic town at the foot of the Pyrences.
Illyria. A country east of the Adriatic Sea.
Insubres. A people of Gallia Cisalpina. Their capital was Mediolanum, now Milan.
Isara. A river of Gallia Narbonensis flowing into the Rhone; now the Isère.
Istri. See *Histri.*

Janiculum. A hill on the right bank of the Tiber; one of the seven hills of Rome.

Lacetania. A district of Hispania Tarraconensis, near the Pyrenees.
Lanuvium. An ancient town of Latium, about twenty miles from Rome.
Larinum. A town in the territory of the Frentani.
Latium. A country southeast of Etruria, from which it is separated by the Tiber, south of the Sabini and northwest of Campania.
Laurentum. A city of Latium, between Lavinium and Ostia.
Lavici. A town of Latium, between Tusculum and Prænestе.
Lavinium. A city of Latium near the coast.
Libui Galli. A people of Gaul beyond the Po.
Liby-Phœnices. The inhabitants of mixed blood in the Phœnician and Carthaginian settlements on the north and northwest coasts of Africa.
Liguria. The country round Genoa, in Cisalpine Gaul.
Liternum. A town on the coast of Campania, between Cumæ and the Vulturnus.
Locri. A celebrated Greek colony in Bruttium, on the river Buthrotus. These Locri are called *Locri Epizephyrii* to distinguish them from the *Locri Ozolæ* and the *Locri Epicnemidii.* Locri is also used for their city, Narycium.
Longula. A Volscian city near Corioli.
Longuntica. A city of Hispania Tarraconensis.
Luca. A city of Liguria, now Lucca.
Lucania. A district of southern Italy, extending from the Tuscan Sea to the Gulf of Tarentum, north of Bruttium.
Luceria. A town of Apulia.
Lusitania. The western portion of Spain, comprehending the modern Portugal and part of the Spanish districts of Toledo and Estremadura.

Marrucini. A people of Italy, north of the Frentani and east of the Pæligni.
Marsi. A people of Latium, near the Lacus Fusinus.
Massilia. A sea-port in Gallia Narbonensis. It was a colony of the Phocæans, and a centre of Grecian civilization in southern Gaul; now Marseilles.
Mauri. The inhabitants of Mauritania, a country of Africa, west of Numidia; now Fez and Morocco.
Medullia. A small town in Latium, between the Tiber and the Anio.
Melita. The island of Malta.
Meninx. An island near the Lesser Syrtis in Africa.
Messana. A town on the northeast coast of Sicily. The inhabitants are called Mamertini. Now Messina.
Messia or *Mœsia Silva.* A forest in the territory of Veii on the borders of Etruria.
Metapontum. A Greek town of Lucania, on the Gulf of Tarentum, where Pythagoras lived and died.
Mutina. A town of Cisalpine Gaul, now Modena.

Neapolis. A city in Campania. It was a colony of the Cumæans. Now Naples.
Nomentum. A city in the country of the Sabines, but originally Latin, founded by Alba.
Nova Classis. A place in Spain, of which nothing is known.
Numicus. A small river in Latium, near Lavinium, where stood the grove of Jupiter Indiges.

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